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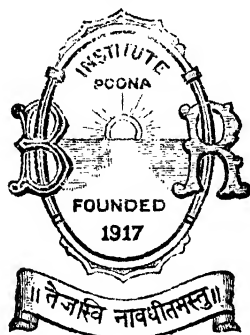
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[PART II

NON-CANONICAL PALI LITERATURE

BY

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The Pali canon includes the books of the three Piṭakas. The works which are not included in those Piṭakas are known as non-canonical or extra-canonical.

The title *Nettipakaraṇa*¹ as explained by Dhammapāla, means exposition of that which leads to the knowledge of the Good Law. The *Netti* shows

Nettipakarapa

1 This work has been edited by Prof. E. Hardy for the P. T. S. London, and published by the said society in 1902. There is also a Burmese edition of this text. The text is not entirely free from inaccuracies but all such defects are pardonable when we remember that it is a pioneer work. The text edited by the P. T. S. is based on the following manuscripts :—

- (i) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese character (see Catalogue of the Mandalay Mss. in the India Office Library by Prof. V. Fausboll, J. P. T. S., 1896) ;
- (ii) Palm leaf manuscript of the India Office (Phayre collection) , likewise written in Burmese character (see Catalogue of the Pali Mss. in the India Office Library by H. Oldenberg) ;
- (iii) Paper manuscript (brought from W. Subhuti by Prof. Rhys Davids) in Sinhalese character (Introduction, p. xxxv). Prof. Hardy has relied on the palm leaf manuscript of the India Office in Burmese character in noting readings whenever they are found to contribute to a better understanding of the text.

Mrs. Rhys Davids translates '*Nettipakaraṇa*' as the '*Book of Guidance*' (*Sākyā or Buddhist Origins*, p. 127).

desanā (the method of instruction), vicaya (the method of enquiry), yutti (the method of establishing connection in groups), padatṭhāna (the method of teaching with reference to the fundamentals), lakkhaṇa (the method of determining implications by characteristic marks), catuvyūha (the method of four fold array), āvatta (the cyclical method), vibhatti (the method of classification), parivattana (the method of transformation), vevacana (the method of synonyms), paññatti (the method of determining (signification), otaṇa (the method of descending steps), sodhana (the method of rectification), adhiṭṭhāna (the method of determining positions), parikkhāra (the method of discriminating causal relations), and samāropana (the method of attribution).

The five *nayas* consist of the following modes of viewing things :— (1) *nandiyāvatta*, (2) *tīpukkhalā* (by the triple lotus), (3) *sīhaviṭṭhāna* (the lion-like sport), (4) *disālocana* (broad vision) and (5) *āṅkusa* (focussing).

The eighteen *mūlapadas* comprise nine *kusalas* and nine *akusalas*. The nine *akusalas* are *taṇhā* (thirst), *avijjā* (ignorance), *lobha* (covetousness), *dosa* (hatred), *moha* (delusion), *subhasaññā* (false idea of purity), *niccasaññā* (false idea of permanence), *attasaññā* (false idea of personal identity), etc. The nine *kusalas* are *samatha* (tranquillity), *vipassanā* (insight), *alobha* (absence of covetousness), *adosa* (absence of hatred), *amoha* (absence of delusion), *asubhasaññā* (idea of impurity), *dukkhasaññā* (idea of discordance), *aniccasaññā* (idea of impermanence) and *anattasaññā* (idea of non-identity).

In the *Niddesavāra*, the reader is to expect nothing more than a general specification of the meaning of the topics proposed in the *Uddesavāra* for treatment. From the *Niddesavāra* the reader is led on to the next step, the *Paṭiniddesavāra* which contains four broad divisions, namely, (1) *Hāravibhaṅga* (explanations of the connected chains), (2) *Hārasaṃpāda* (discussions of the *hāra* projections), (3) *Nayaṣamutṭhāna* (exposition of the modes of inspection and (4) the *Sāsanapaṭṭhāna* (the classification and interpretation of Buddha's instructions).

The treatise deals in detail with sixteen hāras in the specified order as follows :

The Desanāhāra directs the reader to notice six distinctive features in the Buddha's method of instructions, namely, assādam (bright side), ādinavam (dark side), nissaraṇam (means of escape), phalaṁ (fruition), upāyam (means of success) and ānattim (the moral upshot). It also points out that Buddha's instructions are carefully adapted to four classes of hearers, namely (1) those of right intellect (understanding things by mere hints), (2) those needing short explanations, (3) those to be slowly led by elaborate expositions and (4) those whose understanding does not go beneath the words. In the same connection it seeks to bring home the distinction between the three kinds of knowledge, sutamayī, cintāmayī and bhāvanāmayī.

In the Vicayahāra the method of ruminating over the subjects of questions and thoughts and repetitions in thought is laid down, and this is elaborately illustrated with appropriate quotations from the canonical texts.

In the Yuttihāra we are introduced to the method of grouping together connected ideas and the right application of the method of reasoning or inference in interpreting the dharma.

The Padaṭṭhānahāra explains the doctrinal points by their fundamental characteristics and exemplifies them. *This hāra has an important bearing on the Milinda expositions.*

The Lakkhaṇahāra points out that when one of a group of matters characterised by the same mark is mentioned, the others must be taken as implied. For instance, when the sense of sight is mentioned in a passage, the implication should be that other senses received the same treatment.

The Catuvyūhahāra unfolds the method of understanding the doctrines by noting the following points :—

(1) the text, (2) the term, (3) the purport, (4) the introductory episode and (5) the sequence, illustrating each of them with quotations from the canonical texts.

The *Āvattahāra* aptly illustrates with authoritative quotations how in the teachings of the Buddha all things turn round to form cycles of some fundamental ideas such as *taṇhā*, *avijjā*, the four *Aryan* truths and the like.

The *Vibhattihāra* explains the method of classifying Buddha's discussions according to their character common or uncommon or according to their values, inferior, superior or mediocre.

The *Parivattanahāra* contains an exposition of the method by which the Buddha tried to transform a bad thing into a good thing and transform also the life of a bad man.

The *Vevacanahāra* calls attention to the dictionary method of synonyms by which the Buddha tried to impress and clarify certain notions of the Dhamma. This section forms a landmark in the development of Indian lexicography.

In the *Paññattihāra* it is stated that though the Dhamma is one, the Lord has presented it in various forms. There are four noble truths beginning with *dukkha*. When these truths are realised then knowledge and wisdom come in and then the way to *Bhāvanā* is open to the knower. The elements may be compared but *Nibbāna* cannot be compared.

In the section on *Otarapa* the *Netti* illustrates how in the schemata of Buddha's doctrines diverse notions spontaneously descend under the burden of certain leading topics such as, *indriyas*, *paṭiccasamuppāda*, five *khandhas* and the like.

The *Sodhanahāra* illustrates the method by which the Buddha corrected the form of the questions in the replies offered by him.

The *Adhiṭṭhānahāra* explains in detail the method of determining the respective positions of different ideas according as they make for certain common notions. In the *Adhiṭṭhānahāra* the basis of all truth is given. The four truths beginning with *dukkham* are described and side by side *avijjā* is shown to be the cause working in opposite ways. There are also paths bringing about the extinction of *dukkha*, etc. The various *kāyas* and *dhātus* are also considered. *Samādhi* is the only means of removing evils.

In the Parikkhārahāra the Netti explains and exemplifies how one can distinguish between the causal elements, broadly between hetu and other causal relations. *This section has an important bearing on the Paṭṭhāna of the Abhidhammapiṭaka.*

We come at last to the section called the Samāropanahāra. This section explains and illustrates the Buddhas method of four-fold attribution, (1) by way of fundamental ideas, (2) by way of synonyms, (3) by way of contemplation and by way of getting rid of the immoral propensities.

Hāra Sampāta is a division which is dependent on the hāra as its purpose is to present the projections or main moral implications of the hāras or the connected chains previously dealt with.

This division like the preceding one consists of sixteen parts exactly under the same headings.

In the Hāra Sampāta the commentator Dhammapāla has added and rearranged many new things. He cites the passages from the text and then puts a lay dissertation on them by way of questions and answers. *This division stands almost as an independent treatise by itself.*

Desanā hāra Sampāta — In this division it is laid down that Māra invades only a mind which is quite unprotected (pamāda-citta), which is based on false beliefs, on idleness, &c.

Vicaya hāra Sampāta — In this section it is laid down that desire (tanhā) is of two kinds: kusala and akusala. The one leads to nibbāna and the other to birth and suffering (saṃsāra). Mind is both kusala and akusala in nature. The real nature of things can only be seen in the fourth Jhāna stage. The various signs and nature of nibbāna and samādhi are described. Samādhi has five characteristics, namely, joy, happiness, consciousness, enlightenment and right perception. There are ten objects of meditation (kaṣiṇāyatanāni) e. g., paṭhavī, āpo, etc. They are then attached to three objects, anicca (non-permanent), dukkha (suffering) and anatta (non-existence of soul).

A differentiation is brought about between an ordinary man and a man with knowledge. The former can do any kind of

offence that may be possible. But the latter cannot. The former can even kill his father or mother, can destroy the stūpas but the latter cannot; when one practises the four Jhānas, and attains to Samādhi, his previous life and futurity are known to him.

In the Yutti-hāra-sāmpāta it is stated that sloth, stupor and misery disappear from him who is well protected in mind, firm in resolution and adheres to right seeing.

In the Padatṭhāna-hāra and Lakkhaṇa-hāra-sāmpāta, the padatṭhānas (reasonings) are described as belonging to one who is well restrained in mind, words and actions and who by the proper attainment of padatṭhānas realises the highest path.

In the Catuvyūhahāra-sāmpāta, Āvattahāra-sāmpāta, Vibhatti-hāra-sāmpāta, etc., great stress is laid on right perception, mindfulness and kusala deeds which lead to the knowledge of paṭicca-samuppāda.

The third division called the Nayasamutṭhāna contains a detailed treatment of the five specified modes of viewing things. Under the Nandiyāvatta mode, it is pointed out that the earlier extremity of the world cannot be known owing to avijjā (ignorance) which has taṇhā (desire) at the root. Those who walk in the field of pleasure are bound down in heretical beliefs and are unable to realise the truth. There are four noble truths—Dukkham, dukkhasamudayaṃ, dukkhanirodham and dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā. There is a middle path (majjhima paṭipadā) which rejects the two extreme views and which is identified with the eightfold noble path (ariya aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo). He who has avoided diṭṭhi (false view) escapes from kāma (lust). Hence avoidance of desire (taṇhā) and ignorance (avijjā) leads to quietitude or calmness. Kamma is recognised as the cause of the world of sufferings. But consciousness and all that concerns consciousness may be seen in their increment in the ten vatthus. The ordinary enjoyment of food and touch, etc. is the cause of distress of a man with desire.

The various āsavas (sins) are next described. The sufferings of a man with attachments, faults and wrong views are also narrated. The four paths, the four foundations of recollections,

the four Jhānas, the four essentials (sammappadhānas), the four meditations, the four pleasure yielding states, etc., are also stated ; each of these is described as an antidote for the man with attachment, delusion and wrong views.

Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas, the disciples, and all those who are devoid of attachment, hatred, delusion, etc., are like lions. Those who look to the right aspects, the senses, the counter forces of the views with as strong reasons as Buddhas, Pacceka-Buddhas etc., are said to have seen things just like a lion. Human types are four in number. Each of these has to undergo some sort of training. To each of them is offered an advice as to tanhā (desire), rāga (attachment), kusala (merit), etc. This is the way shown to be of the Tipukkhalo and of the Aṅkusa described in the text.

Now turning to the fourth division, the Sāsanapatthāna, we get a treatment of the proper method of classification and interpretation of the texts of the Dhamma. It is suggested that the discourses of the Buddha can be classified according to the themes into :—(1) Saṅkilesabhāgiya (those dealing with saṅkilesa or impurity), (2) Vāsanābhāgiya (those dealing with desire), (3) Nibbedhabhāgiya (those dealing with penetration), (4) Asekhabhāgiya (those dealing with the subject of a non-learner), (5) Saṅkilesabhāgiya and Vāsanābhāgiya, (6) Saṅkilesa and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (7) Saṅkilesa and Asekhabhāgiya, (8) Saṅkilesa and Nibbedha and Asekhabhāgiya, (9) Saṅkilesa and Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (10) Vāsanā and Nibbedhabhāgiya, (11) Tanhā-saṅkilesabhāgiya, (12) Diṭṭhisāṅkilesabhāgiya, (13) Duccarita-saṅkilesabhāgiya, (14) Tanhāvodānabhāgiya, (15) Diṭṭhivodānabhāgiya, (16) Duccaritavodānabhāgiya. Of these, saṅkilesas are of three kinds, tanhā (desire), diṭṭhi (false view), and duccaritas (wrong actions).

Various padas, slokas and texts are cited while explaining each of these textual classifications.

The eighteen main padas are those which are worldly (lokikam), unworldly (lokuttaram), etc. In fact the chapter is made highly interesting by its numerous quotations from familiar

texts and it does not enter deep into philosophical or logical arguments. But the classification and reclassifications are no doubt interesting as intellectual gymnastics.

The *Peṭakopadesa* is another treatise on the textual and the exegetical methodology ascribed to Mahākaccāna and it is nothing but a different manipulation of the subject treated in the *Nettipakaraṇa*. Interest of this treatise, if it was at all a work of the same author, lies in the fact that it throws some new light here and there on the points somewhat obscure in the *Netti*. Its importance lies also in the fact that in places it has quoted the Pali canonical passages mentioning the sources by such names as *Saṃyuttaka* (= *Saṃyutta Nikāya*) and *Ekuttaraka* (= *Ekūttara* or *Anguttara Nikāya*). Its importance arises no less from the fact in it the four Ariyan truths are stated to be the central theme or essence of Buddhism, the point which gained much ground in the literature of the Sarvastivādin school. The importance of the last point will be realised all the more as we find how the discourses developed in the *Netti* in the course of formulating the textual and exegetical methodology centered round the four Ariyan truths. This work has not yet been edited. The P. T. S., London has undertaken an edition of it. A specimen by R. Fuchs Diss. Berlin, 1908 deserves mention.

The *Milinda Pañha* or the questions of Milinda had originally been written in Northern India in Sanskrit or in some North Indian Prakrit by an author whose name has not, unfortunately enough, come down to us. But, the original text is now lost in the land of its origin as elsewhere; what now remains is the Pali translation of the original which was made at a very early date in Ceylon. From Ceylon, it travelled to other countries, namely, Burma and Siam, which have derived their Buddhism from Ceylon, and where at a later date it was translated into respective local dialects. In China, too, there have been found two separate works entitled "The Book of the Bhikkhu Nāgasena Sūtra", but whether they are translations of the older recensions of the work than the one preserved in Pali or of the Pali recensions is difficult

to ascertain. However, in the home of Southern Buddhism, the book is accepted as a standard authority, second only to the Pali Piṭakas. Prof. Rhys Davids rightly observes, "It is not merely the only work composed among the Northern Buddhists which is regarded with reverence by the orthodox Buddhists of the Southern schools, it is the only one which has survived at all amongst them" ¹.

The book purports to discuss a good number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism ; and this discussion is treated in the form of conversations between King Milinda of Sāgala and Thera Nāgasena. Milinda raises the questions and puts the dilemmas, and thus plays a subordinate part in comparison to that played by Nāgasena who answers the questions and solves the puzzles in detail. Naturally, therefore, the didactic element predominates in the otherwise romantic account of the encounter between the two.

Milinda who has been described as the King of the Yonas with his capital at Sāgala (Sākala=Sialkot), has long been identified with Menander, the Bactrian Greek King who had his sway in the Punjab. He was born, as our author makes him say, at Kalasi in Alasanda, i. e., Alexandria ; and if we are to believe our author, he, resolved of all doubts as a result of his long conversations with Nāgasena, came to be converted to Buddhism. Nāgasena, however, cannot be identified with any amount of certainty.

The name of the author, as we have already said, has not come down to us. A close analysis of the book shows that a considerable number of place names refer to the Punjab and adjacent countries, and a few to the sea-coast, e. g., Surat, Bharukaccha, etc. Most of the rivers named refer again to the Punjab. It is, therefore, natural for us to conjecture that the author of the book resided in the far north-west of India or in Punjab. Mrs. Rhys Davids has a theory of her own regarding the author of the Milinda Pañho. She thinks

1 S. B. E., Vol. XXXV, Intro., p. XII.

that the recorded conversations of Milinda and Nāgasena were edited in the new book form after Milinda's death, by special commission by a Brāhmaṇa of Buddhist Collegiate training, named Mānava. There is, however, neither any positive or even negative evidence for such a theory.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain exactly the date of the Book. Milinda or Menander is, however, ascribed to the last quarter of the 2nd century B. C. The book must, therefore, have been written after that date. On the other hand, it must have long been an important book of authority when Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, flourished in the 5th century A. D. For, he quoted from the book often in his commentaries, and that in such a manner that it follows that he regarded the book as a work of great authority. From a close analysis of the books referred to as quoted by the author of the Milinda Pañha, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, the learned editor and translator of Milinda Pañha, came to the conclusion that "the book is later than the canonical books of the Pali Piṭakas (the author of the Milinda-pañha quotes a large number of passages from the Piṭaka texts), and on the other hand, not only older than the great commentaries, but the only book outside the canon, regarded in them as an authority which may be implicitly followed¹."

The Milinda-pañha has a marked style of its own. Its language is most elegant, and studied against the background of ancient Indian prose, it is simply a masterpiece of writing. The formal exactness of the early Piṭakas as well as the studied ornamentation of later-day Pali or Sanskrit-Buddhist treatises are alike absent from its pages. The charm of the style is captivating and there are passages that are eloquent in their meaning and gesture. The prerorations with which the long discussions are often closed are supreme inventions by our author of the art of conversation as well as of writing. Its style and diction bear a close resemblance to and are somewhat maturer

1 S. B. E., Vol. XXXV, Intro., p. XXXVIII,

than those of the famous Hastigumpha inscription of Khāravela, which is assigned by Dr. B. M. Barua to the second quarter of the 1st century A. D.¹

At Sāgala, a city of wealth and affluence, ruled King Milinda
 Tert versed in arts and sciences and skilled
 in casuistry. He had his doubts and
 puzzles with regard to Buddha's doctrines and utterances and
 other knotty problems of Buddhism. To resolve these doubts he
 went to Nāgasena, the famous arahat ; and then began a wonder-
 ful conversational discourse between the two. But before the
 discourse really begins, we are introduced by our author to the
 previous birth history (Pubba-yoga) of these two personages and
 then to the contents of various sorts of puzzles.

We are told that Nāgasena in a previous birth of his was one
 of the members of the religious brotherhood
 (a) Book I near the Ganges, where Milinda, in his turn,
 in a previous birth of his, was a novice. In accordance with his
 acts of merit in that birth and his aspirations, this novice after
 wandering from existence to existence came to be born at last as
 King of the city of Sāgala, a very learned, eloquent and wise man.
 Now he had doubts and problems in his mind, and in vain did he
 seek the venerable Kassapa and Makkhali Gosāla to have them
 solved while all these were happening. The brother of the religi-
 ous brother-hood came to be born in a Brahman family as Nāga-
 sena. When he was seven years old he learnt the three Vedas
 and all else that could be learnt in a Brahmanical house. Then
 he left the house, meditated in solitude for sometime and he was
 afterwards admitted into the order as a novice by a venerable
 Buddhist priest, Rohana and was eventually converted into
 Buddhism. He was then sent to Pātaliputra to the venerable
 Buddhist sage Dhammarakkhita where he became an arahat.
 Now while he was living there he was invited at the Guarded
 Slope in the Himalayas by an innumerable company of arahats
 who were being harassed by King Milinda who delighted in
 putting knotty questions and arguments this way and that.
 Nāgasena readily accepted the challenge of Milinda and went to

1 Barua— *Old Bramhi Inscriptions*, p. 172.

Sāgala attended by a band of samanas. Just at that time Milinda had met Āyupāla, an Arahāt of the Saṅkheyya monastery, whom too he confronted with his casuistry. Nāgasena who was then living at the same hermitage came now to the rescue of the Order. Milinda with five hundred Yonakas then repaired to Nāgasena, and after mutual exchanges of courtesy and compliments the conversational discourse began.

The first discourse turned on the distinguishing characteristics of moral qualities. Milinda enquired how

(b) Book II

Reverend Nāgasena was known and what what was his name. Upon it Nāgasena initiated a discussion on the relation between name and individuality, and explained it thoroughly with the help of an instructive simile. The king then, obviously to test his knowledge, put to him a riddle and questioned him as to his seniority of years. Nāgasena fully vindicated himself, and the king then satisfied sought the permission of the Reverend Arahāt to discuss with him. The Arahāt in his turn told that he was agreeable to a discussion if he would only discuss as a scholar and not as a king. Then one by one Milinda put questions and Nāgasena solved them with his wonderful power of argumentation, simile, and illustration. He contended that there was no soul in the breath; he explained one by one the aim of Buddhist renunciation, the Buddhist idea of reincarnation, the distinction between wisdom and reasoning, and wisdom and intelligence. He further contended that virtue was the basis of the five moral powers requisite for the attainment of nirvāpa and that other moral powers were faith, perseverance, mindfulness and meditation which a recluse should develop in himself. The characteristic marks of each of these qualities were expounded in detail, and their power to put an end to evil dispositions. A very important metaphysical question is next discussed wherein Nāgasena wants to establish with the help mainly of illuminating illustrations that when a man is born, he remains neither the same nor the another; like a child and a growing man through different stages of life. 'One comes into being' another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. In this connection it is discussed if a man who will not be reborn feel any painful sensation; and then what is

after all reborn. A discourse is next initiated as to what is meant by 'time', the root and the ultimate point of it. This leads to another discussion as to the origin and developments of qualities, as to other existence or non-existence of anything as soul, which in its turn most naturally leads to a further discussion as regards thought-perception and sight-perception, and lastly to the distinguishing characteristics of contact or phassa, sensation or vedanā, idea of saññā, purpose or cetanā, perception or viññāna, reflection or vitakka, and investigation or vicāra. In all these discourses and solutions, Milinda is fully convinced and is full of admiration for Nāgasena.

The second discourse turns on the question of removal of difficulties and dispelling of doubts in the
(c) Book III way of attaining a life of renunciation.

The various questions as to these doubts are not always related to one another, but all of them are instructive and helpful to solve doubts in the mind of Milinda, the King. He wants to know why really there is so much distinction between man and man, how renunciation is brought about, what is the character of the influence of Karma, and what is after all nirvāṇa and whether all men attain it or not. The interesting point raised next is whether rebirth and transmigration are one and the same thing, and if there is a soul or any being that transmigrates from this body to another. Among other doubts that conflicted Milinda were if the body were very dear to the Buddhist recluse, if the Buddha had really thirty-two bodily marks of a great man, if the Buddha was pure in conduct, if ordination was a good thing. Milinda further enquired of Nāgasena what had been the real distinction between one full of passion, and one without passion, and lastly what was meant by an arahat who recollected what was past and done long ago. Then there were also other difficulties of various kinds which were all solved by the venerable Nāgasena. Milinda was satisfied that he had propounded his questions rightly, and the replies had been made rightly. Nāgasena thought that the questions had been well-put and right replies had been given.

This book deals with solutions of puzzles arising out of contradictory statements made by the Buddha.

(d) Book IV

These puzzles were many and varied and were distributed in eighty-two dilemmas which were put by Milinda to Nāgasena, who, in his turn, gave satisfactory explanations to each of them. The contradictions in the Buddha's utterances were more apparent than real. About them strife was likely thereafter to arise, and it was difficult to find a teacher like Nāgasena. So an early solution of these dilemmas was imperative for the guidance of intending disciples of the Order. These dilemmas are particularly interesting as well as instructive and it is profitable to be acquainted here with a few examples. Milinda was puzzled by a dilemma — If the Buddha has really quite passed away, what is the good of paying honour to his relics? Nāgasena said to him, "Blessed One, O King, is entirely set free from life and he accepts no gifts. If gods or men put up a building to contain the jewel treasure of the relics of a Tathāgata who does not accept their gift, still by that homage paid to the attainment of the supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of his wisdom do they themselves attain to one or other of the three glorious states (Tisso Sampattiyo). There are other reasons too. For, gods and men by offering reverence to the relics, and the jewel treasure of the wisdom of a Tathāgata, though he has died away, and accepts it not, can cause goodness to arise in them, and by that goodness can assuage and can allay the fever and the torment of the three-fold fire. And even if the Buddha has passed away, the possibility of receiving the three attainments is not removed. Beings, oppressed by the sorrow of becoming, can, when they desire the attainments, still receive them by means of the jewel treasure of his relics and of his doctrines, discipline, and teaching. Like the seeds which through the earth attain to higher developments are the gods and men who, through the jewel treasure of the relics and the wisdom of the Tathāgata — though he has passed away and consent not to it — being firmly rooted by the roots of merit, become like unto trees casting a goodly shade by means of the trunk of contemplation, the sap of true doctrine, the branches of righteousness, the flowers of emancipation, and the fruition of

monkhood. It is for all these reasons that even when the Buddha has passed away, an act done to him notwithstanding his not consenting thereto, is still of value and bears fruit.

A second dilemma that conflicted Milinda was, how can the Buddha be omniscient, when it is said that he reflects or thinks? To solve this dilemma, Nāgasena analysed the thinking powers of men from the lowest individual full of lust, ill-will and delusion to the highest Buddha having all knowledge and bearing about in themselves the ten-fold power and whose thinking powers are on every point brought quickly into play, and act with ease. He then classified these different kinds of thinking powers into seven classes. The thinking power of the Supreme Buddhas is of the last or seventh class, and its stuff is very fine, the dart is highly tempered and its discharge is highly powerful. It altogether outclasses the other six and is clear and active in its high quality that is beyond an ordinary man's comprehension. It is because the mind of the Blessed One is so clear and active that the Blessed One has worked so many wonders and miracles. For his knowledge is dependent on reflection, and it is on reflection that he knows whatever he wishes to know. It is more rapid than that, and more easy in action in the all embracing knowledge of the Blessed One, more rapid than his reflection. His all-embracing knowledge is like the store-house of a great king who has stores of gold, silver and valuables, and all sorts of eatables; it is with the help of reflection that the Blessed One grasps easily and at once whatever he wants from the big store-house of his knowledge.

A third dilemma was, why did the Blessed One admit Devadatta to the Order, if he knew of his machinations? In giving a solution out of this dilemma Nāgaseaa told Milinda that the Blessed One was both full of mercy and wisdom. It was when he in his mercy and wisdom considered the life history of Devadatta that he perceived how having heaped up karma on karma, he would pass for an endless series of kalpas from torment to torment, and from perdition to perdition. And the Blessed One knew also that the infinite Karma of that man would, because he had entered the Order, become finite, and the sorrow caused by

the previous karma would also therefore become limited. But if that foolish person were not to enter the Order, then he would continue to heap up karma which would endure for a kalpa. And it was because he knew that that, in his mercy, he admitted him to the Order. And by doing so, the Blessed One acted like a clever physician, and made light the heavy sorrow of Devadatta who would have to suffer many hundreds of thousands of kalpas. For having caused schism in the Order, he (Devadatta) would no doubt suffer pain and misery in the purgatories, but that was not the fault of the Blessed One, but was the effect of his own karma. The Blessed One did in his case act like a surgeon who with all kind intent and for man's good smears a wound with burning ointment, cuts it with lancet, cauterises with caustic, and administers to it a salty wash. So did the Blessed One cause Devadatta to suffer such pain and misery that at the end he might be relieved of all pains and miseries. If he had not done so, Devadatta would have suffered torment in purgatory through a succession of existences, through hundreds of thousands of kalpas.

Of other puzzles that arose in Milinda's mind, mention may be made of three out of many. These were, for example, how was it that an Arahāt could do no wrong; why did not the Buddha promulgate all the rules of the Order at once and how could Vessantara's giving away of his children be approved. Speaking as to the faults of the Arahāt, Nāgasena told Milinda that the Arahāts, like lay men, could be guilty of an offence, but their guilt was neither due to carelessness or thoughtlessness. Sins are of two kinds — those which are a breach of the ordinary moral law, and those which are a breach of the Rules of the Order. Now, an Arahāt, in the true sense of the term, cannot be guilty of a moral offence; but it is possible for him to be guilty of any breach of the Rules of the Order of which he might have been ignorant. Next, speaking as to the method of promulgating the Rules from time to time and not all at once, Nāgasena quoted the authority of the Tathāgata; for the Tathāgata thought thus, "If I were to lay down the whole of the hundred and fifty rules at once the people would be filled with fear, those of them who were willing to enter the Order would refrain from doing so,

they would not trust my words, and through their want of faith they would be liable to rebirth in states of woe. An occasion arises, therefore, illustrating it with a religious discourse, will I lay down, when the evil has become manifest, each Rule." As to the justification of King Vessantara's giving away his beloved sons in slavery to a Brāhmaṇa, and his dear wife to another man as wife. Nāgasena told Milinda that he who gave gifts in such a way as to bring even sorrow upon others, that giving of his brought forth fruit in happiness and it would lead to rebirths in states of bliss. Even if that be an excessive gift it was not harmful, rather it was praised, applauded and approved by the wise in the world.

The last four dilemmas of Milinda are concerned with the difficult problem of Nirvāṇa. Is Nirvāṇa all bliss or partly pain; the form, the figure, duration, etc., of Nirvāṇa, the realisation of Nirvāṇa, and the place of Nirvāṇa, these are the puzzles that inflicted the mind of the King. Nāgasena solved them all one by one to the satisfaction of Milinda. According to him Nirvāṇa is bliss unalloyed, there is no pain in it. It is true that those who are in quest of Nirvāṇa afflict their minds and bodies, restrain themselves in standing, walking and sitting, lying, and in food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subjection, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus, in pain, sought after Nirvāṇa, that they enjoy Nirvāṇa which is all bliss. By no metaphor, or explanation, or reason, or argument can its form or figure, or duration, or measure be made clear, even if it be a condition that exists. But there is something as to its qualities which can be explained. Nirvāṇa is untarnished by any evil dispositions. It allays the thirst of the craving after lusts, desire for future life, and the craving after worldly prosperity. It puts an end to grief, it is an ambrosia. Nirvāṇa is free from the dead bodies of evil dispositions, it is mighty and boundless, it is the abode of great men, and Nirvāṇa is all in blossom of purity, of knowledge and emancipation. Nirvāṇa is the support of life, for it puts an end to old age and death; it increases the power of Iddhi (miracle) of all beings, it is the source to all beings of the beauty of holiness, it puts a stop to suffering in all beings, to the suffering arising from evil

dispositions, and it overcomes in all beings the weakness which arises from hunger and all sorts of pain. Nirvāṇa is not born, neither does it grow old, it dies not, it passes not away, it has no rebirth, it is unconquerable, thieves carry it not off, it is not attached to anything, it is the sphere in which Arahats move, nothing can obstruct it, and it is infinite. Nirvāṇa satisfies all desires, it causes delight and it is full of lustre. It is hard to attain to, it is unequalled in the beauty of its perfume, it is praised by all the Noble Ones. Nirvāṇa is beautiful in Righteousness, it has a pleasant taste. It is very exalted, it is immovable, it is accessible to all evil dispositions, it is a place where no evil dispositions can grow, it is free from desire to please and from resentment.

As to the time of Nirvāṇa, it is not past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not produced, nor producible. Peaceful, blissful and delicate, Nirvāṇa always exists. And it is that which he who orders his life aright, grasping the idea of all things according to the teaching of the conquerors realises by his wisdom. It is known by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence, by peace, by calm, by bliss, by happiness, by delicacy, by purity and by freshness. Lastly as to the place of Nirvāṇa, there is no spot either in the East, or the South, or the West or the North, either above or below where Nirvāṇa is. Yet it exists just as fire exists even if there is no place where it is stored up. If a man rubs two sticks together, the fire comes out, so Nirvāṇa exists for a man who orders his life well. But there is such a place on which a man may stand, and ordering his life aright, he can realise Nirvāṇa, and such a place is virtue.

This book deals with solutions of problems of inference.

Milinda asked Nāgasena how they could

(e) Book V

know that Buddha had ever lived. Nāga-

senā told him that as the existence of ancient kings was known by their royal insignia, their crown, their slippers and their fans, so was the existence of Buddha known by the royal insignia used by the Blessed One and by the thirty-five constituent qualities that make up Arahatship which formed the subject of discourse delivered by Gotama before his death to his disciples. By these can the whole world of gods and men know and believe

that the Blessed One existed once. By this reason, by this argument, through this inference, can it be known that the Blessed One lived. Just at the sight of a beautiful and well-planned city, one can know the ability of the architect, so can one, on examining the City of Righteousness which the Buddha built up, come to know of his ability and existence.

The sixth book opens with an interesting discussion. Can lay men attain Nirvāṇa? Nāgasena told that

(f) Book VI

even lay men and women could see face to face the condition of peace, the supreme good, Nirvāṇa. 'But, what purpose then do extra vows serve?' asked Milinda again. To this Nāgasena replied that the keeping of vows implied a mode of livelihood without evil, it has blissful calm as its fruit, it avoided blame and it had such twenty-eight good qualities on account of which all the Buddhas alike longed for them and held them dear. And whosoever thoroughly carried out the vows, they became completely endowed with eighteen good qualities without a previous keeping of the vows by those who became endowed with these good qualities, there was no realisation of Arahatsip; and there was no perception of the truth to those who were not purified by the virtues that depended on the keeping of the vows. Nāgasena next explained in detail with the help of a good number of similies the character that came as a result of keeping the vows for the good growth of the seed of renunciation and for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. But those who being unworthy take the vows incur a two-fold punishment and suffer the loss of the good that may be in him. He shall receive disgrace and scorn and suffer torment in the purgatory. On the contrary, those who being worthy take the vows with the idea of upholding the truth deserve a two-fold honour. For he comes near and dear to gods and men, and the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own. Nāgasena then gave Milinda the details of the thirteen extra vows by which a man should bathe in the mighty waters of Nirvāṇa. Upasena the elder, practised all these purifying merits of the vows and Blessed One was delighted at his conduct. The thirty graces of the true recluse are detailed next and whosoever is endowed with these graces is said to have abounded in the peace and bliss of Nirvāṇa.

Sāriputta, according to Nāgasena, was one like this who became in this life of such exalted virtue that he was the one who, after the Master, set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of the Kingdom of Righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One.

The seventh or the last book is concerned with a detailed list of the similes or qualities of Arahatsip; (g) Book VII of these similes thirty-eight have been lost and sixty-seven are still preserved. Any member of the Order who wishes to realise Arahatsip must be endowed with these one hundred and five qualities. Milinda silently and reverently heard detailed descriptions of these qualities; and at the end he was full of admiration for the venerable Thera Nāgasena for his wonderful solution of the three hundred and four puzzles. He was filled with joy of heart; and all pride was suppressed within him. He ceased to have any more doubts and became aware of the virtue of the religion of the Buddhas. He then entreated Nāgasena to be accepted as a supporter of the Faith and as a true convert from that day onward as long as life should last. Milinda did homage to Nāgasena and had a vihāra built called the 'Milinda-Vihāra' which he handed over to Nāgasena.

The Milinda-Paṇḥa like the Bhagavat Gītā is the most interesting and instructive literary production of an age which is heroic. Its long narrative is composed of a long series of philosophical contest between two great heroes, King Milinda on the one hand and the Thera Nāgasena on the other. A pubba-yoga or prelude is skilfully devised to arouse a curiosity in the reader to witness the contest and watch the final result with a great eagerness. On the whole, the Milinda successfully employs a novel literary device to put together the isolated and disconnected controversies in the Kathāvatthu as representing different stages in the progress of the philosophical battle, and in doing so it has been in one place guilty of the literary plagiarism in respect of introducing King Milinda as a contemporary of the six heretical teachers on the model of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta.

Alasando (dīpo) — the island town of Alexandria on the Place and country names Indus, founded by Alexander.
in the Milinda-Paṇḥa

Yavana (Bactria) — That province watered by the Oxus or the Amu Daria and the premier satrapy of the Achæmenian kings ; later on came to be conquered by Alexander and in 321 B. C. fell to the share of Seleukos Nikator. Hundred years later the Bactrian Greeks threw off their allegiance to their Seleukidan lord, asserted independence, and gradually moved towards India to establish there an independent principality. Milinda or Menander was one of the kings of this line of Bactrian Greeks who came to establish their power in India.

Bharukaccha — an ancient seaport equivalent to modern Broach in the Kaira district in Gujrat. Barygaza of the Greek geographers.

Cīna (country) — China.

Gandhāra (ratṭham) — an important ancient kingdom that had its capital at Puruṣapura or Peshwar in the North-western Frontier Province.

Kalīṅga — an ancient kingdom on the Orissan coast, identical with the modern Ganjam region. All older works, such as the Jātaka, Mahāvastu and Dīgha Nikāya, mention a kingdom named Kalīṅga with its capital Dantapura ages before Buddha's time.

Kalasa (gāma) — a village situated in the Alasanda island on the Indus. The birth place of Milinda.

Kajāṅgala — mentioned in very early Buddhist Pali texts as a locality somewhere near Rajmahal.

Kasmīr (ratṭham) — a famous kingdom in the North of India.

Kosala — an ancient province identical with South Bihar, capital Śrāvastī.

Kolopattanam — an ancient seaport probably on the Coromandel coast.

Magadha (ratṭham) — an ancient kingdom identical with East Bihar ; capital Pāṭaliputra.

Madhurā (nigamo) — an ancient city identical with modern Mathurā. Coins of Menander have been found here.

Nikumba (ratṭham) — somewhere in the north-west of India.

Sāgala (nagaram) — identical with Sākala, modern Sialkot, capital city of the King Milinda.

Sāketa — identical with ancient Ayodhyā country.

Saka country — the kingdom of the Sakas or Scythians in the time of Menander was confined to the Bactrian lands south of the Oseus and to Sogdiana to the north.

Sovira — ancient Sauvira, the country of the Sauvira tribe adjacent to the Sindhu country.

Suratṭho (nigamo) -- an ancient seaport identical with modern Surat.

Bārānasi — modern Benares.

Suvannabhūmi — identical probably with Lower Burma and Malay Peninsula.

Pātaliputra (nagaram) — an ancient city, capital of Magadha near modern Patna.

Udicca — a country in the north-west of India.

Vaṅga — identical with East Bengal.

Vilāta — an ancient kingdom somewhere in the north-west of India.

Takkola -- an ancient seaport near Thaton in Lower Burma.

Ujjeni — identical with ancient Ujjayini, capital of the ancient Malwa country.

Greek (country) — ancient Greece in Eastern Europe.

1. Gaṅgā — The Ganges.

Names of rivers in the
Milinda-Paṇḥa

2. Acīravatī — an ancient river in Eastern India flowing through the Kosala country past Śrāvastī.

3. Yamunā — a tributary of the Ganges, the Isamos of the Greeks.

4. Sarabhū — identical with Sarayū, a tributary of the Ganges.

5. Mahī — a river south of the Vindhyas flowing into the Bay of Bengal. These five rivers are often mentioned together in the *Pitakas*.

6. Sarassati — an ancient tributary of the Indus.

7. Vitāṃsa — identical probably with Vitastā, a tributary of the Indus, the Hydaspes of the Greeks.

8. Candrabhāgā — identical with modern Chenab, a tributary of the Indus.

A. Books silently referred to :—

Books referred to and mentioned in the Milinda-Pañho 1. Dīgha Nikāya, 2. Kathāvatthu, 3. Aṅgutara Nikāya, 4. Mahāvagga, 5. Cullavagga, 6. Vessantara Jātaka, 7. Sivi Jātaka, 8. Majjhima Nikāya, 9. Sutta Vibhaṅga, 10. Cātuma Sutta, 11. Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta, 12. Amba Jātaka, 13. Dummedha Jātaka, 14. Tittira Jātaka, 15. Khantivāda Jātaka, 16. Cūla-nandiya Jātaka, 17. Taccha-Sūkara Jātaka, 18. Cariyā-piṭaka, 19. Silavanāga Jātaka, 20. Sabbadātha Jātaka, 21. Apañṇaka Jātaka, 22. Nigrodha-miga Jātaka, 23. Mahāpaduma Jātaka, 24. Ummagga Jātaka, 25. Sutta Nipāta, 26. Thera Gāthā, 27. Saṃyutta Nikāya, 28. Dhammapada and 29. Nigrodha Jātaka.

Books or passages of books mentioned by name 1. Vinaya, Sutta, Abhidhamma, 2. The Suttantas, 3. Dhamma-Saṃgaṇī, 4. Vibhaṅga, 5. Dhātu-Kathā, 6. Puggala Paññatti, 7. Kathā-Vatthu, 8. Yamaka, 9. Paṭṭhāna, 10. The Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 11. The Vinaya Piṭaka, 12. The Sutta Piṭaka, 13. Mahā-Samaya Suttanta - (Dīgha Nikāya), 14. Mahā-maṅgala Suttanta - (Sutta Nipāta), 15. Sama-citta-pariyāya Suttanta - (unknown), 16. Rāhulvāda Suttanta (Majjhima), 17. Parābhava Suttanta - (Sutta Nipāta), 18. Saṃyutta Nikāya, 19. The Sutta Nipāta, 20. Ratana Sutta - (Sutta Nipāta), 21. Khandha Parittā - (not traced), 22. Mora Parittā, 23. Dhajagga Parittā - (Jātaka Book), 24. Ātānātiya Parittā - (Dīgha Nikāya), 25. Aṅgulimāla Parittā - (Majjhima Nikāya), 26. The Pātimokkha, 27. Dhamma-dāyāda Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya), 28. Dakkhina Vibhaṅga of the Majjhima Nikāya, 29. Cariyā Piṭaka, 30.

Navangam Buddha Vacanam, 31. Dīgha Nikāya, 32. Majjhima Nikāya, 33. Khuddaka Nikāya, 34. Mahā Rāhulovāda (Majjhima Nikāya), 35. Purā-bheda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 36. Kalaha Vivāda Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 37. Cūla-Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 38. Mahā-Vyūha Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 39. Tuvātaka Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 40. Sāriputta Suttanta (Sutta Nipāta), 41. Mahāsamaya Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 42. Sakkha-Paṇha Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 43. Tirokudda Suttanta (Khuddaka Pāṭha), 44. Ekuttara Nikāya (Anguttara Nikāya), 45. Dhaniya Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), 46. Kummūpama Suttanta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 47. Sacca Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 48. Vidhura Puṇṇaka Jātaka, 49. Dhammapada, 50. Sutasoma Jātaka, 51. Kaṇha Jātaka, 52. Lomahaṃsana Pariyāya, 53. Cakkavāka Jātaka, 54. Culla Nārada Jātaka, 55. Lakkhaṇa Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 56. Bhallāṭiya Jātaka, 57. Parinibbāna Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya).

V. Trenckner has edited the book with a general index by C. J. Rylands and an index of gāthās by Mr. Rhys Davids. It has been translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids and included in the Sacred Books of the East Series as Vols. XXXV-XXXVI. There is a Sinhalese translation of the Milinda Paṇho by Hinaṭi Kumbure under the title "Milinda prashnaya," Colombo, 1900.

The following books may be consulted :—

1. Le Bonheur du Nirvāṇa extrait du Milindapprashnaya ; ou Miroir des doctrines sacrees traduit du Pali par Lewis de Sylva Pandit. (Revue de l'histoire des religions, Paris, 1885).

2. Deux Traductions chinoises du Milindapaṇho Par E. Specht avec introduction par S. Levi.

3. Chinese translations of the Milindapaṇho by Takakusu, J. R. A. S. 1896. This paper contains a number of Chinese translations in existence, the date of the two translations and the story of the discussions of King Milinda and Bhikkhu Nāgasena found in the Buddhist sūtra called Saṃyutta-Ratnapitaka.

4. Historical basis for the questions of King Menander from the Tibetan by L. A. Waddel, J. R. A. S., 1897. This paper points out that the Milindapaṇha is known to the Tibetans.

4 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

5. *Nāgasena* by Mrs. Rhys Davids, J. R. A. S., 1891.
6. *Milinda Questions* by Mrs. Rhys Davids, 1930.
7. Critical and philological notes to the first chapter of the *Milindapañha* by V. Trenckner revised and edited by Dr. Anderson, J. P. T. S., 1908.
8. Paul Pelliot - Les noms propres dans les traductions chinoises du *Milindapañho*. (*Journal Asiatic*, Paris, 1914).
9. There is a Bengali edition of this work published by the *Bangiya Sāhitya Parishat*, Calcutta, which can vie, if it can vie at all, in its uncritical method and blunders.
10. F. Otto Schrader, *Die Fragen des König Menandros* (Berlin 1903).
11. G. Cagnola, *Dialoghi del Re Milinda* (Italian translation of the *Milinda Pañha*).

The *Abhidhammāvatāra* was written by Buddhadatta; and it has been in continuous use amongst the students of the Buddhist scriptures. Buddhadatta was held as a personage of exceptionally high scholarly attainments by Buddhaghosa and others. It is interesting to note the incidents which led to the writing of this work. Buddhadatta was going from Ceylon to India when he was met by Buddhaghosa who was then proceeding to Ceylon for the purpose of rendering the Sinhalese commentaries into Pali. Knowing the mission of Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta was highly pleased and spoke thus; " When you finish the commentaries, please send them up to me that I may summarise your labours," Buddhaghosa consented to comply with his request and the Pali commentaries were accordingly placed in the hand of Buddhadatta who summed up the commentaries on the *Abhidhamma* in the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and that on the *Vinaya* in the *Vinayavinicchaya*¹. He was the author of the *Rūpārūpavibhāga* and of the commentary of the *Buddhavaṃsa*. The *Abhidhammāvatāra* is written partly in prose and partly in verse. It discusses the following points :—

1 Vide *Buddhadatta's Manual*, p. xix.

1. citta, 2. nibbāna, 3. cetasika (that which relates to the mind), 4. ārammaṇa (object ideation), 5. vipāka citta (consequence of mindfulness), 6. rūpa (form), 7. Paññatti (designation), etc.

Rūpārūpavibhāga deals with rūpa, arūpa, citta, cetasika, etc. It is written in prose. Readers are referred to my work, 'The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa' (Ch. IV) for a further study of Buddhaddatta and his works.

A. P. Buddhaddatta, a Bhikkhu of Ceylon, has edited Buddhaddatta's Manuals or summaries of Abhidhamma (Abhidhammāvātāra and Rūpārūpavibhāga) for the first time for the P. T. S., London.

The Saccasaṅkhepa is a religious work on truth written by Dhammapāla Thera. Malalasekera points out that there seems to be some uncertainty as to the authorship and date of the Saccasaṅkhepa. The Saddhammasaṅgaha assigns it to Ānanda¹. The Saccasaṅkhepa has been edited by Dhammārāma Bhikkhu. There are five chapters in it dealing with rūpa (form), vedanā (sensation), cittapavatti (mind), and pakippakasaṅgaha and Nibbāna. It is known as the summary of the truth published by the P. T. S. in J. P. T. S., 1917-1919. It consists of 387 stanzas.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha has served for probably eight centuries as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Burma and Ceylon, and a whole literature of exegesis has grown up around it, the latest additions to which are but of yesterday. The manual is ascribed to a teacher named Anuruddha; but nothing is known about him except the fact that he had compiled two other treatises on philosophy, and one of them was written while the author was at Kañcīpur or Conjeeveram. Burmese tradition asserts that he was a Thera of Ceylon and wrote the compendium at the Sinhalese vihāra founded by Somadevi, Queen of King Vattagāmaṇi, who flourished between 88-76 B. C., a date fictitious-

1 The Pali Literature of Ceylon, p. 1

ly early for the book. In fact, Anuruddha is believed to have lived earlier than 12th but later than the 8th century A. D. Sāriputta compiled a paraphrase to this book. The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha has been edited and published in J. P. T. S., 1883 and translated with notes by Shwe Zan Aung and revised by Mrs. Rhys Davids under the name of the compendium of Philosophy included in the P. T. S. translation series.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha is classed in Burmese bibliography under a classified list of philosophical manuals, nine in number. They are :--

1. Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha, by Anuruddha, 2. Paramattha Vinicchaya, by Anuruddha, 3. Abhidhammāvatāra, by Buddhādatta, 4. Rūpārūpavibhāṇa, by Buddhādatta, 5. Sacca Sankhepa, by Dhammapāla, 6. Mohavivchedanī, by Kessapa, 7. Khemapakaraṇa, by Khema, 8. Nāmācāra-dīpaka, by Saddhamma Jotipāla, and 9. Nāmarūpapariccheda, by Anuruddha.

The Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha, because of its exclusively condensed treatment, stimulated a large growth of ancillary works, of which the following have up-till-now been known.

A. Four Tīkāś or Commentaries : 1. Porāṇa Tīkā by Navavimala Buddhi of Ceylon, 2. Abhidhammattha Vibhāvanī by Sumaṅgala of Ceylon, 3. Sankhepa-Vaṇṇanā by Saddhamma Jyotipāla of Burma, and 4. Paramattha-dīpanī Tīkā, by Ledi Sadaw of Burma.

B. A 'Key' to the Tīkā-gyaw, entitled Manisāramaṇju by Ariyavamsa of Saggaing, Burma.

C. A commentary entitled Madhu-Sārattha-dīpanī, by Mahānanda of Hanthawaddy, Burma.

D. A number of works, not in Pali, but in Burmese :

1. Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha-madhu, a modern work by Mogaung Sadaw, 2. Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha-gandhi, a modern work, by Payagi Sadaw, 3. Paramattha-Sarūpa-bhedanī, by Visuddhārāma Sadaw, 4. Abhidhammattha-Sarūpa-dīpaka, by

the late Myobyingyi, and 5. a number of analytical works entitled *Aksauk*.

The *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* covers very largely the same range of subject matter as that of the *Visuddhimagga*, though the amplitude of treatment and the order and emphasis of treatment in each are different. But they are to some extent complimentary, and as such still hold the field as modern text books for students of Buddhism in Buddhist countries.

The *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha* is so highly condensed that it consists, for the most part, of terse, jejune sentences, which are not easily intelligible to lay readers. It is, therefore, profitable to have a resume of the main topics and problems of the whole work as a Manual of Buddhist Psychology and Philosophy.

Mind is ordinarily defined as that which is conscious of an object; and the Buddhists have tried to frame their definition with the help of fifty-two mental attributes or properties enumerated in Part II of the *Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha*. But the definition of mind is also a division of mind, and our author's division into *vedanā*, *ñāṇa*, and *saṅkhāra* corresponds to Bain's division of the mind into Feeling, Thought or intellect, and will or volition.

Consciousness (*viññāna*) has, therefore, been defined as the relation between *ārammaṇika* (subject) and *ārammaṇa* (object). In this relation the object presented is termed *paccaya* (the relating thing) and the subject, *paccayuppanna* (the thing related). The two terms are thus relative.

The object of Consciousness is either object of Sense or Object of thought. Object of sense sub-divides itself into five classes - sight, sound, smell, taste and touch, which are collectively termed *pañcārammaṇa* (five-fold object). The object of thought also consists of five sub-clauses: *citta* (mind), *cetasika* (mental properties), *pasāda*, *rūpa* and *sukhumārūpa* (sensitive and subtle qualities of body), *paññāti* (name, idea, notion, concept), and *nibbāna*. These are collectively termed *dhammārammaṇa*.

The Paññatti object is of several sub-clauses. Paññatti is either
 (1) that which makes known (paññāpetitti);
 Paññatti or (2) that which is made known (paññāpi-
 yatitti), corresponding to our author's terminology -Saddapaññatti
 and Atthapaññatti which are undoubtedly relative terms. Sadda-
 paññatti is a name (of a thing) which, when expressed in words,
 or represented by a sign is called a 'term'. It is synonymous
 with nāma-paññatti. Atthapaññatti is the idea or notion of the
 attributes of a thing made known or represented by a name. In
 other words, it is equivalent to 'concept' and is sub-divided into
 various classes. Paññatti has been distinguished from Para-
 mattha in the sense that the former is Nominal and conceptual-
 whereas the latter is Real.

The object comprehending as it does, the subject, is wider,
 more extensive than the latter. This is probably one reason why
 greater prominence is given to the object paṭṭhāna. In Buddhism
 there is no actor apart from the action, no percipient apart from
 perception. In other words, there is no conscious subject behind
 consciousness.

'Like the current of the river' (nadi soto viya) is the Bud-
 dhist idea of existence. For no two conse-
 Life and Ancient view cutive moments is the fabric of the body
 the same, and this theory of the ceaseless change or flux is called
 anicca-dhamma which is applied alike to the body and the mind,
 or the Being and thought respectively. The dividing line between
 these two is termed mano-dvāra, the Threshold of Consciousness.
 Life, then, in the Buddhist view of things, is like an ever-
 changing river, having its source in birth, its goal in death,
 receiving from the tributary streams of sense constant accretions
 to its flood, and ever dispensing to the world around it the
 thought-stuff it has gathered by the way.

Subliminal Consciousness is either kāma, rūpa or arūpa.
 Primary classification of Consciousness Supraliminal consciousness is normal,
 supernormal, and transcendental. Normal
 consciousness is termed kāmaccitta, so called
 because desire or kāma prevails on this plan of existence. Super-
 normal consciousness is termed Mahagālācitta because it has

reached the sublime state, and is further distinguished as rūpa, or arūpacitta.

Consciousness in this four-fold classification is primarily composed of seven mental properties (cetasikas) – namely, contact (phassa), feeling (vedanā), perception (saññā), will or volition (cetanā), oneness of object (ekaggatā), psychic life (jīvitindriya) and attention (manasikāra). These seven mental properties are termed sabba-citta-sādhāraṇa or universals, because they are common to every class and state of consciousness, or every separate act of mind or thought. There are forty-five different properties distinguishing one class from another. And those, in varying combinations, give rise to the eighty-nine classes of consciousness enumerated in Part I of the Abhidhammaṭṭha-saṅgaha, or according to a broader classification, one hundred and twenty-one. The seven mental properties have been enumerated above; there are, besides these, six particular specific or accidental properties. These are vitakka, vicāra, adhimokkha, viriya, pīti and chanda. The four universal bad cetasikas or properties are moha, ahirika, anottappa and uddhacca. Besides these, there are also two specific cetasikas or properties, lobha and diṭṭhi. All these properties are discussed and explained in the body of the book.

Of these and other classes of consciousness making up a total of eighty-nine, some function as causes or karma, some as resultants or vipāka, and some are non-casual or kriyā. Besides these three classes, there are two elements in every consciousness, the Constant and the Variable. The form of consciousness is the constant element, and is opposed to the matter of consciousness which constitutes the variable element. But in Buddhism, both subject and object are variable at every moment; and there are several forms of consciousness each of which may be designated a 'process of thought' whenever it takes place as a fact. To every separate state of consciousness which takes part in a process of thought as a functional state, either in the subjective form of the stream of being, or in the objective form of a conscious act of mind or thought, there are three phases – genesis

(uppāda), development (thiti), and dissolution (bhaṅga) – each of which is explained and discussed by the author in his *Manual* in all their processes and stages.

The possibility of the 'internal' presentation of all the six classes of objects mentioned above is that a sensation can be experienced, the Buddhists believe, without the corresponding objective stimulus. The possibility of Reflection proper is attributed to the relation termed 'proximate sufficient cause' by virtue of which (a) a sense impression once experienced in a sense cognition by way of the five doors, or (b) a previous experience of all internal intuition or cognition by way of the mind-door or (c) the idea once formed in the sequels of either, can never be lost. There are different processes of reflection in connection with Things Seen (dīṭṭha). But when an object that has not been actually sensed is constructed out of, and connected with these seen objects, it is termed 'object associated with things seen' (dīṭṭhi-sambandha). And the process of thought connected therewith is classed in the category of objects associated with things seen. The object constructed out of and connected with Things Heard (śuta object) is termed 'object associated with things heard' (śuta-sambandha). Any object constructed out of Things Cogitated (viññāta) and connected therewith is termed 'associated with things cogitated' (viññāta-sambandha). Any object in the category of Things Seen, Heard or Cogitated may either be past, present or future. When it is present, it is intuited as a vivid reality. The same forms hold good for all kinds of thought or reflection.

How is memory possible, if the object be not the same for any two consecutive moments in life. The answer is given in detail by the author. Each mental state is related to the next in at least four different modes of relation (paccaya) :-- Proximity (anantara), Contiguity (samanantara), Absence (natthi), and Abeyance (avigata). This four-fold relation is understood to mean that each expired state renders service to the next. In other words, each, on passing away, gives up the whole of its

Internal Intuition and
Reflection proper
(Suddha-manodvāra-
vithi)

Memory and Changing
Personality

energy to its successor : and this is how the memory is helped and retained.

The stage of apperception pertains to that active side of an existence (kamma-bhāva), which determines the passive side (upapatti-bhāva) of the next existence. The apperceptual act is thus a free, determining, casual act of thought, as distinguished from the mental states, which are fixed, determined and resultant acts (vipāka) of kamma. Volition, under favourable circumstances, is transformed into kamma. But volition (cetanā) in apperception on occasion of sense (pañca-dvārīka-javana) cannot possibly become kamma. Hence we must look to the volition involved in reflective or representative apperception (mañodvārīka-javana) for kamma, which according to the different characters of volition is classed in different types or varieties with distinct characteristics.

Interesting though is the phenomenon of dream, it is conspicuous in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha by its absence. Scattered references and sometimes systematic explanations have here and there been made in Buddhist works regarding forms of dream-thought, dreams-classified, theories of dreams, relation of dreams, relation of dream to sleep, etc.

The first essential qualification of the process of thought transition from the normal to the super-normal is 'purity of virtue or morals'. The next is meditation and concentration of thought. There are four moments of apperception during the transitional stage from normal to super-normal consciousness. The first is termed 'preparation', the second 'success', which is followed by the third called 'adaptation'. After the last moment of 'adoption' normal consciousness is cut off by the super-normal, and the transitional stage is superseded by the latter, known as the first Jhāna, and for one thought-moment, the person attaining it experiences ecstasy. Attainment in Jhāna is thus a very important psychological moment, marking an epoch in his mental experience for the person who succeeds in commanding

it. Jhāna is usually classified in five stages, and in the Fifth stage ecstatic concentration reaches its full development with the help of the continued voluntary exercise of the mind on an after-image to which it has been directed.

To attain super-intellectual powers (abhiññā) for an adept in the Fifth Jhāna, it will be necessary for him to go through a course of mental training in fourteen processes. Super-normal powers of will or Iddhi-vidhā may then be developed by means of the so-called four bases of Iddhi which involve respectively the development of Four dominant or predominant principles of purpose, effort, knowledge and wisdom. There are ten classes of Iddhi known to Buddhism, the last three of which constitute the Iddhi-vidhā, and are used as a basis for the willing process.

With a slight difference in procedure in mental attitudes and mood of thought, the same forms of the transitional, inductive, or sustained and retrospective processes of Fifth-rūpa Jhāna obtain in the case of the Four Arūpa Jhānas. When an adept in the Fifth Rūpa-Jhāna, who has repeatedly induced the same through any one of the ten circles, with the exception of space, erroneously believes that all physical pain and misery are due to the existence of the body, and reflects on the relative grossness of this jhāna, he wishes to attain the first arūpa-jhāna, which he considers to be very calm and serene.

A person who wishes to transcend the experience of this conditioned world must first of all cultivate 'purity of views' or diṭṭhi-visuddhi. Next he must cultivate in succession, 'purity of transcending doubt' or Kaṅkhā-vitarāṇa-visuddhi, 'Ten modes of Insight' or Vipassanā-nāṇas or in other words the contemplative insight, enumerated and explained in the Text. All these ten kinds of insight are collectively termed 'purity of intellectual culture'. The matured insight of equanimity receives the special designation of 'insight of discernment leading to uprising', because it invariably leads to the Path, conceived as a 'Rising out of'. It

is also styled as the 'mouth or gate of Emancipation' (Vimokkha-mukha).

Emancipation has a triple designation, namely the 'Signless' or animitta, the 'Undesired' or appanīhita, and the 'void' or suññatā. Emancipation itself, whether of the Path, the Fruit, or Nibbāna, also receives the same triad of names, according as it is preceded by the contemplation of things by 'uprising discernment' as either impermanent, or evil, or substantial.

The purity of insight which is the gateway of Emancipation is also called Path-insight. One who has attained perfect purity of insight cuts off the heritage of the average man and evolves the lineage of the Transcendental. It is followed by a single moment of Path-Consciousness by which the first of the Four Noble Truths is clearly discerned. Error and doubt are got rid of, Nibbāna is intuited, and the eightfold Path-constituents are cultivated. These four simultaneous functions correspond to the Four Noble Truths. Just like the Four Noble Truths, there are four stages of the Path, which are called Four Paths. The attainer of the first is termed Sotāpanna who will have as yet to undergo seven more rebirths in the Kāmaloka; the attainer of the second is termed Sakadāgāmi who will have one more such rebirth. But the complete destruction of these two does not permit of another rebirth in the case of the Anāgāmi or Never returner of the Third Path. The wisdom of the Highest or Supreme Path is the same mental order of intelligence developed into the Perfected view of the highest order and is the last stage of 'purity of insight'.

Death is assigned to one of four causes: (1) the exhaustion of the force of the reproductive (janaka) kamma that has given rise to the existence in question, (2) the expiry of the maximum life-term possible for this particular generation, (3) the combination of both these causes, (4) the action of a stronger arresting Kamma that suddenly cuts off the reproductive kamma before the latter's force is spent or before the expiry of the life-term.

The decease of the Arhant is according to Buddhist philosophy, the Final Death. If the Arhant be of the class known as 'dry-visioned' (sukkhavipassaka) who does not practise Jhāna, his final death, which takes place on the kāma plane, occurs after apperception or retention of impressions. If he be proficient in Jhāna, final death may occur (a) after sustained Jhāna; or (b) after apperception in subsequent retrospect; or (c) after the moment of 'super-intellectual' knowledge (abhiññā); or finally, (d) after retrospection following the attainment of the Topmost Fruit.

The Nāmarūpapariccheda is another Abhidhamma manual written by Anuruddha Mahāthera. It consists of 1885 stanzas dealing with name and form.

The Nāmarūpasamāsa was written by Thera Khemācariya mostly in prose. It deals with citta and cetasikakathā.

The Sutta Saṅgaha is a later manual or compendium of select suttas and is primarily intended for those beginners who desire to have a knowledge of the Pali scriptural texts in a nutshell.

The Paritta or Mahāparitta, a small collection of texts gathered from the Suttapiṭaka, is more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book. The Paritta, learned by heart and recited on appropriate occasions, is to conjure various evils, physical and moral. Some of the miscellaneous extracts that make up the collection are of purely religious and ethical character. The use of the Paritta is said to have had the Buddha's sanction. The victory of the holymen was accomplished by the Paritta (Mabel Bode. *The Pali Literature of Burma*, pp. 3-4).

The Kammavācā¹ (words of the act) is an important Pali text of which two manuscripts are available. The first manuscript is a very

¹ There is a collection of Kammavācās made by Herbert Baynes (vide J. R. A. S., 1892, Art. III). Readers' attention is also invited to

handsome copy of the Kammavācā in Burmese ritual or tamarind seed letters printed with a thick black resinous gum on sixteen leaves of royal discorded pasohs each leaf containing six lines each side. It begins with upasampadā (ordination). The second manuscript consists of fifty-eight Talipat leaves of five lines in character which are midway between Burmese and Kambodian. Like the first it begins with upasampadā. Kammavācās are the set forms of proceedings followed or to be followed by the members of the Buddhist Saṅgha convening a meeting or a synod, in moving resolutions, in making proposals or amendments or in accepting or rejecting them.

The Sīmā-vivāda-vinicohaya-kathā which has been edited by J. P. Minayeff for the P. T. S., London, from a Sinhalese manuscript, contains some facts in the modern history of the Buddhist Church which will be of interest to the students of Pali literature. The language is not very easy and elegant. There are prose and poetry portions in it.

The Anāgatavaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff. The edition is based on a Burmese manuscript. It contains an account of the previous existence of Metteyyo with the three Buddhas, Sumitta, Metteyyo and Mahutta. The poem is written in about 150 stanzas. According to the Gandhavamsa, the original Anāgata-vamsa was the work of an elder named Kassapa.

"A New Kammavācā" by T. W. Rhys Davids and G. L. M. Clauson, and also to F. Spiegel's Kammavākya, Palice et Latine ed. vgl. ferner Dickson, J. R. A. S., Vol. VII, New Series. Read Upasampadā-Kammavācā, a Pali text with a translation and notes by J. F. Dickson, J. R. A. S., 1875. It is a Buddhist manual of the form and manner of ordering of priests and deacons. In Burmese Pali collections we find no less frequently than the Paritta of the laity, the Kammavācā of the mendicant order. These texts have a purely ecclesiastical use. The Kammavācā can of course be called literature but it must be noticed as a text representing the immovable tradition of old days in Burma. In the Kammavācās we find monotonous repetitions. The language is rigid. (Mabel Bode, The Pali Literature of Burma, pp. 6-7).

The Jinacarita is a Pali Kāvya consisting of 472 stanzas setting forth in delightful verse the life and career of the Conqueror or the Buddha composed by the Medhāṅkara of Ceylon while residing in a monastery built by King Vijayabāhu. There are at least four Medhāṅkaras famous in the literary history of Ceylon; and historical evidence tends to show that the youngest or the fourth in succession was the author of the Jinacarita. He was called Vanaratana Medhāṅkara, and was also the author of another Pali book 'Payoyasiddhi' and flourished under Bhuvaneka Bāhu 1st (1277-1288 A. D.¹). The mention of Medhāṅkara as the author of the Jinacarita is made in the 'Saddhamma-saṅgaha', and in the 'Gandha-vaiṃsa'.

The style of the poem is a queer admixture of the weak and prosy verses in some places, and of high poetic effusions in others. But the charm of the poem lies in its higher style, in the author's choice of graceful, though sometimes forcible images, and finally in the art of his descriptions and delicacy of his expressions. The Jinacarita betrays at almost every page, the intimate acquaintance of the author with classical Sanskrit literature, so much so, that the principal interest with regard to its style, lies in its sanskritisation.

The Jinacarita, however, throws no new light on the life of the Master; and we can hardly expect such a thing from a purely devotional work such as this. It is primarily based on the Nidānakathā, and it holds among the Buddhists of Ceylon, the same place that the Buddhacarita and the Lalitavistara hold among the Northern Buddhists. But what is strikingly surprising is that the Jinacarita is unknown both in Burma and Siam.

- 1 Jour. P. T. S., 1904-5, p. IV, Note on Medhāṅkara by T. W. Rhys Davids. But Mon. Charles Duroiselle thinks that "the poem was written in the monastery built by Vijayabāhu II, who ascended the throne, in A. D. 1186 and was the immediate successor of the famous King Parākramabāhu. Jinacarita, p. iii (Edited and translated by C. Duroiselle, Rangoon, 1906). Read also "Jinacarita", edited and translated by Dr. W. H. D. Rouse in the J. P. T. S., 1904-1905.

In the beautiful city of Amara, there was a Brahman youth,
wise and compassionate, handsome and

The Poem

pleasant, by name Sumedha. Hankering

after wealth and treasures he had none, for this bodily frame he had no attachment. He, therefore, left his pleasant house, went to the Himalayas, and there discovered the eight implements necessary for an ascetic. He put on the ascetic garb and within a week obtained the five High Powers and the eight Attainments, enjoying the bliss of mystic meditation. One day he came down from the sky, and lay himself down in a muddy portion of a road through which the Dipaṅkara Buddha with his disciples was to pass. He, the Dipaṅkara Buddha, was delighted at it, and foretold that the ascetic Sumedha, in times to come, should become a fully enlightened Buddha, by name Gotama. Sumedha did him homage, and then seated in meditation, he investigated those conditions that go to make a Buddha. Sumedha, searching for Nirvāṇa, endured many hardships while going through the continued succession of existences, fulfilling the virtue of charity. He fulfilled, moreover, the Perfections of Morality, of Self-abnegation, of wisdom, and all others, and came to the existence of Vessantara. Passing away thence, he was reborn in the city of Tusita, and afterwards had another rebirth in the city of Kapila through the noble King Suddhodana, and his Queen Māyā. He approached the bosom of Māyā, and at the time of his conception, various wonders took place all over the world. In her tenth month, while she was proceeding to the house of her relative, she brought forth the sage in the Lumbini garden while she kept standing under a Sāla tree catching hold of a branch. The god Brahmā approached and received the child in a golden net, the child that was born unsullied as a priceless gem. From the hands of Brahmā and the angels, he stepped on to the ground, and gods and men approached and made offerings to him. Accompanied by a concourse of gods and men, he went to Kapilavastu and there a rejoicing of nature and men ensued for days and nights. In the Tavatimsa heaven the hosts of angels rejoiced and sported and predicted that he, the child would sit upon the Throne of Wisdom and become a Buddha. The ascetic

Kalādeva, the spiritual adviser of King Suddhodana, went to the Tāvātimsa heaven, heard the cause of their rejoicings, came down to Suddhodana's palace and wanted to see the child. The child was brought and instantly, the lotus-feet of the prince were fixed on the ascetic's head. Upon this, both Kalādeva and Suddhodana revered the soft lotus-feet. A second act of reverence was done by Suddhodana and other men and women of the royal house during the sowing festival when the child, the Wise One, had performed a miracle. The prince then began to grow day by day living as he did in three magnificent mansions provided for him. One day as he came out on chariot on the royal road, he saw in succession the representation of an old man, of a diseased man and of a dead man. He then became free from attachment to the three forms of existence and on the fourth occasion, delighted in seeing pleasant representation of a monk. He then came back home and laid himself down on a costly couch, and nymph-like women surrounded him and performed various kinds of dances and songs. The sage, however, did not relish them; and while the dancers fell asleep he bent upon retirement into solitude and free from attachment to the five worldly pleasures, called his minister and friend Channa to harness his horse. He then went to his wife's apartment and saw the sleeping son and mother and silently took leave of them. Descending from the palace he mounted his horse and silently came out of the gate which was opened up by the gods inhabiting it. Māra then came to thwart him from going by saying that on the seventh day hence, the divine wheel of a universal monarch should appear unto him. But, he, the Wise of the World, did not desire any sovereignty, but wanted to become a Buddha. Upon this Māra disappeared, and he proceeded towards the bank of the river Anomā where he dismounted himself and asked Channa to go back home with the horse and his ornaments. He then cut off his knot of hair with a sword; the hair rose up into the air and Sakra received it with bent head and placed it in a gold casket to worship it. Next he put up the eight requisites of a monk and having spent seven days in the Anupiya mango grove in the joy of having left the world, went to Rājagaha and made his round for alms just enough for his sustenance. Leaving the town he

went to the Pāṇḍava mountain and took the food. He was repeatedly approached by King Bimbisāra and offered the kingdom, but he declined it; and retiring to a cloister practised unmatched hardships. All this was of no avail; he, therefore, partook of material food and regaining bodily perfection, went to the foot of the Ajapāla banyan tree where he sat facing the east. Sujātā, a beautiful woman, mistook him for a sylvan deity and offered him a gold vessel of milk rice. The sage took it, and having gone to the bank of the Nerañjarā river he ate the food, took his rest, and then in the evening went to the Bo-tree which he circumambulated keeping the tree to his right. To his astonishment, a throne appeared, on which he took his seat facing the east, and promised that he would give up his efforts to attain Supreme Enlightenment even if his flesh, blood, bones, sinews and skin dried up. On his head the Mahā-Brahmā held an umbrella. Suyāma, the king of gods, fanned a splendid yak's tail, and god Pañcasikha, the snake king Kāla and thirty-two nymphs all kept standing and serving the Sage. Māra, then, creating unto himself a thousand dreadful arms, and surrounding himself by a manifold faced army, approached the Bo-tree. And at his approach the gods made good their escape. Māra created a terrific wind with a fierce roar, then the terrible torrent of large rocks, and brought on a most dreadful darkness, but each in succession was of little avail. All these turned to good account and the Blessed One did not even show any sign of consternation. The Evil One then threw his disc, hurled rocky peaks, yet the Unconquerable sat motionless as before. Baffled in his attempts he approached the All-Merciful and asked him to rise from his seat. The Blessed One enquired of the witness for his seat and Māra, showing his army, told that they were his witnesses and asked in his turn who had been the witness of Siddhārtha. Siddhārtha then stretched his hands towards the earth and called the earth goddess to witness. She gave forth thousands of roars and Māra caught by the fear fled with his army. Having dispersed Māra's hosts, he remained seated still on the immoveable seat, and in his first watch of the night obtained the excellent knowledge of the past, and in the middle watch the Eye Divine. In the last watch, he gained thorough knowledge of the concate-

nation of causes and effects, and at dawn he became perfectly Enlightened Buddha. Yet he did not rise up from his seat, but to remove the doubts of the gods remained seated there for seven days and performed a double miracle. Then after the investigation of the Pure Law, he at the foot of the goat-herd's banyan tree, caused to wither the face of Māra's daughter, and, at the foot of the Mucalinda tree, caused to blossom the mind of the snake-king. And, at last, at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree, he enjoyed the bliss of meditation. Then the king of the Law, entreated by Brahmā Sahampati, wanted to fill the world with the free gift of the nectar of the Good Law. With this object, he travelled to the splendid Deer Park where the sages and mendicants built him a saint, and came to acknowledge him as the Sanctified, the Perfectly Enlightened, the Tathāgata. To the Elders of the Park, he delivered a discourse on the establishment of the kingdom of Truth, and dispelled their ignorance. He thus set the Wheel of the Law in motion for the good of the world by delivering the people from the mighty bond of transmigration. On his way next to Uruvela, he gave to some thirty Bhaddavaggiya princes the immortal draught of the Three Paths; and conferred on them the gift of ordination. He then went to Latthivana Park and there presented King Bimbisāra with the immortal draught of true doctrine. Thence he proceeded to the Veluvana Park and dwelt there in a hermitage. Then King Suddhodana, having heard that his own son had attained to Supreme Knowledge, sent his minister Uḍāyi to bring his son back to him. Uḍāyi came with a thousand followers and hearing the Master preach renounced the world and entered upon the path to sainthood. He then made known to the Master the desire of Suddhodana to see him, and requested to preach the Law to his kith and kin. The Buddha agreed to it and went to Kapilavastu where he was worshipped by Suddhodana and his relatives. But seeing that the young ones did not greet him, he performed a miracle at the sight of which Suddhodana was filled with joy. Then he went to the royal palace and preached the sweet doctrines to the king and hundreds of fair royal women. Next he extinguished the great grief in the heart of Bimbā or Yasodharā, his wife; and ordained prince Nanda even before the three

festivals, marriage, ceremonial sprinkling and entering on the house, had taken place. When his own son Rāhula followed next for the sake of an inheritance, the Wise One ordained him too.

After this he went to Sītāvana at Rājagaha where he preached to a merchant of Sāvattthī, named Sudatta, who attained the fruit of the First Path. Sudatta then went back to Sāvattthī, and there selected a park of Prince Jeta for the residence of the Blessed One. He (better known as Anāthapiṇḍika) brought this for a crore of gold pieces for the Teacher's sake alone, and built there a chamber and a noble monastery for the abode of the Master and his followers. He also beautified it with tanks and gardens, etc., and then inviting the Teacher to the spot dedicated to him the park and the monastery. The Buddha accepted the gift and thanked Sudatta for it, preaching to him the great benefit which lies in the giving of monasteries.

Residing there, he spent his days going here and there and beating the great drum of the Law. In the first season, he dwelt in the Deer Park in the Benares city. In the second, third and fourth seasons he dwelt in the lovely Veluvana at Rājagaha. In the fifth season, he made his abode in the great wood near Vesālī. In the sixth, he dwelt on the great mountain Mammakā, and in the seventh in the cool and spacious rocky seat of Indra. In the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth seasons, he dwelt respectively in the delightful wood of Bhesakālā, in the Kosombī silk cotton wood, in goodly Pārāleyya and in the Brahman villages of Nāla and Verāṇja. In the thirteenth season he lived on the beautiful Cāliya mountain, and in the fourteenth, in fair and lovely Jetavana. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth seasons, the Wise One made his abode respectively in the great Nigrodha monastery on a large hill at Kapilavattthu in the city of Ālavaka, in Rājagaha and twice on the great mount Cāliya. In the twentieth season, he took up his abode in Rājagaha; and for the rest twenty-five years of his life, he made his abode in Sāvattthī and Jetavana. Thus for forty-five years, the Blessed One preached his sweet doctrine, bringing happiness to men, and freeing all the world and the gods from the great bond of transmigration.

The book ends with a prayer of the author in which he gives out his pious wishes to be born in the Tusita heaven, to be born contemporaneously with the Great Being, the future Buddha, to be able to give food, drink, alms and monasteries to the Wise One and so forth, and to become at last a Buddha himself.

The *Telakaṭāhagāthā* is a small poem in 98 stanzas on the vanity of human life. It contains some of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. The verses are written in chaste language. They represent the religious meditations and exhortations of a great therā named Kalyāṇiya who was condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil on suspicion of his having been accessory to an intrigue with the Queen-consort of King Kalani Tissa who reigned at Kelaniya in 306-207 B. C.¹ The author of this work is unknown. A careful study of the poem shows that the author was well acquainted with the texts and commentaries of the Buddhist scriptures. It is the only example of Sataka in Pali.

The *Pajjamadhu* is a poem composed of 104 stanzas in praise of Buddha. Buddhappiya, a pupil of Ānanda, is the author of this work. He is also the author of the Pali grammar known as the *Rūpasiddhi*. He is silent about the date of its composition. The author has given us his name and pupilage in verse 103 of this poem. The language is Sanskritised Pali and some of the verses are puzzling. There is a gloss in Sinhalese on the entire poem but it is verbose and rather diffuse in its explanations. The first 69 verses describe the beauty of Buddha's person and the rest are in praise of his wisdom, concluded with a panegyric on the Order and *Nirvāṇa*.

The *Rasavāhinī* is a collection of 103 tales written in easy Pali, the first forty relating to the incidents which happened to Jambudīpa and the rest in Ceylon. A Sinhalese edition of this work has been brought out by M. S. Unnanse. The P. T. S. London, has undertaken to bring out an edition of this work in Roman character. Its date

1 G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 162.

is unknown but at the conclusion the author gives us a clue which helps us in determining it to be in all probability in the first half of the 14th century A. D. It is considered to be a revision of an old Pali translation made from an original compilation by Ratthapāla Thera of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon. Vedeha, the author of the *Rasavāhinī* gives us an account of the Vanavāsi school to which he belonged (Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 210). The late H. Nevill suggests that the *Sahassavatthu-ppakarana*, still extant in Burma, formed the basis for the Pali *Rasavāhinī* (Ibid, p. 129). This work throws much light on the manners, customs and social conditions of ancient India and Ceylon. It contains materials of historical importance and as such is widely read in Ceylon. This work has been edited and translated by P. E. Pavolini (*Società Asiatica Italiana*, 1897). There is a glossary on the *Rasavāhinī* called the *Rasavāhinīgaṇṭhi*.

Buddhist legends of Asoka and his times translated from the Pali of the *Rasavāhinī* by Laksamana Śāstrī with a prefatory note by H. C. Norman (J. R. A. S., 1910). *Zwei Erzählungen aus der Rasavāhinī*, Von. Sten Konow (Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, Zeitschrift, Leipzig). *Il settimo capitolo della Rasavāhinī* by P. E. Pavolini (*Società Asiatica Italiana, Giornale. Firenze*, 1895), should be consulted. *Die Zweite dekade der Rasavāhinī* (M & W Geiger), München 1918, with translation deserves mention.

The *Saddhammopāyana* has been edited by Richard Morris for the P. T. S. London. It is a piece of *Saddhammopāyana* poetry consisting of 621 stanzas and it deals with the disadvantages of the ten akusalas (demerits), sins (pāpa), fruition of merit, advantages of charity, precepts, meditation, approval, instructions, worship, refuges, exertions, etc. The language is easy and intelligible.

The *Pañcagatidīpana* has been edited by M. Leon Feer (J. P. T. S., 1884, pp. 152-161). It is written in *Pañcagatidīpana* 114 stanzas. This work furnishes us with an interesting piece of information regarding different hells. *Sañjīva*, *Kālasutta*, *Saṅghāta*, *Roruva*, *Mahāroruva*, *Tapa*, *Mahā-*

tapa and Avici are the eight great hells. Those who kill and cause living beings to be killed out of avarice, delusion, fear and anger must go to the Sañjīva hell. For one thousand years they suffer in this hell being subjected to continual torments without losing life and consciousness. Those who cause injury or do harmful deeds to friends and parents, speak falsehood and back-bite others must go to the Kālasutta hell. In this hell they are cut to pieces with burning saws. Those who kill goats, sheep, jackals, hares, deer, pigs, etc., are consigned to the Sanghāta hell, where they are huddled up in one place and then beaten to death. Those who cause mental and bodily pain to others or cheat others or again are misers have to go to the Roruva hell, where they make terrible noise while being burnt in the terrific fire of hell. Those who steal things belonging to gods, Brahmans and preceptors, those who misappropriate the property of others kept in trust with them and those who destroy things entrusted to their care are cast into the Mahāroruva hell, where they make a more terrible noise while being consumed by a fire fiercer than that in the Roruva. Those who cause the death of living beings by throwing them into the Davadaha fire, etc., have to go to the Tapa hell, where they have to suffer being burnt in a dreadful fire. Those who cause the death of beings by throwing them into greater Dāvadaha fire must go to the Mahātapa hell, where they have to suffer still more by being burnt in a greater fire. Those who injure men of great virtue and those who kill parents, arahats, or preceptor must sink into the Avici hell, where they suffer being burnt in such a terrible fire that would consume even the hardest things. In this hell there is not a least wave of happiness, it is therefore called the Avici or waveless. Besides these hells, mention is made of a hell called the Patāpāna, where people suffer by being burnt in fires that are much more terrific than those of the Tapa and Mahātapa hells. Each hell has four Ussadanirayas, viz., Milhakūpa, Kukkula, Asipattavana and Nadi. Those who are in the Mahāniraya have to proceed to Milhakūpa when released. In this terrible hell they are beaten by a host of worms. Thence they go to Kukkula where they are fried like mustard seeds on a burning pan. Coming out of Kukkula they find before them a beautiful tree of fruits and flowers where they shelter for relief from torments. As soon as

they reach the tree they are attacked by birds of prey such as vultures, owls, etc. They are killed by these animals which they make a repast on their flesh. Those who are traitors must go to the Asipattavana where they are torn and eaten up by bitches, vultures, owls, etc. Those who steal money will also suffer in this hell by being compelled to swallow iron balls and molten brass. Those who kill cows and oxen suffer in this hell by being eaten up by dogs having large teeth. Those who kill aquatic animals will have to go to the fearful Vaitarani river where the water is as hot as a molten brass. Those who prostitute justice by accepting bribes will be cut to pieces in an iron wheel. Those who destroy paddy have to suffer in the Kukkula hell. Those who cherish anger in their heart are reborn as swans and pigeons. Those who are haughty and angry are reborn as snakes. Those who are jealous and miserly are reborn as monkeys. Those who are miserly, irritable and fond of backbiting are reborn as tigers, bears, cats, etc. Those who are charitable, but angry at the same time are reborn as big Garuḍas. Those who are deceitful and charitable are reborn as great Asuras. Those who neglect their friends on account of their pride are reborn as dogs and asses. Those who are envious, cherish anger, or become happy at sight of sufferings of others are reborn in Yamaloka and the demon world. (Cf. the description of hells in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*).

SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE BRĀHMAṆA PERIOD

NOTES FROM THE AITAREYA BRĀHMAṆA

BY

ASHUTOSH BISWAS, M. A.; Vedaśāstri, Kāvya-tirtha

The Brāhmaṇa Literature of the Vedas is a vast field of enquiry for the historian who attempts to reconstruct from original data, a Social History of India.

In this article, an attempt is made to collect some very interesting passages in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of R̥gveda, which throw a flood of life on prevalent manners and customs of the age.

As regards eating and drinking — one of the most important of human functions, we find many passages scattered all over the entire Brāhmaṇa which will be dealt with hereafter. In III. 4, the following passage occurs wherein the "Agnimanthana" Ceremony is prescribed as a part of the "Āthithyestī," a sacrifice held in honour of Soma conceived as guest newly arrived. Āsvalāyana also prescribes the ceremony thus :—"आतिथ्येलान्तातस्यामग्निमन्थनम्". The passage referred to is :— तद् यथैवादा मनुष्यराज आगते न्यस्मिन् वा अर्हति उक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा क्षदन्त एवमेवास्मा एतत् क्षदन्ते यदाग्न मन्थन्ति अग्निर्हि देवानां पशुः । Now it is an indisputable fact that the Aryan indulged in meat diet — meat even of the forbidden kind. This passage distinctly says that whenever a king or any other respectable personage arrived as a guest in any household it was the duty of every householder to entertain him with the meat of a bull or a cow that miscarries. This custom is quite in keeping with the tradition of the Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras which distinctly refer to these with great approbation until we come to the modern Smṛtis which expressly forbid them. Compare the following passage from a modern text often referred to in legal literature. "मनुष्यकं पशोर्वधः" (Āditya Purāṇa) Sāyaṇa himself quite true to the tradition of his age cautions his reader and says while

commenting on the passage :—" अयं सत्कारः सृतिषु प्रसिद्धो युगान्तरधर्मो ब्रह्मन्वः ".

The passage in VI. 8 describes under the garb of a legend the various sacrificial animals, including man, which were immolated in sacrifices. It is as follows :—" पुरुषं वै देवाः पशुमालभन्त ... तस्माद्-दश्वो मेध्योऽभवत् तेऽश्वमालभन्त स गां प्राविशत् । तस्माद् गौर्मेध्योऽभवत् । स गामालभन्त सोऽर्विं प्राविशत् तस्मादर्विर्मेध्योऽभवत् । ते अधिमालभन्त ... सोऽजं प्राविशत् । तस्मादजो मेध्योऽभवत् तेऽजमालभन्त ... स इमां प्राविशत् । सोऽनुगतो ब्रीहिरभवत् । "

Now this passage points unmistakably to the fact that all the animals mentioned above were used in sacrifices, and as such their remnants were partaken of by the priests and the sacrificer himself, for the Brāhmaṇa expressly lays down the dictum (after repudiating arguments to the contrary), viz., तस्मात्तस्याशितव्यं चैष लीप्सितव्यं चैव (vi. 3). The story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa as related in the Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 1) is important in many respects. It is as follows :—" ऋषयो वे सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासन्, ते कवषमेल्लूषं सोमादनयन्, दास्याः पुत्रः कितवोऽब्राह्मणः कथं नो मध्येऽदीक्षिष्ट इति तं बहिर्घन्व उदवहन् अत्रैनं पिपासा हन्तु सरस्वत्या उदकं मा पादति । स बहिर्घन्व उदहलः पिपासया वित्त एतदपोनञ्जीयमपश्यत् प्र देवत्रा ... सरस्वती समन्तं पर्यधावत् । ते वा ऋषयोऽब्रुवन् विदुर्वा इमं देवा उपेमं हयामहा इति तथेति तमुपहृय एतदपोनञ्जीयमकुर्वन्त । "

The same story is found also in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa with slight alteration described in connection with the origin of the अपोनञ्जीयसूक्त traditionally ascribed to Kavaṣa, son of Ilūṣa. The Rṣis did not admit Kavaṣa into the sacrifice on the ground that he was the son of a slave and a non-Brāhman. They drove him away from the banks of Sarasvatī into a desert with the intention that thirst would kill him. Now Kavaṣa was a very learned man and he at once invoked the Sarasvatī with the hymn beginning with the verse प्रदेवत्रा (Rg. X. 30. 1) etc. When the Rṣis found that he was favoured by the Gods they realised their insignificance approached him in a suppliant mood, gave him the designation "Rsi" which he so eminently deserved but which in their arrogance they had withheld from him. "नमस्तेऽनु ऋषे मा नो हिंसीः त्वं वै नः श्रेष्ठोऽसि" (Kau. Brā. XII. 3). This story gives us a good insight into the caste-system of the time of the Brāhmaṇa. It shows the caste system still in a state of fluidity. The society

has not yet been divided into the rigid and mutually exclusive castes of the latter period. It shows that even a man of an inferior caste could qualify himself for admission into the higher castes provided he could prove his excellence. It was the same with Mahidāsa Aitareya, the traditional author of the Brāhmaṇa, who was also the son of an 'Itarā' meaning low-born or other than the twice-born. In this case also, Aitareya became a seer and the whole of the Brāhmaṇa together with the Āraṇyaka was revealed to him as he was favoured by the Gods on account of his superior piety and learning. The story is not found in any extant book but Sāyaṇa in his introduction to the Brāhmaṇa ascribes it to the संप्रदायविदः.

In XII. 11, we find an interesting picture of the regard in which the father-in-law was held by the daughter-in-law. In course of describing how a rival army is routed and dispersed the following illustration is given viz. "तद् यथैवादः स्नुषा इवशुराल्लज्जमाना निलीयमाना एत एवमेव सा सना भज्यमाना निलीयमानात।". The daughter-in-law did not expose herself to the view of the father-in-law and as soon as he caught sight of her she used to hide herself from his gaze. It thus appears that the present Hindu Society has in this respect remained almost stationary from the time of the Brāhmaṇa. Feminine modesty carried to gross exaggerations has marked the society in all periods.

According to the rituals a sāman is formed of three Rk verses, viz., "एकं साम तृच क्रियते स्तात्रियम्". The Brāhmaṇa says, one Rk verse asked another sāman to be united together in wedlock. On the latter refusing to comply with the request two Rks asked to be united with the sāman but on the latter's still refusing, three of them approached the sāman to be united with it and so it now happens that a sāman song is composed of three Rk verses because one or two Rks are unequal to one sāman in strength. Therefore says the Aitareya in XII. 12, "तस्मादेकस्य बन्धो जाया भवन्ति, नेकस्ये बहवः सह पतयः ॥" Comp. XV. 3, यदिह वापि बन्धः इव जायाः पतिर्वाच तासां मिथुनम्". One man can have many wives but no woman can have more than one husband. This is the first authoritative statement of Polygamy, which was common enough during the Vedic period. This passage is very freely quoted by later Smṛtis

in favour of Polygamy or बहुविवाह. The king it appears had three kinds of wives with their distinctive appellations. The best kind was designated as महिषी, the second in rank and honour was called Vāvātā (वावाता) the third in rank was called Parivṛkti (परिवृक्ति). Polyandry as will appear from the passage was unthinkable and unknown amongst the civilised and enlightened Aryans of India. Polygamy although sanctioned by the law was only prevalent amongst the kings and the wealthier classes.

That the standard of morality was sufficiently high during the period is evidenced by the story of Prajāpati, in XIII.9 which relates the ravishment of his daughter by himself. He was punished by the Gods for this delinquency which was unknown before, "अकृतं वे प्रजापतिः करातीति ।". It can be safely presumed that Incest was unknown amongst civilized Aryans at all times.

An interesting picture of the comparative position of the wife and the sister in the household is to be found in XIII. 13. The text says, "तस्मात् समानः दया स्वसा अन्योदयाये जायाया अनुजीविनी जीवति ।". "Therefore it is that a sister born of the same mother becomes a dependent or hanger-on on a wife born of a different mother". This shows that the widowed sister occupied a subordinate position to the wife and that she lived upon the charity and sufferance of the wife who was the sole mistress of the house. This is undoubtedly a very interesting revelation found in the Brāhmaṇa and this custom has descended down to the present day, unaltered and unchanged from that remote period.

The Brāhmaṇa contains here and there in vague words and phrases statements of scientific theories which have been satisfactorily demonstrated only at a much later day by Western Scientists. The most important and startling theory is perhaps that of the sun - its rising and setting. Herein we find a scientific explanation of the appearance and disappearance of the great luminary - popularly represented as the rising and setting respectively. In XIV. 8 it is very distinctly laid down as a proposition that the sun never rises or sets. "स वा एष न कदाचनास्तमेति नावति ।". "अस्तमय" is explained by Sāyaṇa as स्वरूपनाशः and उदयः as उत्पत्तिः. How are we then to account for the appearance and disappearance for the time being? The answer is given in the

following words :— “ तं यदस्तमेतीति मन्यन्ते, अह्न एव तदन्तामित्वा अथ आत्मानं विपर्यस्यते, रात्रीमिवावस्तात् कुरुते. अहः परस्तात् । अथ यदेनं प्रातरुदेतीति मन्यन्ते, रात्रेरेव तदन्तामित्वा अथ आत्मानं विपर्यस्यते. अहोरेवावस्तात् कुरुते रात्रिं परस्तात् । ”.

The sun revolving in its orbit is said to be rising in that part of the hemisphere from which it is to be seen by the people. It is said to be setting in that part of the earth where it disappears from the gaze of the people. In other words it reveals light or day in front and leaves darkness or night behind.

Frequent references to the sea and navigation by sea-going vessels is to be found in the Aitareya. The sea is often requisitioned for a simile in connection with the sacrifice. The संवत्सर-सत्र such as गवामयन is often represented as a sea.

“समुद्रं वा एते प्लवन्ते ये संवत्सरं उपयन्ति ।”

Sea-going vessels are distinctly referred to in XVII. 7.

“एते वै यज्ञस्य नावौ संपारिण्यौ यत् बृहद्रथन्तरे ताभ्यामेव तत् संवत्सरं तरन्ति ।”

Again in XVII. 8, the sea is mentioned viz. : यो वै संवत्सरस्य अवारं च पारं च वद ।

BEGINNINGS OF LINGA CULT IN INDIA

BY

ATUL K. SUR, M. A., F. R. Econ. S.

It would be platitudinous at the present stage of our knowledge of the history of Indian cultures to lay stress on the debt which Hinduism owes to Pre-Aryan and Un-Aryan cultures of India. So overwhelming is the burden of such debt that it would require the pages of some half-a-dozen tomes to do proper justice to the study of the extraneous traits in detail. In this short paper, I merely desire to touch upon the fringe of one such trait in Hinduism, namely, the origin and antiquity of the Linga Cult in India.

Until quite recently it was fondly believed that the Linga Cult in India is of quite recent origin. Indeed, at one time with the aid of all available data, its date could not be pushed back beyond the Imperial Gupta period. Thus, in 1903-04¹ the official archaeologist while describing a clay seal from Basarh, on which appeared the symbol of Linga and Yoni, loudly proclaimed it as the oldest representation of the phallic emblem that has yet been found in India. Then, in the Archaeological Report of the years 1907-08² there appeared the description of a miniature Linga and Yoni recovered from the areas north of the Dhamek Stūpa at Sārnāth, and apparently of the same date as the Basarh specimen. For two or three years thereafter these two specimens constituted the archaeological history of the Linga Cult in India. Then our knowledge of it was further advanced in the years 1909-10³, by the publication in the Report of the same years by R. D. Banerji of the description of a Śiva-linga, which had been rescued from Bhita and was at that time preserved in the Lucknow Museum. Ideologically, this image could be divided into two halves. The upper half is modelled in the shape of human bust — a male figure holding a rose in his left hand and raising the other hand

1 Page 110.

2 Page 61.

3 Page 148.

in the well-known *Abhayamudrā* pose. Below the bust are four human heads, being indicated by deep drawings. There is an inscription on it which offers us the most valuable clue to its date — which has been fixed as the first century before Christ.

Not very many years later, T. G. Rao¹ announced the discovery of a phallus symbol discovered at Gudimallam, a village situated at a distance of 6 miles to the north-east of Reniguntā, a railway junction station on the Madras and Southern Marhatta Railway System. It is one of the most important and valuable archaeological specimen of the Linga yet discovered in India—as it represents the Phallus in a most stark and realistic manner. It has been shaped like a human phallus with an admirable degree of exactitude — even the longitudinal facets on the erect organ appear on this specimen in the most life-like manner. It is sheltered in an ancient temple with several inscriptions on it. It has been known from very ancient times as “Paraśurāmeśvara” and is still being worshipped by the local people. Though of very ancient date, yet it is in a very perfect state of preservation. The image proper is about five feet in height. It rises from a pedestal on the floor of the central shrine. It bears on its front a very beautiful figure of Śiva. This figure of Śiva has a very close resemblance with the figure of a Yakṣa in the Sāñci Stūpa, and on the ground of stylistic resemblance between the two, T. G. Rao has assigned it to the second century before Christ.

The understanding of the proper significance of the epithet “*Śisnadeva*” in the R̥gveda pushed back the antiquity of the cult of Linga to a millenium and a half earlier. This epithet occurs in two passages of the R̥gveda. They are quoted below :—

“The terrible god Indra, skilled in all heroic deeds, has with his weapons mastered these demons. Indra, exalting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has smitten them asunder by his might. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, O puissant deity of a truth, any evil spirits. The glorious Indra defies the hostile being: let not those whose god is the ŚISNA approach our sacred ceremony.” RV. vii. 21, 4-5.

“Proceeding to the conflict, and desiring to acquire them he has gone to, and in hostile army besieged inaccessible places, at the same time, when irresistible, slaying those whose god is the ŚISNA, he by his craft conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates”. RV. x. 99, 3.

It is evident from the above passages that there were in R̥gvedic times many rich and prosperous cities in the Indus Valley which were inhabited by the Non-Aryan Phallic worshippers. Some of these cities were very big in size — one had even a hundred gates.

The antiquity of the cult of Liṅga can be pushed still further back, if we only care to carry our researches into the domain of pre-historic archaeology. Such researches show conclusively that phallus played a considerable part in the religious and magical ideology of the Pre-Aryan and Non-Aryan peoples of India. There is a very fine specimen of phallus dating from the neolithic times in the Foote Collection of the Madras Museum.¹ It was found on the Shevaroy hills in the Salem district of the Madras Presidency. It is made of pale gneiss stone. Though the specimen has been much ravaged in the process of time, it still retains its original highly realistic shape. It was no doubt used as an object of worship or as a charm against sterility.

Shevaroy hills in the Salem district is not the only place in India which has yielded a phallic symbol of neolithic times. Earthenware phallic symbol dating from neolithic times have also been obtained from various places in the Baroda State in Gujrat.²

In this connection the data furnished by Linguistic Palaeontology is very illuminating. Przyluski in his paper on, “Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan” has shown that both the words “lāṅgala” (plough) and “liṅga” (penis) are of Austro-Asiatic origin and in their etymology they mean one and the same thing. He says that “liṅga” in the sense of “penis” has equivalents in the Non-Aryan languages of the East whereas it has no equi-

1 Page 61. Foote Collection of Indian Prehistoric and protohistoric Antiquities by Robert Bruce Foote.

2 Ditto. p. 139.

valents in the Indo-European languages of the West. In accordance with the original etymological meaning of the word, "lāṅgalam" when introduced in the Sanskrit vocabulary came to mean both the plough and the penis. On the other hand, specially in the Sūtras and the Mahābhārata a form "lagula" is found to mean both the penis and the tail (of an animal). If the equivalence "lāṅgala-lāṅgula" is authorised then the semantic evolution of the word would be easily understood. From "penis" one can pass without difficulty to the sense of "plough" and "tail". There are evident analogies between the copulation and the act of ploughing by which one digs up the earth for depositing the seed. The problem becomes more complicated from the fact that, almost inevitably, the word "līṅga" which strongly resembles the other words and has the meaning of penis comes in. Some Austro-Asiatic peoples use even today not a plough to furrow, but a simple pointed stick for digging holes in which they place the seeds. There the analogy between the "penis" and the farming instrument is as clear as possible. Profs. Hubert and Maüs point out that in Melanesia and Polynesia the farming stick has often the form of a "penis". In some Polynesian languages the same word designates the penis and the digging stick. It is possible that the aborigines of India at first knew the use of the stick and that the name of the instrument for digging the soil has not changed after the introduction of the plough.

In the face of the evidence quoted above it becomes perfectly clear that the Aryans of India have borrowed from the aborigines not only the cult of Līṅga but also the name of the symbol. That it was of Un-Aryan origin is shown by the opprobrious terms applied to the Phallic worshippers in the R̥gveda. The paucity of Phallic worship in the case of other Indo-European peoples strengthens the argument for borrowing.

Before I come to a close I desire to indicate the time when the cult of Līṅga was introduced into the Aryan religion. We have already seen that in the R̥gveda it is being mentioned as a Non-Aryan cult. The whole of the later Vedic and the Sūtra literatures do not contain any reference to the Līṅga cult. It

appears for the first time in the epics and there it appears as an Aryan cult. Thus, the Rāmāyaṇa mentions that wherever Rāvaṇa went he carried with him a Śiva-Liṅga of gold. In the Mahābhārata, too, Śivaliṅga is mentioned in several passages (Anuśāsaṇa, v. 822ff ; vv. 7510, 7516 ; cf. also Droṇaparva 9616ff ; 9625 and 9631).

• To sum up, Phallus worship in India is of Non-Aryan origin and dates from the Neolithic times. It was a flourishing cult in the Indus valley in the period of the Rgveda. It became fused with the cult of Śiva in the epic period. The earliest archaeological specimens date from about the Christian era. The early specimens show definitely that Śiva-liṅga in its origin is of phallic origin.

ON THE UNĀDI SŪTRAS OF JAINA ŚĀKATĀYANA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

There is a belief current among the Jaina community that their Śākatāyana was identical with the elder Śākatāyana, the predecessor of Yāska and Pāṇini, and composed the Unādi Sūtras which are given in the Kṛdanta portion of the Kaumudī by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita.

In the introduction to the Śākatāyana-prakriyā-saṁgraha of Abhayacandra-sūri printed at the Jainendra Press at Kolhapur we are told—

श्रीमच्छाकटायनाचार्यप्रणीतान्युणादिसूत्राणि सर्वैरपि प्राचानैः शाब्दिकप्रवरैरङ्गी-
कृतानि तथा पाणाननाऽपि तान्येवोररीकृतानि नान्यानि निबद्धानीत्येतदपि शाकटायना-
चार्यस्य शाब्दिकधौरयत्वं प्रख्यापयन्तीति नाविज्ञेयं सुधियाम् । शाकटायनाचार्यप्रणी-
तोणादिसूत्राणां व्याख्यानानां तूज्ज्वलदत्तमाधवाचार्यादिभिर्मरच्यन्तेति सुप्रसिद्धम् ॥

That this is altogether a mistake will be obvious from the extracts which I give below from the Amogha Vṛtti:

उणादयः IV, 2, 279 —

बहुलमति वतत । धातुः सत्यर्थे वर्तमानात् उण् इत्यवमादयो बहुलं भवति । काकः ।
वायुः । करण्डः । वरेण्डः । चरेण्डः । एरण्डः । झफिडः । झफिड्डः । सर्पाणि यजुषि ।
तस् । पिम् । कृत्स्नः । धूसरः । शखः । शण्डः । बहुलग्रहणं कम् । प्रयोगानुसरणार्थं तेन ये
येभ्यो धातुभ्यो यास्मन्नर्थे यथा दृश्यन्ते ते तेभ्यः तथा तस्मिन् भवन्तीति धात्वर्थकार्या-
(य) नियम [:] सिद्धो भवति ।

कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाधुशाहसनिजनिचरीण्वरिभ्य उण् ।

किमः क्षणातेः ।

त्रादानां रश्चलः ।

कृकाहचः कच ।

Amoghavṛtti IV, 3, 279.

Pāṇini's Unādi Sūtras begin thus :—

कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाधुश्रुभ्य उण् ।

कृन्वसीणः ।

इसनिजनिचरिचटिभ्यो ङ्ग ।

किञ्जरयोः ञिणः ।

ओ रश्चलः ।

कुक बच्चः कश्च ।

Candra's Upādi Sūtras begin thus :—

छवापाजिभिस्वदिसाध्यङ्गभ्य उण् ।

इसनिजनिचरिचटितलिभ्यो ङ्ग ।

किञ्जराभ्यां ञिणः ।

कृकाद्वचः कश्च ।

The opening Upādi Sūtras of Hemecandra are as follows :—

छवापाजिस्वदिसाध्यशौदस्नासनिजनिरहीणभ्य उण् ।

: ।

म्लच्छीङ्हस्वश्च वा ।

It may be stated here that Pāṇini divides his Upādi Sūtras into five pādas ; hence their name Pañcapādi. Candra's Upādi Sūtras are divided into three Pādas. On the other hand Jaina Śākāṭyāna and Hemacandra do not divide their Sūtras into Pādas. On comparing the above Sūtras, we find that Pāṇini and Candra have two terminations उण् and ङ्ग while Jaina Śākāṭyāna and Hemacandra have only one termination उण्. The reason for this lies in the fact that Pāṇini and Candra teach the accents of words. कारु and ग are accented on the last syllable while दारु and साङ्ग have the उदात्त accent on the first syllable. But in the period of Sanskrit literature to which Jaina Śākāṭyāna and Hemacandra belong, Sanskrit words had lost their accents and so there was no need to mark them by using indicatory letters such as ङ्, ञ्, च् &c. In confirmation of this view, I may cite a few more instances. Pāṇini has :

जृविशिभ्यां झच् III, 126.

Candra has :

जृविशोऽन्तच्

Jaina Śākāṭyāna has :

जृविशोऽन्तः Ms. p. 2099.

Hemacandra has :

शृवाशम्यन्तः 212.

Again Pāṇini has :

हसिसृग्रिण्वाऽमिदमिल्लपुधुर्विभ्यस्तन् III, 373.

Candra has :

सृग्वाहसीणमिदमिल्लपुधुर्विभ्यस्तन् II, 50.

Jaina Śākaṭāyana has :

हसिसृगु(ग्र)ण्वामिदमिल्लपुधुर्विभ्यस्तः Ms. p. 2096.

Hemacandra has :

दम्यमितमिमावापूधुयृजृहसिवस्यसिवितसिमसाणभ्यः. jyā-sar.
ess at

The text of Unādi Sūtras in the manuscript. the Amoghavṛtti before me is full of mistakes. But it can be corrected with the help of the commentary called Śākaṭāyana Nyāsa. An incomplete copy of this Nyāsa has lately been discovered and is now deposited in the Oriental Library in Mysore, but it is wanting in the portion dealing with this subject. At the end of this Unādi-pāṭha there occur the following verses :

संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।

कार्यानुबन्धोपपदं सेय मेव सुणादिषु ॥

निर्ज्ञाते प्रत्यये धातुः पूर्वोस्मिन्प्रत्ययः परः ।

ऊ ह्यसुक्तानुसारेण कार्यं चात्वि(न्वि)ष्टसिद्धये ॥

प्रायः संज्ञा इमाः काश्चिदन्वर्थाः काश्च नान्यथा ।

वर्णानुपूर्विविज्ञानं व्युत्पत्त्या न विना भवेत् ॥

Amoghavṛtti IV. 3, 279.

I have proved elsewhere that the Amoghavṛtti was composed by Jaina Śākaṭāyana in the time of Amoghavarṣa I.

ON THE DATE OF AKALAṆKADEVA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

In a paper contributed to this Journal, Mr. S. Srikantha Sastri, M. A., says that he has assigned Śaṅkara to the last quarter of the sixth and the former half of the seventh century and Akalaṅka to c. 645. It is very easy to show that these dates are impossible. Prabhācandra lived in the time of Amoghavarṣa I and says that he was enabled to write his second work by approaching the feet of Akalaṅka. Let us consider the following succession of Jaina authors with their works :—

Akalaṅka अष्टांती and लघीयस्त्रय.

Māṇikyanandi परीक्षामुख.

Vidyānandapātrakesari अष्टमहन्त्री, तत्त्वार्थश्लोकवार्तिकालंकार, पत्रपरीक्षा.

Prabhācandra प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड, न्यायकुसुदचन्द्रोदय.

Jinasena and Guṇabhadra आदिपुराण.

Jinasena and his pupil Guṇabhadra were the joint authors of the Ādipurāṇa. Guṇabhadra, while still a young man, wrote his Ātmānuśāsana, to instruct Kṛṣṇarāja II, who was then Yuvarāja. 35th verse of Ātmānuśāsana is quoted¹ by Prabhācandra in his second and later work Nyāyakumudacandrodaya. The last named work with its author Prabhācandra is mentioned in the Ādipurāṇa. These facts prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Prabhācandra was a senior contemporary of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. We also know that the Nyāyakumudacandrodaya is a commentary on Akalaṅka's Laghīyāstraya. Prabhācandra assures us that he was enabled to explain Akalaṅka's words in Laghīyāstraya, because he enjoyed the rare chance of approaching the feet of Akalaṅka.

माणिक्यनन्दिपदमप्रतिमप्रबोधं

व्याख्याय बोधनिधिरेष पुनः प्रबन्धः ।

¹ Nyāsakāra and Jaina Śākaṭyāna. Ind. Ant. (1916).

प्रारम्यते सकलसिद्धिविधौ समर्थे

मूल प्रकाशितजगत्त्रयवस्तुसाथ ॥

बोधः कोप्यसमः समस्तविषयः प्राप्याकलङ्कं पदं

जानस्तन समस्तवस्तुवषय व्याख्यायते तत्पद ।

किं न श्रीगणभुज्जिनेन्द्रपदतः प्राप्तप्रभावः स्वयं

व्याख्यात्यप्रतिमं बचो जिनपतेः सर्वात्मभावात्मकं ॥

Here we have प्राप्य + आकलङ्कं पदं. अकलङ्कस्य इदं आकलङ्कं. The termination applied here is अण्'. प्राप्य + अकलङ्क also gives us प्राप्याकलङ्कं. But the former method of separating the words is necessitated because we have to explain तत्पद as तस्य पद, तस्य referring to Akalaṅka involved in the ताद्धत form आकलङ्कं. A comparison is drawn between Gautama Gaṇadhara and Mahāvira on one hand and Prabhācandra and Akalaṅka on the other. Just as Gautama Gaṇadhara approached the feet of Mahāvira and was enabled to explain the Tīrthāṅkara's words, so Prabhācandra, by approaching the feet of Akalaṅka, was able to write a commentary on the Laghiyastraya of Akalaṅka. Prabhācandra also assures us that he wrote his first commentary on the परीक्षासुख of Māṇikyanandi,

माणिक्यनन्दिपदपङ्कजसत्प्रसादात् ।

Between Māṇikyanandi and Prabhācandra we must place Vidyānandapātrakesari, because Vidyānanda quotes the परीक्षासुख.

साधनात्साध्यविज्ञानमनुमानं विदुः ।

परीक्षासुख III, 14 ; अष्टसहस्री p. 197.

Vidyānanda's 1st verse in his पञ्चपरीक्षा is cited by Prabhācandra in his Prameyakamalamārtanda, chap. VI. Therefore Māṇikyanandi and Vidyānanda must be placed between Akalaṅka and Prabhācandra. The chronological order of these Jaina authors and their works is as follows :—

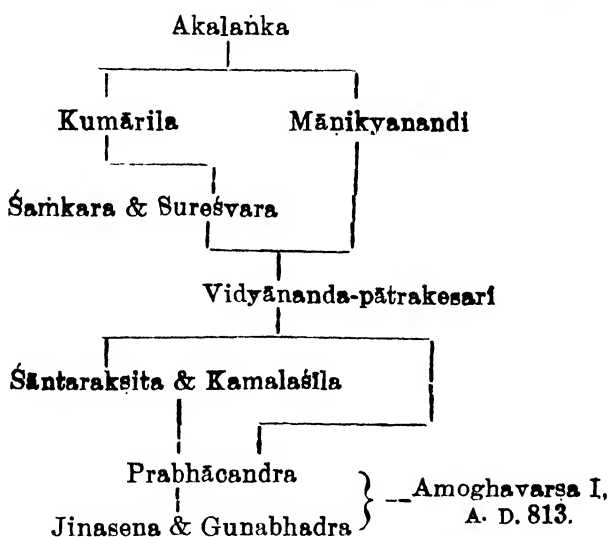
Akalaṅka अष्टशती and लघीयस्त्रय.

Māṇikyanandi परीक्षासुख.

Vidyānandapātrakesari अष्टसहस्री, तत्त्वार्थश्लोकवार्तिकालंकार, पञ्चपरीक्षा.
Prabhācandra प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड. न्यायकुसुमद्वन्द्वोदय.

Jinasena and Guṇabhadra आदिपुराण.

We must not lose sight of the fact that Prabhācandra was a senior contemporary of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. Since between Akalaṅka and Prabhācandra there intervene Māṇikyanandi and Vidyānandapātrakesari it is manifest that Prabhācandra must have been a boy, when he approached the feet of Akalaṅka. The latest date assigned to the Ādipurāṇa is Śaka 760 or 838 A. D. The difference between this date and the date proposed for Akalaṅka, c. 645, by Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri is 193. It is thus obvious that Prabhācandra, a senior contemporary of Jinasena could never have approached the feet of Akalaṅka, if the latter had lived 193 years before. The relative positions of these authors can be seen at a glance from the following synoptical table :—



I have thus established a point of contact between Brahmanical literature, Buddhist literature, Jaina literature and contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions. The dates that I have discovered in the prasastis of Jaina authors are confirmed by the dates found in the inscriptions of contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. The date of Akalaṅka is so firmly fixed that it is impossible to assign his critic Kumārila to the first or second half of the seventh century, in order to make him embrace Buddhism with his 500 followers or to make him the teacher of Bhavabhūti. The story that Kumārila embraced Buddhism is contradicted by the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical authors, who unanimously call

him Mīmāṃsaka. And Prabhācandra, who himself was a contemporary of Amoghavarṣa I and who had studied ' the writings of Bhavabhūti, must be understood to contradict, in anticipation, the statement of Kumārila being the teacher of Bhavabhūti (first quarter of the 8th century), if the usually accepted date of Bhavabhūti is to be relied upon. When the author of the *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa* assures us that his senior contemporary Akalaṅka is assailed by Kumārila. After this it is needless to state that Śāntaraksita and Kamalaśīla, who criticises Kumārila and Vidyānandapātrakesari, belong to the ninth century. It is thus clear that Kumārila and Śaṅkarācārya were distinguished authors of the earlier part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period.

1 ये नाम केचिद्विह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां

जानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैष यत्नः ॥ *Mālatimādhava*.

ये नूनं प्रथयन्ति नोऽसमगुथा मोहादवज्ञां जना-

ते तिष्ठन्त न तान्प्रति प्रारभ्यते प्रक्रमः ॥ *Prameyakamalamārtanḍa*.

DR. PATHAK'S VIEW ON ANANTAVĪRYA'S DATE

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

• In his recent paper on Dharmakīrti and Bhāmaha¹ Dr. K. B. Pathak refers to Anantavīrya as a commentator of Parīkṣāmukha of Mānikyanandi and also as the author of a commentary on the Nyāya-viniścaya of Akalaṅkadeva. Finally he concludes that this Anantavīrya belonged to the close of the tenth century A. C. from the facts, that he is referred to by Vādirāja who wrote in Śaka 947 (1025 A. C.), by Malliṣena in his Mahāpurāṇa written in Śaka 969 (1047 A. C.) and also by Nagara Inscription of Śaka 999 (1077 A. C.). With due deference to the learned scholar one has to say that there has been a gross misrepresentation and puzzle of facts in his remarks and his conclusion about the date is an illustration of loose logic.

His first remark to be considered is that Anantavīrya has written a commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya of Akalaṅka and that he belonged to the close of the tenth century. So far as my knowledge of Jain Literature goes I do not know of any commentary on that work by Anantavīrya. Vādirāja has written a commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya² and a few Mss. of it are available. If Dr. Pathak possesses any commentary on Nyāyaviniścaya by Anantavīrya, students of Jain Literature would be very much obliged to learn from him the whereabouts of it.

Anantavīrya has written commentaries on Siddhiviniścaya and Pramāṇasaṃgraha of Akalaṅka. The Ms. of the commentary on Siddhiviniścaya³, recently discovered, is at the Gujarat

1 *Annals*, B. O. R. I. XII, iv, p. 373.

2 The Arrah Ms. of Nyāyaviniścayavivaraṇa does not give the full text of Nyāyaviniścaya. It is quite recently, within the last three or four months, that the original text has been completely restored by Pt. Jinadas from another Ms. in the Jaina Boarding House, Sholapur. This original text of Akalaṅka's work is to be published soon.

3 The history of the discovery is very interesting and instructive. See, *Anekānta* Vol. I, pp. 134 etc.

9 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad, while the *Pramāṇa-saṃgraha-bhāṣya* is still merely a name to us. But unfortunately this Ms. does not preserve all the *kārikās* of Akalaṅka in full¹. the commentary which is written in a running style noting only the opening words of each *kārikā*. The opening verses of *Siddhivinīścayaṭīkā* run as below :—

अकलङ्कं जिहं भक्त्या युरुं देवीं सरस्वतीम् ।
 नत्वा टीकां प्रवक्ष्यामि शुद्धां सिद्धिविनिश्चये ॥
 अकलङ्कवचः काले कलौ न कलयाऽपि यत् ।
 नृषु लभ्यं कचिलुब्ध्वा तत्रैवास्तु मतिर्मम ॥
 देवस्यानन्तवीर्योऽपि पदं व्यङ्क्तुं तु सर्वतः ।
 न जानातिऽकलङ्कस्य चित्रमेतत्परं भुवि ॥
 अकलङ्कवचोऽम्भोधेः सूक्ततत्त्वानि यद्यपि ।
 गृह्यन्ते बहुभिः स्वैरं सद्गताकर एव सः ॥
 सर्वं धर्मस्य नेरात्म्यं कथयन्नापि सर्वथा ।
 धर्मकीर्तिः पदं गच्छेदाकलङ्कं कथं ननु² ॥

The name of Akalaṅka's work is *Siddhivinīścaya* and the adjective *akalaṅka* to Jina is quite significant indirectly mentioning the name of Akalaṅka. Further the words of Akalaṅka are looked upon as scarce. The commentator expresses frankly, in an ingenuous manner, his inability to explain fully Akalaṅka's words, though he is *anantavīrya* (of infinite power). The literary output of Akalaṅka is compared to an ocean and he is simply picking pebbles on the shore thereof. Finally he questions how Dharmakīrti who upholds the doctrine of *Nairātmya* can reach the status of Akalaṅka.³ Anantavīrya is the disciple of Ravi-bhadra as we learn from his colophons :—

- 1 With great effort Pt. Jugalakishore has reconstructed the *Maṅgalā-carāṇa-kārikā* which runs thus :—

सर्वज्ञं सर्वतत्त्वार्थस्वच्छादय्यादे शिनं ।
 श्रीवर्ममात्मभक्त्यं वक्ष्ये सिद्धिविनिश्चयम् ॥

—Anekānta, Vol. I. p. 137.

- 2 See *Anekānta*, Vol. I, p. 201.

- 3 Some implications appear to be guaranteed from these verses and the most striking one is that even in the days of Anantavīrya the works of Akalaṅka were considered to be difficult, Anantavīrya, from the way in which he expresses this, it appears, is not a contemporary of Akalaṅka.

“इति श्रीरविभद्रपादोपजीव्यनन्तवीर्यविरचितायां सिद्धिविनिश्चयटीकायां प्रत्यक्ष-
सिद्धिः प्रथमः प्रस्तावः” Or “इति रविभद्रपादकञ्जभ्रमरानन्दवीर्यविरचितायां सिद्धि-
विनिश्चयटीकायां प्रमाणान्तर्गमसिद्धिस्तृतीयः प्रस्तावः.”

Anantavīrya, so far as we know, is the first commentator on the works of Akalaṅka. Almost all later commentators have mentioned the name of Anantavīrya in full reverence. Prabhācandra, in his Nyāyakumudacandrodaya which is a commentary on the Laghiyastrayam of Akalaṅka, speaks of Anantavīrya thus :—

त्रैलोक्योदरवर्तिवस्तुविषयज्ञानप्रभावोदयो
दुष्प्रापोऽप्यकलङ्कदेवसराणि¹ प्राप्नोऽत्रपुण्योदयात् ।
स्वभ्यस्तश्च विवंचितश्च शतशः सोऽनन्तवीर्योक्तिः
भूयान्मे नयनीतिदत्तमनसस्तद्बोधसिद्धिप्रदः² ॥

And in the *maṅga-ūcarāṇa* of the same work he does not leave the name of Anantavīrya unmentioned :—

सिद्धिप्रदं प्रकृतित्त्वं विदुस्तदा-
मानन्दमन्दिरमणेषुगुणैरुपमात्रम् ।
श्रीमज्जिनन्मकलङ्कमनन्तवीर्य-
मानस्य लक्षणपदं प्रवरं प्रवक्ष्ये ॥

Then Vādirāja (first half of the eleventh century), who refers to and quotes Siddhivinīścaya of Akalaṅka, in his Nyāya-viniścayavivarana, compliments Anantavīrya that his words have guided him at every step like a torch light in finding out the sense saturated in the words of Akalaṅka. The verse runs thus :—

गूढमर्थमकलङ्कवाङ्मयागाधभूमिनिहितं तदर्शनां ।
व्यञ्जयत्यलमनन्तवीर्यवाक्दीपवर्तिरनिशं पदे पदे ॥ ३ ॥

Then Abhayacandra who has written a Tātparyavṛtti on Laghiyastrayam³ speaks of Anantavīrya thus :—

जिनाधीशं मुनिं चन्द्रमकलङ्कं पुनः पुनः ।
अनन्तवीर्यमानौमि स्याद्वादन्यायनायकम् ॥ १ ॥

1 The use of *saraṇiḥ* in Masculine deserves notice.

2 This verse occurs at the opening of the fifth chapter of that work.

—See *Anekānta*, Vol. I, p. 132.

3 Published in *Māṇikacandra Granthamālā* (MGM), Vol. I.

That Anantavīrya has written a commentary on Akalaṅka's works is corroborated by the Humach inscription¹ of 1077 A. C. The 'Akalaṅkasūtra' of the Inscription might indicate the Kārikās of Siddhivinīścaya, if not, the Pramāṇa-Saṁgraha-Sūtras² of Akalaṅka, on which too, as we learn from some remarks in his Siddhivinīścaya-ṭīkā, Anantavīrya has written a bhāṣya.

Now coming to the date of Anantavīrya the above references will help us to settle, to some extent, the later limit of his period. Prabhācandra, the author of Nyāyakumudacandrodaya and Prameyakamalamārtanda, flourished before the composition of Ādirāṇa³ of Jinasena who might have begun it somewhere about 838 A. C. Now Prabhācandra plainly tells us⁴ that, for him the explanations of Anantavīrya were the only guide to understand the works of Akalaṅka, indicating thereby perhaps that he was not a contemporary of even Anantavīrya, then what to say of his being a contemporary of Akalaṅka whose words were looked upon as scarce by Anantavīrya himself! Though the exact date of Anantavīrya is still a desideratum this much is certain that he flourished some time after Akalaṅka⁵

1 EC. VIII, Nagara No. 35.

2 See Anekānta, Vol. I, p. 256.

3 चन्द्रशुश्रुष्यशर्म प्रभाचन्द्रकवि स्तुवे ।

कृत्वा चन्द्रोदयं येन शश्वदाह्लादितं जगत् ॥ Ādirāṇa I. 47.

4 See the verse quoted above.

5 Dr. Pathak relegates Akalaṅka to the middle of the 8th century (Annals XI, ii, p. 155), but this view is not in any way cogent. Akalaṅka's dispute with Buddhists might be accepted as a historical fact but that he visited the court of Saahasatunga should not be given the value of contemporary evidence since the inscription in which Akalaṅka is made to address Saahasatunga belongs to 1128 A. C. (EC. II. 67). Further, the identification of Saahasatunga with Dantidurga (Saka 673 = 753 A. C.) is merely conjectural. In no contemporary record Dantidurga is called Saahasatunga (Early History of Deccan, Section XI). We must see whether there is any other evidence useful to settle the limits of Akalaṅka's period. The Dhavalā commentary of Virasena is finished in the reign of Jagattunga (the available dates range from 794 to 808). The praśasti gives the date but the verses are hopelessly corrupt in the Sholapur Ms. More than once Virasena quotes in his commentary long extracts from Rāja-

(circa last quarter of the seventh century at the latest) and a pretty long time before Prabhācandra, the author of *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*. Thus it is impossible that Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalaṅka's works can be assigned to the close of the tenth century. If Vādirāja mentions Anantavīrya, that means, at the most, the later limit might be settled. But the problem how much earlier he was than Vādirāja is not even attempted by Dr. Pathak and he simply jumps to the conclusion by throwing him only one generation back.

The next point to be considered is that Dr. Pathak ascribes the commentary on *Parīkṣāmukha* and the commentary on *Akalaṅka*'s work to one and the same Anantavīrya. It appears that he is misled by the common name of both these authors who are not at all identical and not even contemporaries. It is already seen above that Anantavīrya, the commentator of *Akalaṅka*'s works, lived pretty long before the time of Prabhācandra, the author of *Prameyakumalamārtanda* and *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*, while Anantavīrya, the commentator of *Parīkṣāmukha*¹, is a comparatively late author, sufficiently later than Prabhācandra, since in his commentary he plainly tells us - and it is also proved by

vārtika of *Akalaṅka*. This means in Vīrasena's time *Rājavārtika* had already superseded *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Pūjyapāda and become popular. Further, the relations between *Akalaṅka*, Anantavīrya and Prabhācandra, outlined above on substantial grounds, militate against Dr. Pathak's view. The lower limit for *Akalaṅka*'s period is that he is later than Dharmakīrti. Then Siddhasena Divākara, who is said to have been acquainted with Dharmakīrti's definition of *pratyakṣa*, is quoted in two places by *Akalaṅka* in his *Rājavārtika* (pp. 275 and 295). In view of these intricate facts, I think, we should put *Akalaṅka* in the last quarter of the seventh century at the latest. Further there is the verse of *Akalaṅka carita* (*Anekānta* p. 78) which runs thus ;—

विक्रमार्कशताब्दीयशतसप्तमाजुषि ।

कलिऽकलङ्कयतिनो बोद्धिर्वसो महानभृत् ॥

This verse gives 643 A. D. as the date when *Akalaṅka*'s dispute with Buddhists took place. The evidence of the verse deserves some weight as it agrees with other circumstances. S. Srikantha Śāstri puts c. 645 as *Akalaṅka*'s date, but he has not given any evidences. (*Annals* XII, iii, p. 255).

1 It is popularly known as *Prameyaratnamālā* or *Parīkṣāmukhlapañjikā*.

the contents - that his Vṛtti is merely a summary of Prameya-kamalamārtanda¹. Further, considering the manner in which he refers to Prabhācandra's work, there is no scope to infer that Prabhācandra and Junior Anantavīrya were contemporaries. This Junior Anantavīrya wrote his commentary for Śāntisena at the request of Hirapa, the son of Vijaya and Nāṇamba. So the two authors should not be identified.

I am aware of a way of escape from my conclusion. It might be said that Anantavīrya and Prabhācandra were contemporaries and there is no wonder if they have mutually used their works. Such a conjecture is out of court as it lacks all historical judgement and moreover it is not backed by any evidence. First, we are dealing with authors and their works of the seventh century or so, therefore we can not leave out of consideration the transit-conditions etc. of those days. Nor can we imagine that all these authors lived in one and the same place. If a particular author quotes or refers to a previous author, generally we will have to admit a gap of at least one generation if the evidences to the contrary are not sufficiently conclusive. Secondly, Anantavīrya's commentaries have been a guide to Prabhācandra, a fact plainly admitted by Prabhācandra himself and then can we imagine the same Anantavīrya saying,

प्रभन्दुवचनोदारचन्द्रिकाप्रसरे सति ।

मादृशाः क्व नु गण्यन्ते ज्योतिरिङ्गणसंनिभाः ॥ ?

So I would put it as an established fact that Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalaṅka's works, is quite different from the later Anantavīrya, the author of Parīkṣāmukhapañjikā. Many scholars have been misled by identical names and more so in the study of Jaina chronology, since the same name is borne by Jaina authors more than one. We know at least three Samantabhadras, at least three Jināsenas, about nine Śābhacandras and about

1 प्रभन्दुवचनोदारचन्द्रिकाप्रसरे सति ।

मादृशाः क्व नु गण्यन्ते ज्योतिरिङ्गणसंनिभाः ॥ ३ ॥

तथापि तद्वचोऽपूर्वः चत्वारः सन्ति ।

चेतोहरं भूतं यद्वज्रया नववटे जठम् ॥ ४ ॥

twenty Prabhācandras¹. So one has to be cautious in establishing identity of two authors because of similarity in name. Further, in settling the relative chronology of Jaina authors quotations in the body of the work are often deceptive because of the multiplicity of Mss. and they should not be accepted as grounds of inference until one is satisfied that a particular quotation is genuine in that context (different families of Mss. will have to be consulted) and that the verse quoted does not belong to any previous author.

There have been some four Anantavīryas : for easy reference we would enumerate them by giving a few notable facts.

(i) Anantavīrya, the commentator of Siddhiviniścaya and Pramāṇasaṃgraha of Akalaṅka (last quarter of the seventh century at the latest). He was a pupil of Ravibhadra and flourished, soon after Akalaṅka, in the first quarter (circa) of the eighth century. The Humach inscription² of 1077 A. C. mentions him as an author of a Vṛtti on Akalaṅka-sūtras.

(ii) Anantavīrya, a teacher at Śrāvana Belgola. He was the pupil of Guṇasena, the disciple of Virasena. The Peggur inscription³ records a grant to him by Rakkaś in Śaka 899 (circa 977 A. C.).

(iii) Anantavīrya, the pupil of Prabhācandra (II). He had a colleague named Muṇicandredeva. This teacher Prabhācandra will have to be distinguished from the author of Prameyakamalamārtanda since the same inscription mentions another Prabhācandra previous to that. This Anantavīrya is referred to in some three inscriptions: Nidigi inscription⁴ of c. 1117 A. C., Kallurgudda inscription⁵ of c. 1121 A. C. and Purale inscription⁶

1 See MGM. Vols. XXIV, XXXI etc. Introduction and Annals XIII. i. pp. 37 etc.

2 EC. VIII, Nagar No. 35.

3 EC. I, Coorg Ins. No. 4; and also IA. VI, p. 102 where Kittel holds a different date and puts Śaka 780 with a question mark.

4 EC. VII, Shimoga, No. 57.

5 EC. VII, Shimoga, No. 4.

6 EC. VII, Shimoga, No. 64.

of c. 1132 A. C. So this Anantavīrya might have flourished at the close of 11th century.

(iv) Anantavīrya¹, the author of *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā* which was composed for one Śāntiṣeṇa. Pt. Jugalakishore opines that he might have flourished in the 11th century, so it is likely that he is the same as No. iii.

Moreover, the Chamarājanagar Inscription² of 1117 and Humach Inscription³ of 1147 A. C. mention the name of Anantavīrya along with Śrīpāla and others. These two along with Nāgamaṅgala Inscription⁴ No. 19 refer to the first Anantavīrya. Then there is a dateless epigraph on a Jain image at Kogali (Bellary District) which mentions one Anantavīryadeva by whose pupil Obeyama-setti the image was made⁵.

Like Dr. Pathak, Dr. Vidyabhushan⁶ too has identified Anantavīrya Nos. i and iv (above). The error in this view has been already discussed. Dr. Vidyabhushan, however, adopts a different line of argument to settle the date of Anantavīrya (No. iv). It is already noted that *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā* was composed for Śāntiṣeṇa. Dr. Vidyabhushan supposed Śāntiṣeṇa to be identical with Śāntisūri who died in 1039 A. C. But this supposed identity cannot be accepted for various reasons. First, the names Śāntiṣeṇa and Śāntisūri are not identical. Secondly, Śāntisūri, who died in 1039 A. C. is a Śvetāmbara saint belonging to Thārāpadra-gaccha⁷. His name before the initiation was Bhīma, his native place was

1 Dr. Vidyabhushan says that this Anantavīrya is referred to in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of Mādhavācārya but I have not been able to trace the verses ascribed to Anantavīrya there, in the *Prameyaratna māla* (See pp. 83-84 of *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* BORI edition).

2 EC. Chamarajanagar, No. 83.

3 EC. Nagar, No. 37.

4 EC. IV.

5 South Indian Jainism, part II, pp. 56-57.

6 History of Indian Logic, p. 198.

7 Bhandarkar, Report of Sanskrit Mss. 1883-84, p. 44.

Unnatāyu (modern Una) near Anahilla Pātana¹. It is after initiation that he came to be known as Śāntisūri. He is the author of a long commentary on Uttarādhyayanasūtra and of a Tīppaṇī on Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla. Jīvavīyāra and Chaitya-vandana-Mahābhāṣya too are ascribed to him. Śāntiseṇa might have been only a novice when the commentary was written for him while Śāntisūri (the name given to him at the time of initiation) is a learned monk as seen from his commentary on Uttarādhyayana which is a masterpiece of doctrinal exposition. Thirdly Anantavīrya and Śāntiseṇa lived in the South as shown below while Śāntisūri was born and spent his life in Gujarat. Lastly there have been many Śāntisūris² and there is no reason why this very Śāntisūri should be selected for identity.

It should be considered now whether the name of Śāntiseṇa supplies any data to settle Anantavīrya's (No. IV) date. There are some Jaina epigraphical records where the name Śāntiseṇa occurs. But one thing must be borne in mind that the epigraphical records are not the Census reports nor is it an inviolable rule that names of all authors, teachers and pupils should necessarily find place in inscriptions. However, there is an excuse. It is just probable, in view of the large number of Jaina inscriptions and on the unguaranteed supposition that Śāntiseṇa might have become a pretty famous monk in later life to attract public attention to the extent of his name being recorded in a grant or so, that we might be tempted to search his name in Jaina inscriptions. The name Śāntiseṇa enumerated along with other teachers in Śravana Belgola³ and Ghalya inscription⁴ has nothing to do with our Śāntiseṇa as the inscriptions are of very early date. Then there is the Debkunda inscription⁵ of 1088 A. C. which mentions one Śāntiseṇa, the pupil of Durlabhasena. There is a

1 For full details of this Śāntisūri, see Prabhāvaka Carita XVI, especially the historical summary thereof written in Gujarati by Muni Kalyanavijayaji published as an introduction to the Gujarati translation of Prabhāvaka Carita (Atmananda Sabha, Bhavanagar 1931).

2 See Peterson Report IV, pp. cxviii etc.

3 EC. II, No. 31.

4 EC. V. Channarayapatana, No. 149.

5 EI. II, No. XVIII, .

temptation to identify this Śāntiṣeṇa with the one for whom *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā* was written. Anantavīrya is a South-Indian author as indicated by the proper names mentioned by him. He wrote the commentary at the request of Hirapa (possibly Hirappa adapted to the Sanskrit sound), who was a son of Vaijeya (a palm-leaf Ms. in Laxmisenā Maṭha Kolhapur, reads Vaijayya: Vaineaya of the printed edition is a mistake.) and Nāṇambā. Then Hirappa, Vaijayya and Nāṇambā -- these names have decidedly a South-Indian phonetic colour, while Debkunda is in Northern India. So it is least possible that Anantavīrya might write a manual for the benefit of Śāntiṣeṇa living in Northern India. The data of Śāntiṣeṇa's name are of no help. As a probable conjecture we have identified this Anantavīrya with No. iii above.

To conclude, Anantavīrya, the commentator of Akalaṅka's two works, is quite different from Anantavīrya, the author of *Parikṣāmukhapañjikā*. The first flourished, -- say in the first quarter of the eighth century, -- some time after Akalaṅka while the second Anantavīrya is sufficiently later than Prabhācandra whose *Prameyakamalamārtanda* he summarises in his commentary and probably he flourished at the close of the eleventh century. Dr. Vidyabhushan's identity of Śāntisūri and Śāntiṣeṇa is not acceptable.

I am highly obliged to Pt. Jugalakishore, perhaps the highest living authority on Jaina chronological problems, whose notes on the present topic published in *Anekānta* have been utilised by me and who, at my request, sent so readily and kindly some references.

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON TRIVIKRAMA'S DATE

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

The date of Trivikrama, the Prakrit grammarian, has been only a matter of conjecture¹. The earlier limit of his date is quite definite as he himself says that he has reflected in his work the Prakrit forms of earlier authors including Hemacandra². Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. C.) finished his Prakrit grammar before 1142 A. C., when Kumārapāla came to the throne³. As to the later limit Pischel points out that Kumārasvāmi, the son of Kolācal Mallinātha, quotes Trivikrama both by name and anonymously in his commentary on Pratāparudriya of Vidyānātha who was a contemporary of Pratāparudra II (1295-1323 A. C.). Aufrecht assumed that Mallinātha lived not earlier than 14th century. Hultsch however refers Mallinātha to the end of the 15th century. So Kumārasvāmi's reference to Trivikrama shows that Trivikrama lived earlier than 15th century. Dr. Laddu has shown that Simharāja who utilizes Trivikrama's sūtras probably lived in the beginning of 14th century and ultimately he accepts the conjecture of Pischel that Trivikrama belonged to the 13th century. Keith takes exception to Simharāja's reference to the fourteenth century as being conjectural and adds further, 'it is possible that he is really later than Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita'. Dr. Gune would like to relegate Trivikrama to the fourteenth century at the latest.

I wish to add here a fresh line of evidence which helps, to some extent, to put a later limit to Trivikrama's date. The evidence comes from Halebida inscription published in the latest

- 1 For previous discussions on his date see, Pischel—Pkr. Gr. §38; Laddu—Annals of B. O. R. I. X, pp. 201-205; Gune—Bhavisayattakahā in G. O. S. p. 67 of the Introduction; Keith—A History of Skr. Literature p. 435.
- 2 Introductory verse No. 11.
- 3 See Introduction to Moharājaparājaya in G. O. S. p. XIV et seq.

Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of Mysore¹. The inscription records the death of Sakalacandra in 1236 A. C. He was a student of Arhaṇandi-Traividyaśa and was given *dikṣā* by Bāhubali-Siddhāntideva who was a junior co-disciple of Virāṇandi-Siddhānta-cakravartī. This Virāṇandi finished his Kanarese commentary on his own *Ācārasāra* in 1154 A. C.² Considering the above relation between Sakalacandra, Bāhubali and Virāṇandi we can take these two dates 1154-1236 as tentatively circumscribing the life of Sakalacandra. This indicates that Arhaṇandi-Traividyaśa who was the *Śruta-guru* of Sakalacandra flourished somewhere about the middle of the 12th century. Now Trivikrama tells us that Arhaṇandi-Traividya-Muni was his *Śruta-bhartā*³ (i. e. teacher in Jain Scriptures). And if Trivikrama's student life is to be put in the middle of the 12th century at the feet of Arhaṇandi-Traividyaśa he must have composed his Prakrit grammar, at the latest, early in the beginning of the 13th century. A period of fifty years is not in any way small for the Prakrit Grammar of Hemacandra to travel from Paṭṭana to South India, considering the literary activities of itinerant Jain ascetics of the middle ages. Moreover, the philosophical controversy between Devasūri and Kumudacandra⁴ at the court of Siddharāja, after giving all concession to sectarian bias with reference to florid colours of situations, characters and events as depicted in the play *Mudrita-Kumudacandra-prakarana*⁵ of Yaśaścandra, will have to be accepted as a historical event. The controversy, at which even Hemacandra might have been present, took place in Paṭṭana in 1124 A. C. and it indicates pretty well the literary relations between the South and Gujarat.

1 Of the year 1929, published in 1931. Inscription No. 14, pp. 74-75 etc.

2 See *Karnāṭaka-kavicarita*, Vol. I, p. 168.

3 Introductory verse No. 2.

4 We are not, at present, with what little material we have, in a position to identify this Kumudacandra with any of the two Kumudacandras from South India—One is the teacher of Māghanandi, the author of *Śāstrasārasamuccaya*; while the other is a pupil of one Māghanandi as he tells us in the colophon of his *Jinasamhitā*. On these two Kumudacandras see, *Karnāṭakakavicarita* Vol. I, pp. 388-90 and 392-93; MGM. Vol. XXI, p. 24 of the Introduction.

5 Published in *Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā*, Vol. VIII.

ĀDIBHARATA

BY

D. R. MANKAD, M. A.

The Govt. Manuscripts Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, possesses a Ms. (No. 41 of 1916-18) which is entered there under the title *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*. It has 61 folios, each folio containing 10 to 11 lines. It is a paper Ms., appearing recent.

I have carefully gone through this Ms., and I have found that it does not contain one single work, but fragments of different works. I shall show this by analysing the contents of the Ms.

Folios 1-33 are orderly and coherent as far as the work they contain goes.

Folios 34-47 do not seem to be a continuation of the work contained in folios 1-33. They (34-47) describe tālas etc., which are enumerated in the contents (prefixed to this Ms. in fol. 1-5) under the heading *saptamādhāye tālavīdhāna*. But on further investigation of these folios it seems that they do not contain the text indexed here (i. e. in folios 1-5), for though they show the portions noted in the contents, there are remarkable discrepancies between the text as preserved in these folios and the contents. These folios discuss Maṇḍala, sthāna (both these are not found in the contents) tālaprāṇas, kālalakṣaṇa, mārgalakṣaṇa (which has 16 divisions here while the contents note 16 divisions under mārgapūrāṇa bhedaḥ). Then these folios sub-divide kriyā etc. in the details of which there are striking differences.

	these folios	contents
kriyā ...	8	16
aṅga ...	5	6
graha ...	4	6
jāti ...	4	5
laya ...	3	4
yati ...	3	6
prastāra ...	4	4

Then there are named 71 tālas, their laghugurunirṇaya, saṁkirṇatālas (at the end of which occurs kohalamate saṁkirṇajātī-tālān), slādinām laghugurunirṇaya, aṣṭavidhanāyikā, and daśa-vidhacumbana (which does not occur in the contents).

I, therefore, believe that folios 34-47 do not preserve the same work as contained in folios 1-33.

Fol. 46-47 contain some fragment giving instructions for the commencement of the drama, which has no place in the contents.

Fol. 48^a begins citrādhyāya of the present Bharatanāṭyasāstra, with, however, verses 74, 75^a, 78, 85-131 (of the printed text as in Nirṇayasāgara edition) missing here. This brings the Ms. to fol. 51^a, where the following note is found : iti bhāratīyoktacitrābhīnayaḥ samāptaḥ.

Fol. 51^a to 58 have a description of hastas, mostly asaṁyuta, the treatment of which is not identical with Bharata's, though similar to his. Fol. 58 to 61 give definitions of the viniyoga of asaṁyuta hands, which, too, do not tally with Bharata's, though following it in general.

Moreover, fol. 1-33 regularly give colophons to different Adhyāyas, but the remaining folios have no such colophons.

For all these reasons I believe that this Ms. contains fragments of different works.

Now I shall try to identify the work contained in folios 1-33. The contents which occupy fol. 1-5 end with the remark, ' etatparyantam ādibharataśāstram, asya granthasya nāma nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā. ' I should note, here, that according to the contents, this work has five skandhas, each divided in several adhyāyas and each adhyāya in several prakarṇas, total number of adhyāyas being 32 and that of prakarṇas being 221. And the folios 6-33 contain the first adhyāya almost intact and two adhyāyas of the second skandha. Remaining portion of the work is missing here. The introductory portion in the beginning of the first adhyāya of the first skandha has a remark : vyākartumādibharatam sphuṭamārabhāmi. This prefatory adhyāya, which also enumerates in verse form the

contents of the work, substantially agreeing with the contents noted in folios 1-5, occupies folios 6-11. This first adhyāya shows a mixture of prose and verses.

In spite of the clear mention at the end of the contents—*asya granthasya nāma nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*—I doubt that folios 11-13 contain the first chapter of Ādibharata itself. My reasons are stated below. But before I attempt at giving these reasons, I shall note the colophons to different adhyāyas contained in these folios.

iti śrī ādibharataśāstre samavāyaskandhe nāṭyasarvasvadīpikāyām sabhoddharaperanyāntaṣṭaprakaraṇam nāma dvitīyo'dhyāyah.

Colophon to the third adhyāya also has the same ... ādibharate samavāyaskandhe nāṭyasarvasvadīpikāyām ...

Fourth adhyāya is missing in these folios, and the fifth has the following colophon :

ittham racito'tra bharate mahāpañcamastvāp̄dhraṇasordhva-vihito budhenātha athāya (?) varonvedapadassaṭiko (?) hi rāja nārāyaṇasiddhaśivayogināthena samamanvayapadena ramyam hi (?) iti pañcamassargaḥ.

Sixth adhyāya ends with this colophon :

nārāyaṇaḥ siddhaśivaśrīrāmānandayogirājena

racito bharatoṣaṣṭho'dhyāyaśca svayapadārthapaṭṭikā (?) nārāyaṇasiddhaśivarāmānandayogirājaviracite ādibharate nāṭya-nāṭyāṅga sāmāgryādiḥastādidevatām saptaṭprakaraṇanirūpaṇam nāma ṣaṣṭho'dhyāyah.

Here ends the samavāyaskandha and begins the śikṣā-skandha, colophons to the first and the second adhyāyas of which are, *mutatis mutandis* the same as seen at the end of the first and second adhyāyas of the samavāyaskandha.

Apparent conclusion, from the above colophons and the introductory remark—*vyākartum ādibharatam sphutamārabhāmi*—would be that the present folios must contain Nāṭyasarvasva-

dīpikā of Rāmānanda Yogirāja, which in its turn should be a commentary on Ādibharata. But the title Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā suggests the existence of a work named Nāṭyasarvasva on which it may have commented. This is supported by the fact that these folios have a double copy of folios 12-14, of which one continues the present work, while the other one bears a marginal caption Nāṭyasarvasvam. I, therefore, take these two, out-of-place folios to contain a fragment of Nāṭyasarvasvam, the commentary on which was probably designated as Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā.

Now the text preserved in folios 1-33 shows peculiar characteristics for a commentary¹. It runs in Anuṣṭup metre, varied very rarely, by other metres. It does not quote any other author. It does not give ṭīkā or anvayapada. A commentary is usually expected to show all these characteristics. In fact, apart from the colophons and the contents which mention Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā, there is no internal indication to show that these folios contain Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā. On a careful consideration of the text, I doubt that these folios contain Ādibharata. My reasons are :

(1) Colophon to the sixth adhyāya of the Samavāyaskandha, clearly takes this work to be Ādibharata, though I am not prepared to stress this point too much, for the obvious reason that this and the colophon to the fifth adhyāya are in direct conflict with the remaining colophons.

(2) The portion in these folios exhibit a running style, much similar to our printed Bharatanāṭyāsāstra, and a confident treatment of the subjects, which may be seen in an authoritative work.

(3) Mr. Manamohan Ghose has during the course of an article,² drawn our attention to the quotations from Ādibharata found in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary to Śākuntala. He has given passages quoted under the name of Ādibharata by Rāghava-

1 Following information is found in the Ms. : वैद्यपमंत्रितनयः कोकिलाम्बातनुमयः ।
नारायणः सिद्धशिवयोगिराजो विराजते ॥ चरकोटिकलापृष्ठिवंशजः ब्रह्मवेत्ता असकल-
सुकल श्रीमत्संगोत्रः कबीन्द्रः (fol. 8, l. 1-3).

2 See Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1930, p. 72.

bhatta under three heads: (1) those that are found in the present Bharatanāṭyaśāstra, (2) those that have parallels in it and (3) those that are not seen there. Under (2) is quoted the following passage:

सभ्यास्तु विबुधैर्ज्ञेया य दिदृक्षान्विता जनाः ।
मध्यस्था सावधानाश्च वाग्मिनो न्यायवेदिनः ।
ब्रुहिताब्रुहिताभिज्ञा विनयानम्रकंधराः ।
अगर्वा रसभावज्ञास्तौर्यत्रितयकोविदाः ।
असद्वादननिषेद्धारश्चतुरा मत्सरच्छिदाः ।
अमन्दरसनिष्यन्दहृदया भूषणोज्ज्वलाः ।
सुवेषा भोगिनी (?) नानाभाषावीर (?) विशारदाः ।
स्वस्वोचितस्थानसुस्थास्तत् प्रशंसापरायणाः ।

Sakuntala, Nir. S. p. 9.

Following is the parallel passage found in the present NS.

चारित्र्याभिनयोपेताः शान्तिवृत्तश्रुतान्विताः ।
यशोधर्मरताश्चैव मध्यस्था वयसान्विताः ।
षष्ठङ्गनाट्यकुशला अलुब्धाः शुचयः समाः ।
चतुरातोयकुशला नेपथ्यज्ञा सुधार्मिकाः ।
देशभाषाविधानज्ञाः कलाशिल्पविचक्षणाः ।
चतुर्धाभिनयज्ञाश्च सूक्ष्मज्ञा रसभावयोः ।
शब्दछन्दोविधानज्ञाः नानाशास्त्रविचक्षणाः ।
एवंविधास्तु कर्तव्या प्रेक्षका (प्राश्रिका) नाट्यदर्शने ।

NS. KM. XXVII, 47-50.

Now compare the following almost identical passage found in the text contained in these folios (fol. 13^a line 2-6) :

आस्थानस्थेययोग्यानां लक्षणं प्रवदाम्यहम् ।
मध्यस्थाः सावधानाः स्युः वाग्मिनो न्यायवेदिनः ।
ब्रुहिताब्रुहिताभिज्ञा विनयानतकंधराः ।
अगर्वा रसभावज्ञास्तौर्यभेदविचक्षणाः ।
असद्धारनिरोद्धारः चतुरामरच्छिदाः ।
दयालवः सुशीलाश्च सुवस्त्राभरणोज्ज्वलाः ।
अमन्दरागनिष्क्रान्तहृदयस्थानसंस्थिताः ।

I have not been able to trace any other quotation given by Mr. M. Ghose; and though the text as preserved here runs only upto the middle of the second skandha (out of the five skandhas), I am not prepared to say that all these references noted by Mr.

M. Ghose under (1), (2) and (3), would be found in the remaining portions of the text: for, the references recorded by Mr. M. Ghose show that the work Ādibharata as understood by Rāghavabhaṭṭa treated among other things of avasthās, sandhis etc., while Ādibharata as noted in these folios cannot possibly treat of any such topic, as, it remarks (fol. 10a, l. 6-10) :

भरता बहुधा सन्ति नान्दिसारस्वदादयः ।
 तेषां प्रमाणमादिश्व भरतस्स उमापातिः ।
 अत एवादिभरतप्रकारं नटनं स्मृतं ।
 नाटकास्तु कथाप्राया दशरूपकसंज्ञकाः ।
 शैल्यसूत्रधारायैः पुत्तिकाप्रतिमादिभिः ।
 वेषभाषाविकारादिकल्पनाभिर्बहुकृताः ।
 तस्माद् बुधस्य नृत्यस्य प्रमाणं न भवन्ति ते ।
 नटनं नाटिकानां च तेषां कारणमेव हि ।
 तस्मान्नाटयस्य शुद्धांगं शास्त्रसिद्धं प्रवक्ष्यामि ।

This quotation apparently believes that Nāṭakas and other varieties of rūpakas have no place in this text, which should have treated of nṛtta, and nṛtya but not nāṭya, (as understood by Daśa-rūpakam). This is completely borne out by the contents noted in folios 1-5, where no rūpakaprakāra or no other matter usually found in our nāṭyaśāstra works, occurs, and which expressly states - etatparyantam ādibharataśāstram. Evidently, this contradictory nature - that one passage quoted under Ādibharata and not found in our printed NS., should be seen here and that other passages quoted under Ādibharata have no apparent place in this work - may stop us from taking this fragment to represent Ādibharata. But I cannot be positive. My whole object is to collect data and to leave the question about the identity of the work open.

(4) That these folios do not contain Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā is borne out by another line of argument. I have already noted that as far as the general style of the work contained herein is concerned, it represents a flowing epic style, free from any prose or poetic explanations. And though it is difficult to determine the connection between Ādibharata and Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā, I put the following before the readers: folios 12-14 are found twice in this Ms., and those that are out of place, show that they

treat of tālas. Also folios 34-47 contain a treatment of tālas as noted above ; but both these portions are not the same as detailed in the contents. Now both these portions - the additional folios 12-14 and folios 37-47 - begin with the following benedictory stanza :

Viṣṇum lokagurum praṇamya śirasā sanmārgasaṁdarśakam
kīrtipritikaram janasya laghunā kālena kāmāpradam
sevyam sadyatibhiḥ dhṛtaplutapadam nyāsottalokatrāyam
tālānām kathayāmi lakṣaṇamaham pūrvoktāśāstrakramāt

In spite of this identical benedictory stanza, the matter seen at both these places, though treating of tālas, is different, one probably representing Nāṭyasarvasva and the other, the dīpikā thereon. My reason for so saying is that the additional folios 12-14, which contain the stanza as well as the tālalakṣaṇa, bear a marginal caption - Nāṭyasarvasvam - , which, therefore, may represent that work. Folios 34-47 bear a marginal caption - hastādhyāya - which is obviously wrong as they treat of tālas only. From the style of these folios (34-37) one can say that they may represent the dīpikā, for there are found prose explanations, quotations from other works on the same subject etc., which are the usual indications of a commentary.

It is on these grounds that I doubt folios 1-33 to contain a portion of Ādibharata, or, at least, to show a new light on the question of Ādibharata.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

VII

A MANUSCRIPT OF SAMGĪTARĀGAKALPADRUMA AND ITS PROBABLE DATE

Aufrecht mentions in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* only one Ms. of a work on music under the title संगीतरागकल्पद्रुम. This is "Bd. 980", which is the same as No. 980 of 1887-91 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The Ms. consists of 31 folios and is incomplete. Folios 1 to 9 which comprise one chapter of the manuscript may possibly have been a later interpolation based on the 3rd chapter of the *Samgitaratnākara*. This chapter commences with the following statement indicating that the material has been borrowed from the *Samgitaratnākara* :—

“अथ श्रीकृष्णानन्दव्यासदेव(वेदव्यास ?)रागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमे संगीत-सहितायां प्रकीर्णाध्यायप्रारंभ(भोऽस्य तथाच संगीतरत्नाकरे.” On folio 9 we get the following colophon of this Chapter :—

“इति भ्रमदवय(भ्रमदनवय)विद्याविनोदश्रीकरुणाधिपतिःश्रीसोढलदेवनन्दनश्री-मन्त्रिकश(श्रीमन्निःशङ्क) श्रीशास्त्रिदेव(श्रीशार्ङ्गदेव)विरचिते संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्ण-काध्यायस्तुतीयः इति श्रीकृष्णानन्दव्यासदेव(वेदव्यास ?)रागसागरोद्भवसंगीतराग-कल्पद्रुमे संगीतायां(संगीतसहितायां) संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्णकाध्यायः ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥”

After this some-what extraneous matter the real beginning of the *Samgītakalpādruma* is indicated by the following lines :—

श्रीअमरानन्दव्यासदेवतस्यात्मजश्रीहीरानन्दव्यासदेव तस्यात्मजश्रीकृष्णानन्द-व्यासदेवरागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमग्रंथप्रारंभः । अथ मंगलाचरण । देवीं सरस्वतीं नत्वा गणेशं हरिमीश्वरं । रागकल्पद्रुमं ग्रंथं कुरुते रागसागरः¹ ॥

1 “रागसागर” appears to be an honorific title of कृष्णानन्दवेदव्यास. This is borne out by the line “कृष्णानन्दवेदव्यासरागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमग्रंथ-प्रारंभः”. There does not seem to be any necessity to suppose that the expression “रागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुम” is to be taken entirely in the metaphorical sense, for we have such combinations as “द्यानन्दविद्यासागर” to justify the conclusion that रागसागर is an honorific title affixed to the name कृष्णानन्द वेदव्यास,

In the above quotations the scribe appears to have confounded the epithet वेदव्यास with व्यासदेव. The correct epithet appears to have been वेदव्यास as is clear from the following verses which tell us that the author's name was कृष्णानन्द. He was the son of हीरकानन्द (or हीरानन्द) and grandson of अमरानन्द. The family name appears to have been वेदव्यास —

Folio 10 — “ पौत्रोहममरानन्दवेदव्यासद्विजन्मनः ।

पुत्रश्च हीरकानन्दवेदव्यासस्यधीमतः ॥

कृष्णानन्दभिधोवेदव्यासो नत्वासरस्वती ।

रागकल्पद्रुमं नाम कूर्बे ग्रंथं सतां मुदे ॥ ”

On folio 18, another chapter appears to commence with the same ग्रंथारंभ and मंगलाचरण as on folio 9. Subsequent matter of this new chapter appears to have been interspersed with verses which already appear in the previous chapter. However, the new chapter does not look like being a mere duplicate of the old one. Another colophon appears on fol. 27 :—

“ इति श्री कृष्णानन्द संगीतरागकल्पद्रुमे इन्द्रप्रस्थीययुधिष्ठिरश्रीकृष्ण-
मतानुयायी रागरागिणीपुत्रवधूरागउपरागसमयसंपूर्ण ॥ ”

After this colophon begins तालाध्याय which is introduced with the lines “ श्रीकृष्णानन्दव्यासदेवरागसागरोद्भवसंगीतरागकल्पद्रुमे संगीतरत्नाकरे संगीतसंहितायां तालाध्यायः and तालानां कथयामिलक्षणमिदं पूर्वोक्तशास्त्रे स्मृत । ”. The available portion of this incomplete तालाध्याय is covered up by folios 27 to 31.

The Ms. mentions among other references the following authors and works :—

- (1) आंजनय (fol. 12, 20, 28); (2) चूडामाण (fol. 28); (3) नारद-
संगीत (fol. 22); (4) नारदसंहिता (fol. 10, 20); (5) नारायणसंगीत (fol.
10); (6) बृहत्संगीतरत्नाकर (fol. 22); (7) ब्रह्मसंगीत (fol. 10); (8)
भरतमत (fol. 22); (9) मणिदर्पण (fol. 28); (10) रत्नाकर (fol. 28);
(11) विज्ञानश्वर (fol. 10, 27); विष्णुपुराण (fol. 10, 19); (12) शिवसंगीत
(fol. 10); (13) शिवकिंकर (fol. 28); (14) शिवसंगीतरत्नाकर (fol. 10);
(15) संगीतभाष्य (fol. 10, 19); (16) संगीतनारायण (fol. 10)¹; (17)

1. Journ. Andhra His. Res. Society—Vol. III, 2, 3, 4.—

p. 205 — “ संगीतनारायण, a work of the 18th century by Nārāyaṇa of the Gāṅga family ”

p. 206 — “ About A. D. 1750 Nārāyaṇadeva issued संगीतनारायण in five chapters etc. ”

संगीतदर्पण (fol. 10, 22); (18) संगीतलक्ष्मीनारायण (fol. 10) (19) संगीत-
रत्नाकर (fol. 19); (20) संगीतमहोदाय (fol. 19, 20); (21) संगीतसहिता
(fol. 21); (22) संगीतसार (fol. 22), which may be the work by विद्यारण्य
quoted in संगीतनारायण of the Nārāyaṇa of the गाङ्ग family ; (23)
संगीतचंद्रिका (fol. 22) mentioned in संगीतसुधा of Raghunātha of Tan-
jore about 1620 A. D. (JAHRS. III, 2, 3, 4 p. 204); (24) संगीतासि(सि)धु
(fol. 22); (25) संगीतपारिजात (fol. 22); (26) संगीतार्णव (fol. 27);
(27) सरस्वतासंगीत (fol. 10); (28) हनुमन्मत (fol. 22).

In the above list of references, the references to संगीतनारायण and संगीतपारिजात prove that the present work is a late compilation from many works on Saṅgīta referred to by the author. The chronology of many of these works is uncertain. We can, however, fix the probable time of this compilation from the mention of संगीतपारिजात on fol. 22. The approximate time of the work as fixed by Dr. P. R. Bhandarkar¹ is the latter half of the 17th century (A. D. 1650 to 1700 A. D.). As Saṅgītapārijāta has not been much made use of in the present compilation it must have been a somewhat fresh work at the time. Perhaps it attained importance later and was translated into Persian in A. D. 1724. The reference to the संगीतनारायण on fol. 10, if it has reference to a work of that name by नारायणदेव in five chapters issued about A. D. 1750², still takes the date of composition of the *Saṅgītarāga-kalpādruma* to a period immediately following A. D. 1750. If the dates of the संगीतपारिजात and the संगीतनारायण as fixed above are regarded as correct we can assign the संगीतकल्पद्रुम of कृष्णानंददेवदयास-रागसागर to a period between 1750 A. D. and 1800 A. D.

1. Vide his article on " Ancient Hindu Music ", IA. XLI (1912), p. 160 —
" Ahobala's *Saṅgīta-pārijāta* — This work was translated into
Persian in the year 1137 A. H. or A. D. 1724 this work
represents a later stage in the development of Music than the last
treatise, and I have assigned it, therefore, to the latter half of the
17th century approximately."

2. JAHRS — III, 2, 3, 4 — p. 206.

VIII

RASAVILĀSA OF BHŪDEVA ŚUKLA AND ITS PROBABLE DATE — ABOUT A. D. 1550

Dr. S. K. De mentions *Rasa-vilāsa*¹ of Bhūdeva Śukla among minor works on alaṃkāra literature and remarks that he “ belongs to the 16th century.” The following evidence not only corroborates Dr. De’s remarks but enables us to fix the probable date of *Rasa-vilāsa*. On an examination of the two Mss.² of the work in the Govt. Mss. Library in the B. O. R. Institute, I find that Bhūdeva Śukla quotes³ from Śrīvatsalāñchana, who is evidently the commentator of Mammaṭa. As regards the date of Śrīvatsalāñchana Dr. De observes⁴ that he “ cannot be earlier than the 14th century” but “ is earlier than the 17th century, being quoted by Kamalākara (1612 A. D.) and Jagannātha”. These remarks, however, are not sufficient to enable us to fix the probable date of *Rasavilāsa*. Mr. P. V. Kane refers⁵ in his History of Alaṃkāra Literature, to a Ms. of the Kāvya-parīkṣā of Śrīvatsalāñchana which is dated 1550 A. D. This date proves that Śrīvatsalāñchana must have written his *Kāvya-parīkṣā* before 1550 A. D. The Kāvya-parīkṣā is an “ independent work by Śrīvatsalāñchana which deals with the general characteristics of poetry and follows in the main the teachings of Mammaṭa ”. The facts that (i) *Rasavilāsa* quotes from Śrīvatsalāñchana’s work⁶ and that (ii) there is a Ms. of one of Śrīvatsa’s works dated 1550 A. D. lead us to infer that *Rasavilāsa* is a work written about A. D. 1550. We may, therefore, fix A. D. 1550 as the probable date of *Rasa-vilāsa* of Bhūdeva Śukla.

1. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 305.

2. No. 594 of 1887-91 and No. 337 of 1884-86.

3. Ms. No. 337 of 1884-86, folio 3— “ तदुक्तं श्रीवत्सलान्छनेन ।

सवासनानां सभ्यानां रसस्यास्वादनं भवेत् ।

निर्वासनाः शाब्दिकाद्याः कष्टलोष्टाश्मसन्निभाः ॥ ”

also “ चिरमिति व्यभिचारिवारणायैति श्रीवत्सलान्छनः ”

4. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 178.

5. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 2nd edition, 1923, Introduction, (Index of Works), p. CLXV — No. 187:

6. The verse quoted above may be either from *Kāvya-parīkṣā* or from his commentary on Mammaṭa’s *Kāvya-prakāśa*. I have not identified it.

A COMMENTARY ON THE KUMĀRA-SĀMBHAVA, BY
HARICARANADĀSA, CALLED DEVASENĀ AND ITS
PROBABLE DATE -- BETWEEN 1630 AND 1680 A. D.

Aufrecht¹ records only one Ms. of a commentary by Haricaranadāsa called Devasenā, viz. "Peters 1. 114". This Ms. is the same as No. 37 of A. 1882-83 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The commentary is for cantos I and II only. In the colophon of Canto I on folio 14, as also in the colophon for Canto II on the last folio 24 we are told that the commentary देवसेना was composed by हरिचरणदास who is also styled in the 1st colophon as 'राधाकृष्णचरणकमलसेवि' - an epithet which is only a paraphrase of the author's name हरिचरणदास. That the author was a devotee of Hari is clear from the following stanzas at the beginning of the Ms. :—

"सकलविघ्नविनाशकरकरे दधतमाशुहरिहरिणीदृशे ।
अरुणरागभरोष्टपुटे हितं विदधतं मुखं सुशिरं भजे ॥ १ ॥
नायं नायं प्रति कृष्णं भावं भावं योर्वचः ।
देवसेनां कुमारस्य हरिणीकां तनोत्यमृत् ॥ २ ॥"

Among authors and works referred to in the commentary the following are to be noted :— अमरः (fols. 1, 2, 3) ; हैमः (fols. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12, 16, 18, 21, 24) ; रामाश्रमाचार्य (fol. 1) ; भागवत (एकादशस्कंध) (fol. 2) ; वैजयंती (fol. 4) ; विश्वः (fols. 5, 6, 10) ; मेदिनी (fol. 7) .

These references clearly show that it is not a very old commentary. In particular the following reference to रामाश्रमाचार्य enables us to fix us one terminus for the date of the commentary :

"रामाश्रमाचार्येणापि नक्षत्रचूषं भं इत्याद्यै
भमित्यस्यसाधने अन्यत्र ग्रहणादनेनैव मः कृतः" etc.

The above comment has reference to the commentary² of Bhānu Dikṣita alias Rāmāśrama on the following line of verse 21 in the Amarakośa (First Kāṇḍa) :—

"नक्षत्रचूषं भं तारा तारकाप्लुद्वा ज्ञियाम् ।"

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 110 b.

2. *Amarakośa* with commentary Vākyasādhā or Rāmāśramī of Bhānujī Dikṣita, son of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita (Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1915), p. 37.

This identification proves that the present commentary was composed after the commentary of Bhānu Dīkṣita on the Amarakośa. Bhānu Dīkṣita or Rāmāśrama was the son of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, whose date is about A. D. 1630.¹ Satvarāja, a disciple of Rāmāśrama wrote in 1641 A. D.² We may, therefore, conclude from these facts that Bhānu Dīkṣita flourished between A. D. 1630 and 1641 and as Haricaraṇadāsa refers to Bhānuji Dīkṣita's commentary on the Amarakośa in his present commentary Devasenā we must suppose that the latter was composed after 1641 A. D.

Another limit to the above date may be furnished by the following facts, if the underlying identity of authorship presumed by us is correct : Haraprasāda Shāstri describes a work called युत्त-दुन्दावनरहस्य. In his *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*³ It is ascribed to one हरिचरण and is in Bengālī characters. Its subject is mentioned as "वेष्णवशास्त्र". The Ms is dated Śaka 1602 (= A. D. 1680). The name हरिचरणदास appears to have a Bengālī tinge about it and if he is identical with the हरिचरण who composed the युत्तदुन्दावनरहस्य as I presume him to be, we may be justified in the inference that the commentary *Devasenā* of *Haricaraṇadāsa* was composed between A. D. 1641 and 1680 or towards the middle of the 17th century.

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1. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* by S. K. Belvalkar, Poona, 1915, p. 47.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 48 — Genealogical table.
 3. *Second Series*, Vol. I, 1900, p. 90— Ms No. 95.
- 13 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

EXACT DATE OF NAUKĀ OF GAṄGĀRĀMA JADĪ

(COM. ON THE RASATARANGINI OF BHĀNUDATTA)

— 1742 A. D.

Dr. S. K. De states¹ that the commentary Naukā by Gaṅgārāma Jadī on the Rasatarangini of Bhānudatta is "dated in 1732 A. D." In another place² he remarks that Gaṅgārāma Jadī "belongs to the second quarter of the 18th century". I am not aware of the evidence on which Dr. De bases these statements. Presumably, however, it refers to the chronogram given by the author of the commentary at the end of the work. In a Ms.³ of this commentary in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute the relevant verses containing the chronogram run as under :—

“ गंगाधरस्य गंगेव विष्णोर्विष्णुपदीव वा ।
 नौकाबुधाविनाभूः स्ताद्वीर्वागीर्वाण गौरवी ॥ ६ ॥
 ग्रहांकनगपृथ्व्यंके १७९९ नौकांगिरसिवत्सरे ।
 एकद्वित्रिचतुः श्लोका ४३२१ गंगारामेण पुरिता ॥ ७ ॥ ”

Now the chronogram (ग्रह, अंक, नग, पृथ्वी) is equal to the figures 9,9,7,1, which when read in the inverse order give us Samvat 1799 as the date of compilation of the work. In fact the figures 1799 are actually to be found in the Ms. as shown in the above verse. The date of Naukā as based on the above chronogram is A. D. 1742 and not 1732 as stated by Dr. De. I am not sure if "1732" is a misprint for "1742" in Dr. De's book under reference. In the Errata at the end of Dr. De's book this date is not corrected, in case it is a misprint.

1. *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 253.

2. *Ibid*, p. 291.

3. No. 113 of 1919-24.

REVIEWS

MYSTERY OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, VOL. I, BY N. V.

THADANI, Published by BHARAT PUBLISHING HOUSE,
KARACHI

It is one thing to conceive an idea, and quite another to work it out thoroughly. Even in the ordinary routine of daily life, scores of ideas crowd an imaginative head, but almost all — if not ALL — as readily disappear to give place to different new-comers. A few, perchance, do cling to their place of birth, with a hope of growth and their final appearance, in full concrete form in the outer world of existence. Of these lingering few, one or two sufficiently force themselves, and compel the person to work. But even these, after a little of actual labour, tire the person, and he throws away the task half-done, growing despondent of the drudgery attaching thereto. So, to work out an idea completely, is, in itself, a matter of no small credit to the worker. The world may or may not appreciate and accept his work, but he is there all the while silently drudging on at his self-imposed task.

Prof. Thadani's is a labour of this type. One can easily conceive the illimitable patience that the learned author had to practise, in systematically working out his problem and bringing it out in the form of a book, the first volume of which, has only recently been presented to the public, and the second, as the author promises, is to follow shortly. The real explanation of the mystery of the Mahābhārata, is, we learn from the preface, to appear in the forth-coming second volume; and the Introduction only supplies us an outline of what it is to be. The first volume of the work, as it were, is meant to prepare us for the reading of the second, and explains the thesis of the author, as far as the Vedas are concerned — or, more properly, in author's own words in the preface, — "the first volume ends with the Gods of the Vedas"; and yet, this alone covers no less than 500 pages !!

The origin of the work, as stated by the author, in the beginning of the Introduction, lay in "the idea of the MBh. as a great picture of a great Philosophy of life," occurring to him "almost like a dream". But the dream was not allowed to pass unnoticed. He "pursued it for nearly eight years," and we have as the result, the work under review.

So, Prof. Thadani has worked his interpretations, apparently, from the Great Epic back to the Vedas, though the actual presentation of the theme, as we gather from the volume in hand, is to be quite the reverse. Howsoever that be, the new idea has been placed before the reader in all the details, and to follow them in the proper spirit, he is, to start with, asked by the author to forget what we have, so long learnt to think of our sacred literature, especially about the MBh., that it is a history -- 'itihāsa' -- giving the story of the great fight on the Kuruksetra. To put it in the author's own words: "the Sacred books ... deal with the one problem of all problems -- the truth of the life conceived in various ways. ... And all this can be demonstrated by means of the ancient method of interpretation, based on the analysis of words and names. ..." The author, in the present work, has, according to this ancient method, dealt with only the Vedas and the MBh., but, believing that "no student of the original work of the Hindus can lightly dismiss this interpretation," Prof. Thadani has asked others to volunteer their assistance in this huge work initiated by him, as, "the principal Sanskrit works will *all* require a new interpretation; not only in mass, but in data."

Modern Oriental scholarship of the Europeans, followed by Indians, has, for more than the last half century, put all the ancient Hindu literature, to a minute scrutiny, and gleaned historical facts pertaining to the Indian people. Thus, apart from the philosophy contained therein, we have before us a connected real story of the Vedic people, how they actually lived and fared, where they came from, who the Dasyūs were whom they had to fight with, and so on. The MBh. being understood to be an 'itihāsa' -- history -- first, is naturally read in that light, and we weep at the lamentations of the grieved there, jump with the fire

in Bhīma, look with awe upon Bhīṣma and Drona — in short, we treat the Pāṇḍavas, the Kauravas, nay, even Śrī Kṛṣṇa, as *real* human beings, who like us, had their span of life in the mortal world, shared the joys and sorrows as we do even now, and so our hearts respond in sympathy towards whatever they say or do, — and now we are asked to turn to the ancient method of interpretation and treat the Epic story as an allegory depicting the contest between the different systems of thought, such as Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, etc.

This, of course, with regard to what an ordinary reader would say ; but the fact is, there are really very few people, who would readily pick up and follow any thing beyond the beaten path. And still, Prof. Thadani's work has an interest and importance in the light referred to above.

It would be interesting to note here, that there have been a few scholars — although only a few -- who have been in the field that Prof. Thadani has entered, putting forth the hypothesis that the whole, or a part of the Great Epic is an allegory, and Prof. Winternitz, in reviewing Mr. Dahlmann's *Mahābhārata*, has conveniently summed up all. Referring to Mr. Dahlmann's hypothesis that "the marriage of the five Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī, the embodiment of the goddess Śrī, is nothing but a *symbolical* representation of the joint possession of the common property belonging to the undivided family", the great MBh. Scholar goes on : "What Th. Goldstucker objects against Lassen's allegorical explanation of the polyandric marriage of Draupadī, holds good against all similar explanations, such as M. Bergaigne's mythical, and Mr. Dahlmann's symbolical explanation." "Either polyandry existed as an institution when this allegory was made -- in that case there is no ground for considering a polyandric marriage as an improbable event in the history of the Pāṇḍavas themselves — or it as little existed in their time as in the later history of India. *In that case however, it would have offended the national sentiment, and no allegory of this kind could have entered a poet's mind, or obtained currency,*" ... "epic tradition in the mouth of the people was too strong to allow this essential and

curious feature in the life of its heroes, to be changed," and lastly, "... from every point of view the story of Draupadi and the five Pāṇdavas has to be regarded as an ancient tradition illustrating an *actual* state of society, and in that sense as a "*real piece of history*", and certainly not (as Mr. Dahlmann thinks) an invention of some teacher of law, who wanted to illustrate his legal theories by a fanciful symbolical marriage of five men ... Everybody ... will agree ... that the MBh. could never have become the national epic of India, if it had been merely an illustration of Dharmasāstra with all its legal antiquities."

To return to the volume in hand, a glance at the contents would give us a fair idea of what the work aims at; but before proceeding in that line it would be better to peep into the Introduction, where the author starts with "As it is in the cell, so it is in the Brahmāṇḍa", as the sole basis for his interpretation: "According to this idea, the Sanskrit language itself is conceived as a picture of the Brahmāṇḍa, reproducing by means of its vowels and consonants, general structure, sandhi rules and grammatical forms, the idea of the nucleus, cytoplasm, centrosomes and chromosomes of the cell, and the form, action and interaction of its constituent parts; so that each expression, word or letter might be the mirror of a great science, a great philosophy, and a great religion all united together in one Truth." This has been explained at great length in the major portion of this volume, — the cell (ch. III), the Golden Egg, or the Brahmāṇḍa (ch. IV), physical science as found in our literature, (ch. V), the origin and character of Sanskrit (ch. VI); and it is in ch. VII that we come across the method of interpretation, as put forth by the author, and with authority too, to back him.

Without going into details, which form the lot of the student and reader, and not of the reviewer, a few interesting interpretations may be given: Kāla, analysed according to the ecliptic method, denotes the cycle of Buddhi or the Sun completed in Prakritic Ether; similarly Gaja denotes the relation of Puruṣic Prakritic Ether.

Karṇa, of the Mahābhārata which latter, is "great treatise on the subject matter of Breath or Prāṇa ..." represents all seed, the essence of vegetable kingdom or the vegetable kingdom itself; while Kuntī, analysed into Kum. and ti, gives the meaning Earth for the former, and iti, meaning, 'that is to say' for the latter part of the word. So that we have Kuntī standing for the Earth, a meaning further strengthened by her other name Pṛthā, identical with Pṛthivī, the Earth. According to the author, the Pāṇḍavas of whom, Arjuna, like Indra, stands for Heart-energy, likewise, represent the animal kingdom; "and as our planet consists of all the five elements and is characterised by the energy of the Sun and the moon, both the kingdoms of life are conceived as born of her."

I purposely desist from making any reference to the author's different interpretations regarding the characters and their activities in the Mahābhārata, given with some detail in his Introduction, as, according to the promise of the author himself, his second volume mainly deals with the Great Epic, and it would be but right to look into the real mystery of the Mahābhārata when we have that promised volume in hand.

S. N. TADPATRIKAR

**THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, critically edited by P. P. S. SASTRI,
Vol. I, Parts 1 & 2, published by V. RAMASWAMI SASTRULU
& SONS, MADRAS**

Among India's glorious literary heritage the Mahābhārata, the great Epic of India, as Professor E. W. Hopkins styled it, occupies a foremost place as a finished piece of literary composition, a superb didactic work and as the accredited source of ancient historical tradition. The materials which it contains being invaluable to the students of history and philosophy, not to speak of literature, have compelled the International School of Oriental Scholars to focus their attention on the get up of a really critical edition based on almost all available manuscripts so as to make it a complete whole. Such an edition of rare value has been undestaken by the well known Oriental Institute of India, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona.

Coming nearer home the Kumbhakonam edition of the Mahābhārata, which we hear is out of print, supplied the longfelt need for a book of that kind in the south of India. There is still the need for handy volumes of the Mahābhārata which will be easily portable and can be handled with ease for ready reference. This is now satisfied by the enterprising publishing firm of Madras, Messrs V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras. It has been decided to publish the full work in a series of volumes, of which two parts are already out. They are edited by Professor P. P. S. Sastri of the Presidency College, Madras. There is clear evidence of the great care bestowed by Prof. Sastri in editing this work. This seems to be an endeavour to bring out a south Indian recension of the Mahābhārata and to this extent the learned editor has utilised five important manuscripts. From what one can gather from the two parts before us, there is no doubt that the work will be accorded a popular welcome and will be an invaluable and useful addition to the editions already in the market. The value of the work is very much enhanced by a table of contents giving a running summary of important incidents and an index indispensable to research scholars.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

PRĀṆAYĀMA (PART I) BY SWAMI KUALAYANANDA,

Published by Kaivalyadhāma—Lonaola, priced at Rs. 2-8,

Pp. 156.

In ancient India our ancestors built up a civilisation peculiar to this country. Their main efforts were concentrated on the attainment of the highest perfection and "liberation" of the human soul. By itself it was the most laudable aim. The individual soul is a part of the universal soul. This realisation of unity or oneness of the Jivātman with Paramātman had to be realised. For this purpose they evolved a highly elaborate system of Yoga, consisting of physical and psychical processes which would help the individual to discover his inner essence and thus get absorbed in the Supreme. Life was not so complicated then, so the individual could spend the greater part of it in the realisation of this aim. Detailed treatises were compiled for the guidance of the seekers after this Truth. But the political upheavals, that history records, put this wonderful education and training in the background. During the Muslim rule even the study of Sanskrit became a clandestine affair. Most of the Sanskrit literature became extinct. In modern times the individual has become so much absorbed in political and economic struggle that he has almost forgotten that he has a soul. Even the body, the vehicle of the soul is neglected. This is due to the all-pervading influence of western civilisation. Darwin, the greatest scientist of the age, gave us the theory of the evolution of the species. Herbert Spencer developed the idea. But no one has paid the slightest attention to the evolution of the mind and the soul, which are the real powers behind the body. But now a reaction is setting in. Indians, specially, are now realising that the time has come for them to pay attention to their souls the only thing that belongs to them and which no one can take away from them. We might reasonably and proudly call it the renaissance of the Indian thought — Ramakrishna and Vivekananda set in ball rolling. Now the task has been seriously taken up by Mr. Gune, better known as Swami Kuvalayānanda.

For reviving what is best in the Indian civilisation he is the most suited person, with his high education, love of truth, honesty of purpose, respect for learning, devotion to humanity and an utter disregard of materialism. The only reward that he possibly expects for his efforts and labour is the satisfaction that he has been of some service to his fellow human beings. He is trying to spread this knowledge among as many people as he possibly can. With this end in view he has started a quarterly Journal under the name of Yoga-Mīmāṃsā, in which are embodied the results of his research work in this subject. The book under review is one of the popular series intended for laymen, who want to start physical exercises which would have the way for spiritual advancement. It might come to that or might not. By itself the course of physical culture given herein is a great boon to humanity.

The most prevalent human ailments, which are the curses of the modern civilisation are (1) tuberculosis, (2) digestive disorders and (3) nervous troubles. Other diseases take their source from them.

Tuberculosis is the result of living in crowded towns. In modern times an open air life has become almost impossible. Even outdoor exercise has become a luxury. The lungs do not get enough of Oxygen and hence are weakened. This leads to the deadly disease, from which the mortality is very high in India and in the west. The respiratory organs require a great deal of Oxygen taken from fresh air to ward off these dangers to health. Prāṇāyāma supplies the requisite amount of Oxygen to the lungs, which keeps them in perfect condition. Proper respiration can be admirably secured by the exercises that go under the names of Ujjayi — Kapalbhāti and Bhastriks, so well described in this book.

The disorders of the digestive organs are caused by sedentary work, lack of proper exercise and unwholesome food. This leads to the commonest trouble of constipation. In its turn it gives birth to various grave ailments. Perhaps it would be true to say that more than half of the troubles that human body suffers from, arise from the disorder of the stomach. Certain exercises described herein, specially Kapalbhāti and Bhastrika, give the

much needed exercise to the abdominal muscles. The Colon gets the necessary pressure to evacuate itself. The bowels are thus made to move freely. This tends to keep the digestive system in perfect condition.

Owing to the worry and strain of modern life, nervous troubles are very common. Every day we read of innumerable medicines and drugs advertised in the European papers for curing the jaded nerves. The author rightly claims that the Prāṇāyāma exercises would ward off nervous disorders. The blood is first enriched in Oxygen and then freely circulated throughout the human body. The glands get their necessary food and the nerves are toned up by this blood supply and some exercise.

Apart from its value as physical culture, Prāṇāyāma is the basis of all spiritual development. By cleansing the Nāḍis it paves the way for "meditation". The author has done well in not dwelling at length on this aspect of Prāṇāyāma. It must be followed under the personal supervision of an expert or else it is likely to have disastrous effects on human body and brain. Secondly, it is such a vast subject that brevity in its description is apt to be dangerous. We hope that some day the author will give us a full and detailed description of that course.

Prevention is always better than cure. So everyone who wants to be out of the clutches of these deadly disorders and diseases, is well advised to take up these exercises of Prāṇāyāma which take only about twenty minutes a day. The author has done his duty by placing at service of the humanity a detailed description of this course.

The real value of this book lies in the fact that the author, a Sanskrit scholar of repute, has made a thorough study of the ancient and original literature on the subject. These ideas were then put to scientific tests in his laboratory and then interpreted in his usual simple but convincing style. Thus he has taken the help of science to give us, what for centuries had been considered a closed book of mystery. This book is bound to be received well by the public. We very anxiously look forward to the issue of more hand-books of this kind.

M. S. CHEEMA

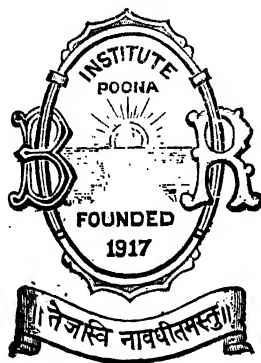
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[PARTS III-IV

GLEANINGS FROM THE UDAYASUNḌARĪ-KATHĀ

BY

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, *Purātattva-vicakṣaṇa* ; CALCUTTA

Udayasundarī-kāthā is a *Campū-kāvya*, i. e. a work composed in prose interspersed with verses. It was written by a poet named Sodḍhala in the 11th century A. D. He was born in Lāṭa-deśa (South Gujarat) and was the court-poet of the three successive royal brothers of Konkana, named Cchittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummunirāja, whose capital was at Sthānaka, the modern Thānā. The ascertained date of Cchittarāja is 1026 A. D., and that of Mummunirāja is 1060 A. D.¹ For sometime he graced the court of Vatsarāja of Lāṭa also. He has given an account of his family in the first Ucchvāsaka or chapter of his book, which contains some very interesting historical information. As far as we know, this information has not hitherto been utilized by any scholar.

Sodḍhala writes that in the past there was a king named Śilāditya, whose capital was at Valabhi. His only younger brother was named Kalāditya.² In the family of this Kalāditya was born Caṇḍapati, whose son was Sollapeya. Sollapeya's

1 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 542ff.

2 Pp. 3-4.

son was Sūra, from whom, by his wife Pampāvati was born our poet Soddhala.¹ Śilāditya had a long struggle with Dharmapāla of the Māndhātṛ-vamśa, king of Northern India (Uttarāpatha). Through the tact and prowess of Kalāditya, Dharmapāla was besieged in a fort and had to submit to the authority of Śilāditya but was restored to his kingdom.² Śilāditya, now well established in his vast kingdom, thought of appointing an able administrator for his extensive territory. One night before going to sleep he was thinking as to whom to appoint to this responsible post. But as he could not come to a decision, he resigned himself to the providence of that deity through whose grace he acquired his dominion, and fell asleep. In the third part of the night his Rāja-lakṣmī (royal prosperity) appeared before him and he was roused from his sleep. She told him that she had come to advise him about the question of the appointment of his chief minister, over which he was troubling himself. She gave him a seal of gold and directed him to entrust Kalāditya with this seal and also with the general superintendence (*sarvādhi-kūrasvānin*) of his kingdom. She also told him that this Kalāditya was an attendant (*gaṇa*) of Śiva who went by the name of Kāyastha. He was so named because he was in such close proximity that he was considered to be in the body of the god. (*sa ch = āṣṭāmūrtera = bhagavato jalamayīm mūrtim = adhiṣṭhitasy = āsanna-sa-hacaratvena kāye sthitatvāt kāyastha iti*). This attendant of Śiva named Kāyastha, under the orders of this god incarnated himself as Kalāditya, his brother, to protect his Rāja-lakṣmī. This Kāyastha-Kalāditya, the ornament of the Kṣatriyas (*kṣatriya-vibhūṣaṇa*) was then entrusted with the protection of the kingdom.³

Kalāditya's descendants then multiplied and were divided into many branches. They spread themselves to metropolitan towns for the triumph of the Kṣatriyas and as supporters of the creeper of royal prosperity. They came to be known as Vālabha Kāyasthas as they hailed from Valabhi.⁴

1 Pp. 11-12.

2 Pp. 4-7.

3 Pp. 9-11.

4 P. 11.

Sodḍhala's father died while he was a child. He was brought up by his maternal uncle Gaṅgādhara, who was a friend of Yogirāja, the king of Lāṭa. Sodḍhala himself was a class-mate of prince Simharāja, son of king Kirtirāja, king of Lāṭa. Their preceptor was one Candra. Kirtirāja was the father of king Vatsarāja who was the patron of Sodḍhala. Sodḍhala's forefathers for generations held the post of Dhruva Prabhū (*dhruva-vṛtteḥ prabhūḥ*) of the districts of Sikkarahārīya seventy-two, Vāhrihāra seven hundred, Annāpallīya seven hundred and of other districts, of the Lāṭa country.¹ Dhruva denotes "a fixed or permanent hereditary officer in charge of records and accounts of a village," the Tālāṭi and Kuḷkarni of modern times. One of the chief duties of the Dhruvas was to see that revenue farmers did not take more than the royal share. The name is still in vogue in Cutch where the village accountants are called Dhru and Dhruva. Dhru is also a common surname among the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas and Modh and other Vanias in Cutch, Gujarāt and Kathiāvāra.²

Now, who could these Dharmapāla and Śilāditya be? Both are historical names and there is no difficulty in identifying them. There are more than one Dharmapāla, but this Dharmapāla king of Uttarāpatha, could be no other than the king of the same name of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. That Dharmapāla was the emperor of the Uttarāpatha finds support from his own charter i. e. the Khālimpur copper-plate grant.³ From lines 27 and 28 of this plate we find that many kings of the Jambu-dvīpa (India) assembled at Pāṭaliputra to do homage to him. These expressions are also found in the charters of his successors.

Sodḍhala described Dharmapāla to be of the 'Māndhātṛ vaṁśa.' There has been much speculation about the caste of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. But here is a positive and disinterested piece of evidence, which sets all doubts at rest. Besides, this evidence is contemporary, for in Sodḍhala's time, in the eleventh century,

1 Pp. 151-2.

2 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 81-82.

3 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 243.

the Pāla dynasty was still reigning. All other accounts except that of Haribhadra about the caste of the Pālas are later than Sodḍhala's. This is not all. The fact finds corroboration from the same Khalimpur charter. In verse 11 it has been described that Mahendra having suddenly found the advancing army of Māndhātā in close quarters and being unable to form an opinion of their number, owing to the volume of dust raised by them, which whitened the ten quarters, became alarmed and distracted. Mr. A. K. Maitra in the *Gauḍatekhamālū* has rightly held that here Mahendra refers to Indrāyudha, king of Kanauj and has an allusion to his defeat at the hands of Dharmapāla. He did not, however, explain why Dharmapāla's army had been compared to the army of Māndhātā. Māndhātā is said to be a friend of Indra, but no explanation has been given by anybody why he has been introduced in this verse as an adversary. There must be some justification for the poet for going against the mythological tradition. The reason for this extraordinary action on the part of the poet, seems to us to be to indicate that Dharmapāla was a descendant of Māndhātā. This allusion to Māndhātā was quite intelligible in Dharmapāla's time though it now requires elucidation. From this we are not, however, to conclude that the Pālas were really the descendants of Māndhātā. But this much we can say with certainty that they passed for as such, otherwise Sodḍhala, a poet of a distant province like Gujarāt of the eleventh century, had no reason or interest to describe Dharmapāla as of the *Māndhātṛ-vaṃśa*.

Now Śilāditya mentioned by Sodḍhala can be no other than a Śilāditya of the Valabhi dynasty, for his capital was at Valabhi. This Śilāditya was a contemporary of Dharmapāla, who flourished in the eighth century. Now of the seven Śilādityas of the Valabhi dynasty, the last three reigned in the eighth century. Of these Śilāditya VII might be the person who came into conflict with Dharmapāla. The ascertained dates of the last three Śilādityas are :— Śilāditya V. – 722 A. D. ; Śilāditya VI. – 760 A. D. and Śilāditya VII. – 766 A. D.¹ We have no information of Dharmapāla's having met with any reverse at the hands of any king of the Valabhi

dynasty. But we have evidence to show from the Khālimpur charter that he granted villages for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas of the Lāṭa country. Besides from verse 5 of the Monghyr grant of his son Devapāla,¹ it appears that he (Dharmapāla) carried his conquering expedition as far as Kedāra-tīrtha in the north, Gaṅgā-sāgara in the south and to Gokaṛṇa-tīrtha, probably in the west. There is a celebrated place of pilgrimage named Gokaṛṇa even now, resorted to by large number of pilgrims, in Konkaṇa in the Bombay Presidency.

Sodḍhala calls himself a Kāyastha and at the same time claims to be a Kṣatriya. There can be no doubt as to his claim to the Kṣatriyahood, as his book containing the assertion was read before two well-known Rajput princes, viz. the Cālukya Vatsarāja of Lāṭa and the Śilāra Mummunirāja of Konkaṇa. If his mythical story of the origin of the word Kāyastha and of the Kāyastha caste, is given credence to, we should admit that the Kāyastha caste originated in the eighth century with Kalāditya. And this Kalāditya was a scion of the Valabhi dynasty which was admittedly of the Kṣatriya caste. But this is more than what we are prepared to believe. As far as we have been able to trace, the word Kāyastha as the name of a post can be found in epigraphy in the fifth century, in the Damodarpur copper-plate grants.² It is distinctly stated in the Brahmapurāṇa that Kāyastha was an officer, as in ' *Mallā dutās=ca kāyasthā ye c=ānye karmakārīṇaḥ* ' (Chap. XLIV. V. 37). The word also occurs in *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, *Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā*, *Viṣṇu-saṁhitā* &c., in the same senso. That in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* Kāyastha Dhanadatta was a Brāhmaṇa is apparent from the following address of Cārudatta to Śreṣṭhi and Kāyastha :—

' *Bhoḥ, adhikṛtebhyaḥ svasti haṁho niyuktāḥ, api kuśalaṁ bhavatām* ' (Act IX).

Here by the word ' *niyuktāḥ* ' (appointed) the Śreṣṭhi and the Kāyastha were meant. Now according to Manu, chap. II, verse 127 ' *kuśalaṁ* ' (happiness) should be asked of Brāhmaṇas only.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, pp. 254-257.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, P. 130.

It may be argued, how can a Śreṣṭhī (merchant) be a Brāhmaṇa? There appears to be no bar. Cārudatta, although a Brāhmaṇa, was a Sārthavāha (merchant) for three generations and lived in *śreṣṭhī-calvāra*.

The earliest mention of Kāyastha as a caste-name that we have hitherto been able to find, is in the Sañjān copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I, dated 871 A. D.¹ It was written by Dharmādhikaraṇa-senabhogika Guṇadhavala of the Vālabha-Kāyastha-vaṃśa, i. e. the very Kāyastha family to which our poet belonged. It does not appear from the statement of Sodḍhala that there were any other sections of Kāyasthas than his own in existence in his time in his part of the country. But the distinctive adjective Vālabha, signifying the locality of its origin, clearly shows that there were Kāyasthas other than the Vālabha, even in the ninth century. Although the word Kāyastha originally meant the name of a post, people following the occupation for generations came to be known as a distinct caste. This will be clear, if we look to the caste-names of India, which are mostly occupational names. It is not unlikely that Kāyastha as a caste commenced formation from the 8th century. It is difficult to say when the mythical stories about the origin of the different sections of the Kāyasthas came into existence. The story of the origin of the Vālabha-Kāyasthas is not of later date than the eleventh century. The Citragupta-origin of the Kāyasthas is, perhaps, still later. The earliest mention of Citragupta as one of the ten names of Yama is found in the Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra. He has not become a writer of Yama even then. The earliest epigraphic mention of Citragupta having any connection with the Kāyasthas is found in a charter of Govindacandradeva of Kanauj, dated 1115 A. D.² This plate was written by a Vāstavya-Kāyastha Thakkura named Jalhara, who has been described as 'Karaṇik = *odgato vidyāñś* = *Citragupt-opamo guṇaiḥ*' i. e. born of a Karaṇika family, resembling Citragupta in qualities (as a writer). This was only a prelude. From this resemblance in occupation, the idea of descent from him was

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, Pp 235ff.

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, Pp. 152n & 153,

conceived. Poet Śrīharṣa of *Naiṣadhīya-carita* was a contemporary of king Jayacandra, grandson of king Govindacandradeva, king of Kanauj, mentioned above. He described Citragupta as 'Kāyastha' and makes him present at the *Svayamvara-sabhā* of Damayanti, along with Agni, Indra, Yama &c. Jayacandra flourished towards the latter part of the 12th century. It may, therefore, be surmised that the legend of the Citragupta descent of some sections of the Kāyasthas dates from the 12th century. It is very curious that although there are ample references to Kāyasthas in epigraphy, there is no mention of their Citragupta-descent, not even in their own family *prāśastis*.

We have seen that the Vālabha Kāyasthas are mentioned in epigraphy and in Sanskrit literature, but they are not heard of now-a-days. Where are they gone? Are they all extinct? It is hard to believe that such an influential section of the Kāyasthas died out altogether. Let us see if any clue can be found of their present whereabouts. There is a sect of Brāhmanas called Bālam Brāhmanas, who resided in Valā or Valabhi. They were the family priests of the Kāyasthas residing there. These Brāhmanas quarrelled with the Kāyasthas, their Yajamānas and left the place for Dhundhuka.¹ Now this sect name of the Brāhmanas no doubt, was derived from Valā or Vala-grāma. We may, therefore, expect that the Kāyasthas of Valā came similarly to be called Balam. In fact we find mention of a Vālamya Kāyastha donor in a pillar inscription of Bhinmal, dated 1206 A. D.² We have seen that the forefathers of Soddhala held for generations the post of *Dhruva-Prabhu* (*dhruva-vṛtteḥ prabhuḥ*). We have already shown that the Dhruvas were village accountants and their posts were hereditary. The Dhruva-Prabhus were district accountants, having under them village accountants. By holding the post for generations, they perhaps came to be known as Dhruva-Prabhus. We find in the Bhinmal inscriptions that in some cases the writers of them were Dhruvas, which is the legitimate duty of the Kāyasthas. So these Dhruvas were most probably of the Kāyastha caste. There is a section of

1 *Bom. Gazetr.* Kathiawar Population, p. 673.

2 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 474.

writers in the Bombay Presidency, who are called Dhruva-Prabhus. They say that they are descended from Dhruva, the son of king Uttānapāda. We believe they are the Vālabha Kāyasthas, and have completely forgotten their old tradition. As they are called Dhruva-Prabhu, they are connecting themselves with Dhruva, the epic hero.

These Dhruva-Prabhus claim to be of the same stock as the Pattana-Prabhus, another writer caste of the Bombay Presidency. This is admitted by the Pattana-Prabhus also. Their epithet of Pattana is derived from their residence in Pattana or Pāṭan. They are also called Pātāre or Pathāriya. In the *Sahyādri-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* their descent has been traced from a king named Aśvapati of the solar race of Kṣatriyas. Under a curse from Bhṛgu Ṛṣi his descendants have been degraded from a kingly office to that of a writer. (Ch. 27 and 28). Details of these Prabhus will be found in the *Bom. Gaztr.* Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 185-235.

A stone inscription of the time of king Hammīr of Ranthāmbar, (1288 A. D.), found in the Kotāh State in Rājputānā, contains an eulogistic description of the minister of Hammīra. The family belonged to the Kaṭāriya Kāyastha varṇa, who went there from Mathurāpura. This Kaṭāriya, apparently, is a scriptic mistake for Pathāriya. We have not heard of any section of Kāyasthas going by the name of Kaṭāriya.

Svāmī Vidyānanda in his *Comprehensive History of the Kāyasthas* has identified the Vālabha Kāyasthas with the Vālmika Kāyasthas, but he has not given his reasons for thinking so. The Vālmika Kāyasthas trace their descent from Citragupta, whereas the Vālabha Kāyasthas, we have seen, are descended from Kalāditya. Besides it is doubtful whether Vālmika can be derived from Vālabha. Not only this, he has in his concluding sentence asserted that 'the kings of Vālabhi were Kāyasthas of a Śree Citragupta descent.' Because a scion of the family and his descendants by pursuing the Kāyastha profession became Kāyasthas, therefore, the whole dynasty was Kāyastha. A fine argument indeed!

Pandit Gaṅgāśaṃkara Paṇcoli, a Nāgar Brāhmaṇa, on the other hand thinks that the Valābhi kings were *Sipāhī Nāgars*¹, . e. the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, who took to fighting to defend their country.² He also says that a section of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas was called *Citragupta*. Another section again was called *Bhaṭṭa*.³ It is very strange that *Bhaṭṭa Nāgar* is a well-known division of the Kāyasthas.

1 *Nāgarotpatti*, p. 62n.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 61-62.

3 *Ibid*, p. 59.

KULĀRṆAVA TANTRA — ITS EXTENT AND CONTENTS

BY

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M. A.

According to the celophons of the published editions of the *Kulārṇava Tantra* the entire work consists of 125000 verses and the published portion (which covers only about 2000 verses) is stated to form only the fifth part of the whole thing. This is styled *Ūrddhvāmṇāya Tantra*. The entire work of which the extent is referred to here is not known to have been found anywhere. Some manuscripts containing only a number of verses more than the published 2000 are however sometimes reported to exist. But we know of verses and topics stated to have been taken from the *Kulārṇava* which are not met with here. It is necessary, therefore, to take stock of all materials attributed to the *Kulārṇava* though some of the attributions may evidently be later and open to doubt.

The *Kulārṇava*, as it has been published by Arthur Avalon and others, consists of seventeen chapters or *ullāsas*. The *Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat* of Calcutta, however, has two manuscripts which contain an eighteenth chapter as well.¹

Topics not included in the published version of the *Kulārṇava* are found in several manuscripts² to have been ascribed to it. Of these mention may be made of *Kālikāsahasra-nāman* (one thousand names of the Goddess Kālī), *Gaṇapati-pañcāṅga* (five essentials of the worship of Gaṇeśa), *Durgā-dakṛādi-sahasra-nāmasotra* (one thousand names of Durgā the initial letter of each of which is *d*), *Devī-svarūpastuti* (the hymn of the exact nature of the Goddess), *Śāktakrama* (the order of worship of the Śāktas), *Śyāmākavaca* (the talisman of Śyāmā or Kālī) etc. etc.

Some of the verses attributed to the *Kulārṇava* in works like the *Kaulāvalī* of Jñānānanda Paramahansa and *Tantrasāra* of

1. C. Chakravarti—*Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat* (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* — Vol. XXXVIII, p. 243).

2. Cf. *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht under *Kulārṇava Tantra*.

Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa could not be traced either in the published editions of the work or in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat Manuscript of it, which we are going to describe below. Of these verses reference may be made to the long extract in the *Kaulāvalī* (IX. 31ff) which appears to have been ascribed to the Kulārṇava as also the verses in the Tantrasāra pertaining to the determination of the *Pakṣa* for initiation and the denunciation of the uninitiated.

A purely Vaiṣṇava work — the *Īśānasamhitā*¹ dealing with the greatness of the well-known Vaiṣṇava reformer Caitanya — is also represented as forming part of the Kulārṇava.

It cannot be stated if all these detached materials formed part of the Kulārṇava Tantra, for such attributions are not infrequently imaginary and unreliable and they are occasionally different in different manuscripts.² But the fact that the Kulārṇava consisted of more materials than what are found in the published version may be correct in view of the definite statement that it is only the fifth part of the whole work. Thus these detached materials — or at least some of them — might not unlikely have formed part of the big work or belonged to different versions of the work if not to entirely separate works bearing same or similar names. That the existence of more than one version of the work or the denomination of different works by its name, was recognised seems to be evident from the introductory portion of the *Kaulāvalī*. This refers to the Kulārṇava twice (not unlikely on account of the existence of two different versions³ of the work) in the course of enumerating the works on which it is based.

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1. A manuscript of this work is in the collection of the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat*. One manuscript of the work has been described by Rajendra-lala Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* I. 824.
 2. C. Chakravarti — *op. cit.* — p. 246f.
 3. Similar is the case not only with several other Tantra works but also with more than one Smṛti and Purāṇa works as well. Sometimes the same name is found to have been used in connection with similar or different works with qualifications like *laghu* (small) and *brhat* (big). Thus to mention only a few, we have *Hārītasṁṛti* and *Laghu-Hārītasṁṛti*, *Manu* and *Brhan-Manu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and *Brhan-Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Nilatantra* and *Brhan-nīlatantra*, *Nirvāṇa*, *Brhan nirvāṇa* and *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. In this connection see, Śrader — *Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā* — p. 13,

Besides there are several manuscripts of a work called *garbha-kulārṇava* in the Madras Oriental Library. The name of the book as given in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Madras*¹ is *garbha-kulārṇava*; but a colophon of the twenty-fourth Pāṭalā (as quoted in the catalogue) gives the name as *garbha-kaulāgama*.

Several manuscripts of an entirely different work bearing the same name, *garbha-kaulāgama*, are also in the said Library. Two works of the name of *Kālī-kulārṇava* and *Lakṣmī-kulārṇava* have been referred to by Raghunātha in the bibliographical list given by him in the beginning of his extensive compilation — *Āgama-tattvavivṛṇa*.²

We have actually a complete work which styles itself as the *Kulārṇava* but has very little agreement with the published editions of the work. It is a unique thing in respect of contents which agree more with those of the *Yoni Tantra* than with what we have in the published *Kulārṇava*. A manuscript of the work is in the Library of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta.³ The work in the manuscript is complete in twelve chapters, while the published editions have, as has already been pointed out, seventeen chapters. But owing to its smaller extent it cannot be stated to have preserved a shorter version, as there exists marked difference between it and the published text. The latter work calls itself *Mahā ahaṣya* (the great secret) and *Sarvāgamottamottama* (the best of the best of āgamas) while the work in manuscript styles itself *Kulācāra-rahasya* (secret of kula rites).

The subjects treated of in the work are as follows :—

Chapter I — The excellence of Kula practices.

Chapter II — The utility of the five objects of worship — e. g. wine, meat, fish, meal (*mudrā*) and sexual union.

1. Vol. XII, Nos. 5599—3605.

2. R. L. Mitra — *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* — Vol. IX.

3. A short description of the Ms by the present writer has appeared in the Sanskrit organ of the Pariṣat — *Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat* (Vol. XIV, p. 269 ff.).

Chapter III — The details of the Kula form of worship and the sanctification of the materials for the worship. For further details of the subject reference has been made to the *Ānandapaṭala* (fol. 15b).

Chapter IV — Worship of cakra or mystic circle.

Chapter V — Description of different cakras which are enumerated to be five in number e. g., Rājacakra, Deva-cakra, Kulacakra, Rāsacakra and Śricakra.

Chapter VI — Importance of the worship of the female organ of generation which is stated to be the abode of various deities. It is definitely asserted that the male organ is the symbol of the Supreme God — Śiva — and the female organ that of Mahāmāyā — the Supreme Goddess.¹

Chapter VII -- Statement of the mantra for the worship (*man-troddhāra*).

Chapter VIII - Worship of Yoniṣṭha.

Chapter IX -- Secret worship. Every act in sexual enjoyment is here conceived of as a material for worship. Kissing is the sandal-paste, beating the breast the flower and so on.²

Chapter X -- Utility of worship on particular days. The tenth chapter of the published Kulārṇava is also devoted to the same topic. But except for a few preliminary verses there is scarcely any agreement between the tenth chapters of the two works. The tenth chapter in our manuscript after re-

1. योनिरूपा महामाया लिङ्गरूपो महेश्वरः ।
या प्रोक्ता प्रकृतोर्निर्द्या जगद्धेतुः सनातनी ॥
सैव योनिस्वरूपा च जगदुत्पत्तिकारिणी ॥ (fol. 26b)

2. पादस्पर्शं भवेत् पादमर्घ्यं च मुक्तकेशके ।
प्रमामृते(?) महेशानि भवेदाचमनीयकम् ॥
चुम्बने च भवेद् गन्धं पुष्पं च रतनमर्दने ।
आलिङ्गने धूपदीपौ नैवेद्यं ताम्बूलं प्रिये ॥
मैथुने च भवेज्जापं वीर्यपाने विसर्जनम् ॥ (fol. 35b)

ferring to the importance of worship on particularly auspicious days goes on to describe the origin of wine. It is stated that the goddess Surā (wine) appeared at the time of the churning of the ocean in the guise of a beautiful maiden. When she was eagerly sought after by gods like Viṣṇu she assumed a liquid form, portions of which were taken by the gods each of whom was thus satisfied.

Chapter XI — Preparation of wine and description of the five objects of worship (wine etc.,).

Chapter XII — Hymn and talisman of the female organ of generation (योनिस्तोत्र and योनिकवच).

Some verses especially dealing with kula rites are found to be common to more than one Tantra. Some of the verses of the *Parīṣat Manuscript* under description also belong to this class. Of these :—

प्रदत्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णा द्विजातयः ।

निदत्ते भैरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णाः पृथक् पृथक् ॥ (fol. 16a)

is a well known couplet.

नङ्गां परलतां पश्यन्नुतं यस्तु मानवः

प्रजपेत् स भवेत् सद्यो विद्यायाः बल्लभः स्वयम् ॥ (fol. 39a)

महाचीनद्रुमलतावेष्टनेन च यत् फलम् ।

तस्यापि षोडशांशिन फलां नार्हन्ति ते शवाः ॥

शवासनाधिकफलं लतागेहप्रवेशनम् ॥ (fol. 40a)

These two extracts are also found in *Kālī-Tantra*¹ as IV. 5-6 and IV. 18-19.

Now a word about the position to be assigned to the work in the domain of Kaula literature. Among the followers of the Kula form of worship two graduated types are recognised -- e. g. the *Pūrvakaulas* and the *Uttarakaulas*. According to *Lakṣmidhara*, who commented on the *Saundaryalahari* of Śaṅkarācārya, the *Pūrvakaulas* took recourse to a symbolical form of worship

1. *Sanskrit Sāhitya Parīṣat* edition.

whereas the Uttarakaulas offered their worship to the actual organ of a maiden.¹

From a comparison of the nature of contents of the published edition and the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat copy of the work it would appear that the published edition belongs to the Pūrva-kaulas. Like the followers of the Pūrvakaula system it gives a symbolic interpretation² of the five *tattvas* or objects of worship so essential to the Kaulas.

The Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat copy of the work, however, seems to be a work belonging to the Uttarakaulas who are represented as being engaged in the crudest form of Sex-worship.

1. श्रीचक्रस्थितनवयोनिमध्यगतां योनिं भूर्जहेमवस्त्रपीटादौ लिखितां पूर्वकौलाः पूजयन्ति । तरुण्याः प्रत्यक्षयोनिसुत्तरकौलाः पूजयन्ति— *Lakṣmīdhara's Commentary on Saundaryalaharī* (Mysore Government Oriental Library Series) — p. 130, under verse 41.

2. V. 107—112.

SOME NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SENA KINGS OF BENGAL

BY

CHARU CHANDRA DASA GUPTA, M. A.

A storm of debate and discussion has centred round the problem of the chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal since the beginning of the early part of the nineteenth century. Writing about the date of Lakṣmanasena's accession, Smith observes, Ballāl Sena was succeeded in A. D. 1119 by his son Lakṣmanasena." (EHL, P. 419). He based his observation on the assumption that the first year of the Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat or La-Sam was the first year of Lakṣmanasena's reign, and which Dr. Kielhorn calculated to be October 7, A. D. 1119. (IA. Vol. XIX, p. 1 ff). The late Dr. Kielhorn based his arguments on a statement in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nāmā which runs thus :-- " In the country of Banga (Bengal) dates are calculated from the beginning of the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, and that from that period till now there have been 465 years." It is further stated therein that at the time to which the writer refers, there had elapsed 1506 years of the Śālibāhana or Śaka era and 1641 years of the era of Vikramāditya. (Ibid). A calculation of this date enabled Dr. Kielhorn to ascertain a date which he took at 1119 A. D. (Ibid). But there are difficulties in the ascertainment of the Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat. The copper-plate grant of Śiva Singha which bears the date ' La-Sam 292 Śrāvapa vadi 7 Gurau, Śaka 1321, Saṁvat 1455 ' leads us to conclude that the Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat began in A. D. 1107, and not in 1119 A. D. as Dr. Kielhorn seems to have established. The question is thus not yet settled and the validity of Kielhorn's conclusion has also been questioned on astronomical grounds (JASB. 1926, p. 365-89). Moreover, it is very striking that the Sena kings of Bengal never use the era which they are said to have established. The Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena is dated in 62nd regnal year, the Naiḥāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena in 11th regnal year, the Ānūliā, the Govindapur, the Tarpanadighi copper plates and the Dacca Image inscription of

Lakṣmanasena are dated in 3rd, 2nd, 2nd and 3rd regnal years respectively, the Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena in 3rd regnal year, the Madanpādā and the Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣat copper-plates of Viśvarūpasena in 14th regnal year. (Inscriptions of Bengal, By N. G. Mujumdar, Vol. III, pp. 57-149). This is a very remarkable fact which conclusively proves that the Senas never used the Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat. Even the records of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena, the two sons of Lakṣmanasena, form no exception to this rule. But it is all the more strange to see that the era was used in Behar and there came to be associated with a line of Sena kings who are described as lords of Piṭhi. The Jānibighā Inscription of king Jayasena of Piṭhi is dated in the year 83 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era and the two Bodh Gayā epigraphs of Buddhasena, the father of Jayasena bears the dates 51 and 74 of the Lakṣmanasena Era. Thus the Lakṣmanasena Era which was never used by the Sena kings of Bengal was frequently used by the lords of Piṭhi. It is therefore natural to conclude that the Senas of Bengal had scarcely to do anything with the Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat. (Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, pt. 2, p. 5).

The problem, therefore, stands where it had originally been. Let us therefore try to see if anything can be made out from a study of the inscriptions, the Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara. Writing in *JRAS*, January 1930, Mr. P. C. Barāt, B. A. has re-adjusted the chronology of the following Sena rulers basing his arguments mainly on the evidence furnished by the Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara :--

Name	Date of birth	Date of accession	Date of retirement or death
Vijayasena	A. D. 1069	A. D. 1095	A. D. 1158
Ballālasena	A. D. 1094	A. D. 1158	A. D. 1168
Lakṣmanasena	A. D. 1119	A. D. 1168	A. D. 1182

(*JRAS*. January 1930)

The Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara are two Sanskrit works attributed to Ballālasena. We know of 4 mss. of the Dānasāgara viz. those belonging to the India Office Library, the

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Rājā Vinaya Kṛṣṇa Deb Bahadur and Prācya-vidyāmahārṇava Nagendra Nāth Vasu. In the mss. in possession of the India Office Library and Mr. Nagendra Nāth Vasu we have the following verse :—

‘Nikhila-bhūpa-cakra-tilaka-Śrīmad-Ballālasena-devena ।
Pūrṇe Śasi-nava-daśamita-śakavarṣe Dānasāgaro racitaḥ ॥’

The former ms. gives the date in the numerical figures also and the latter contains two more verses by way of elucidating the date. The passage may lead us to assume that Ballālasena was alive in S. 1091 = 1169 A. D. This assumption is confirmed by certain passages of the *Adbhutasāgara* which contain dates to show that he was alive in S. 1090 = 1168 A. D. This book was examined by many scholars including the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and the late Mm. H. P. Śāstri. In 1905 Mm. Muralīdhar Jha collected 7 mss. from different places and edited the book. The book contains ‘Atha Mithilā-mahī-mahendra-niḥśaṅkara-śaṅkara Śrīmad Vallālasenadeva-sampādito’yaṁ Adbhutasāgarah’ at the beginning and ‘iti Śrī Mahārājādhirāja-niḥśaṅkara-śaṅkara-Śrīmad Vallālasenadeva-viracito’dbhutasāgare’ at the end of every chapter. In the extracts of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar there is the following verse :—

‘Śake kha-nava-khendva=bde ārebhe=dbhutasāgarah ।
Gaudendra-kuñjavālānstaṁ bhavāhur=mahīpatih ॥’

(Collected Works II. 346)

This passage is found in all the mss. of the *Adbhutasāgara*. This fact most probably shows that this work is genuine. Now we have more passages in this work which shows that S. 1090 is the date when the *Adbhutasāgara* was begun. They are :—

1. In the chapter on Rāhor=adbhutāvartaḥ,

‘Kha-nava-daśo-1090-na śakābdā dviguṇaḥ kāryā=rava-rudggole’

2. In the chapter on Vṛhaspatya=dbhutāvartaḥ,

‘Athā=dbhutasāgarā=rambha-śakābdāt śaṣṭya=bda-yuga-gananam.’

‘Kha-nava-daśo-1090-na śakābdāt’

3. In the chapter on Ravya=di-varṣā=dbhutāvartah,
 'Atas=tan=matenaikad-granthā=rambha-śākābda-varṣā
 =dhipa-gaṇanam'

'Kha-nava-daśa-1090-śeṣa-śāke'...

4. In the chapter on Samvatsarā=dbhutāvartah

'Kha-nava-viya=dindu-1090-hina'...

All these passages go to show that Ballālasena was most probably alive in Ś. 1090=1168 A. D.

But when did Ballālasena die? The Adbhutasāgara helps us little to ascertain this point; but there is the passage :—

"Granthes'minnasamāpta eva tanaye sāmrajya-lakṣmīm mudā
 Dikṣāparvaṇi dakṣiṇe nijakṛter=niṣpattima=ssthāpayat |
 Nānā-dāna-tilam=vusamvalanabham sūryātmaśaṁgamam
 Gangāyam viracayya nirjarapuram bhāryānuyāto gataḥ ||
 Śrīmad Lakṣmaṇasena-bhūpatiḥ ratistaghyo yadudyo gato |
 Niṣpanno'dbhutasāgarah kṛtirasau Vallālabhūmibhujah ||"

We may on the strength of this passage accept the year S. 1090 as the date of his abdication. The Naihāṭi copper-plate grant of Vallālasena which is the only record uptill now found is dated in the 11th regnal year in the 16th day of Vaiśākha. Mr. Barat writes down "Only one copper-plate grant of Ballālasena Deva has been known till now, and it is dated in the eleventh year of his reign. Taking 1090 as the date when Ballālasena handed over the reins of kingship to his son, his accession to the throne falls in S. 1080 = A. D. 1158." (JRAS. Jan. 1930). But there is one internal evidence in the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Ballālasena which has not been noticed by Barat or any other scholar but which makes our position regarding the date of Ballālasena more certain than ever. It is well-known that this grant was made by Ballālasena on behalf of his mother Vilāsadevi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The passage in question, runs thus :—

"Śrī Vardhamāna-bhuktya=ntahpātīnyuttaro=Radhā-
 maṇḍale Svalpa-dakṣiṇa-viṭhyām ... Vallāhitthā-grāmo ...
 ācārya-śrīuvāsu-devaśarmmaṇe 'asmanmatri Śrī Vilāsadevi-
 bhīḥ sura-sariti suryo=parāge datta-hemā=śva-mahādāna-

sya dakṣiṇātveno=tsrṣtah ... tāmra-śāsanikṛtya pradatto'as mābhiḥ Sam 11 Vaiśākha-dine 16 Śrī ni mahasām karaṇa ni " — (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 74).

i. e. The village of Vāllāhitṭhā ... situated within the Svalpa-Dakṣiṇa-vithi belonging to the Uttara-Rādhā-maṇḍala of the noted Vardhāmana-bhukti ... is given by me, by a copper-plate, ... as a fee to the preceptor, the illustrious Ovāsudevaśarmman... for the performance of the Great-Gift in which a golden horse is given away, by our mother the illustrious Vilāsadevi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. ... The year 11, the 16th day of Vaiśākha. Endorsed by the illustrious (king). Endorsed by the Mahāsan(dhi-vigrahika), the Karaṇa.

Thus it is quite clear that a grant was made by Vallālasena in the year 11 i. e., 11th regnal year and 16th day of Vaiśākha on account of a solar eclipse. The Adbhutasāgara has given Ś. 1091 = 1169 A. D. as the date of Lakṣmapasena's accession. Now when did the solar eclipse take place in the month of Vaiśākha immediately before 1169 A. D. ? According to Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai one solar eclipse took place in 1167 A.D. (Ś. 1089) on Saturday 21st April, obviously referring to the month of Vaiśākha. (Indian Chronology, p. 88). There was no solar eclipse in the month of Vaiśākha for 19 years before that date. (Ibid, p. 86). Thus 1167 A. D. or Ś. 1089 must be the 11th regnal year of Ballālasena. Thus the date of his accession must be referred to 1157 A. D. or Ś. 1079, a date which has a remarkable support in the passage of the Adbhutasāgara quoted above, viz., ' Bhuja-vasu-daśa-mite Śāke Ballālasena-rājyāḍau ' i. e., ' in 1082 Ś. (1160 A. D.) at the beginning of Ballālasena's reign '. Ballālasena's reign may, therefore, be said to extend from Ś. 1079 = 1157 A. D. - Ś. 1091 = 1169 A. D.

Vallālasena's date being fixed, it is easy to find out the date of his father Vijayasena. We know as yet two inscriptions of Vijayasena viz., the Deopārā Inscription and the Barrackpur copper-plate dated in 62nd regnal year 7th Vaiśākha. There is an important passage in the latter inscription that throws a great deal of light on the point. The passage, in question, runs thus :—

“ Śrī Paundravardhana-bhuktya=ntahpāti-Khādi-viṣaye
Ghāśasambhoga bhāṭṭabadā-grāme Samatatiya-nalena
pāṭaka-catustaya Śrī-Udayakaradevasarmmaṇe
ssomagrahe asman - mahā- mahādevī- Śrīmad- Vilāsa- de-
vyā datta-kanaka-tulā-puruṣa-mahādāne homa-karma-
dakṣiṇā tāmrāsanaikṛtya pradattā'smabhiḥ Sam
62 Vaiśākha-dina 7 Śrī ni (ma)hā ni.”

(Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 63-64).

i. e., 4 pāṭakas of land by the Nala of Samatata in the village of Ghāśasambhogabhāṭṭabadā belonging to the Khādi-viṣaya of the noted Paundravarddhana-bhukti is given by me, by means of a copper-plate, to the illustrious Udayakaradevasarmman as fee for conducting Homa in the Great Gift of my Great Great Queen, the illustrious Vilāsadevī, in which the Golden Tulāpuruṣa was given away on the occasion of Lunar Eclipse. The year 62, the 7th day of Vaiśākha. (Endorsed by) the illustrious (king). (Endorsed by) the (Mahāsāmdhivigrahika or Mahāmātra).

Thus it is deducible from the passage quoted above that a grant was made by Vijayasena on behalf of his chief queen Vilāsadevī on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. In 1157 A. D. itself there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Vaiśākha i. e., on Thursday 11th April (Indian Chronology, p. 88). If 1157 A. D. is accepted as the date of Vallālasena's accession, then Vijayasena must have vacated the throne by that date. Taking the 62nd regnal year as the last year of Vijayasena's reign, we can easily have 1095 A. D. as the first year of his reign. He, therefore, may be said to have ruled from c. 1095 A. D. to 1157 A. D.

In conclusion I desire to thank Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for suggesting this problem to me and taking a great deal of interest in preparation of this note.

THE MĀLAVAS

BY

ADRIŚH CHANDRA BANERJĪ, M. A.

The earliest mention of the Mālavas whose history it is our intention to discuss here is in the writings of Alexander's historians where they are mentioned as the Mallois. In the first stage of Indological research scholars had failed to identify them with any Indian tribe. It was in 1872 that the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was able to identify the two tribes Malloi and Oxydrakoi with the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas of Sanskrit literature.¹

Neither the Mālavas nor the Kṣudrakas have been mentioned by Pāṇini. Nevertheless, there is a Sūtra in Pāṇini (V. 3. 114) which speaks of certain tribes living by the profession of arms (*āyudhajīvi saṃgha*) and included among the Vāhikas. The Kāśikā says that amongst these Saṃghas were the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas. According to Sylvain Levi the Vāhikas were in the Punjab,² for which he relies on the *Mahābhārata*. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, on the other hand, is inclined to extend the boundaries of the Vāhika country, and would make it co-extensive with the modern Punjab and Sindh minus the hill districts.³ Though the Mālavas are tacitly understood in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, there can be no doubt that they are actually mentioned as such by Patañjali (IV. 1. 68).

It was first pointed out, in my opinion, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar that there are three stages in their history. The first was in the Punjab, the second was in the Nāgar-chāl area of the Jaipur State, and finally in the north-west part of Central India.⁴ Let us now take the first stage of their history. In the time of Alexander they were settled in the Punjab. The Sanskrit name Kṣudraka-Mālava has been transliterated in Greek in various

1 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 23.

2 *Ibid*, 1906, p. 18.

3 Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 38.

4 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures 1921*, pp. 12-13.

ways. Thus Arrian calls them Mallai and Oxydrakai; Curtius, Sudracae and Mallai; Diodorus, Syrakusoi and Malli; Strabo, Hydrakai and Malli; and the Roman writer Pliny, Sydracae and Malli. As to the exact tribal territory opinion differs. The late V. A. Smith was of opinion that the Malloi occupied the country below the confluence of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab), that is, the country comprising the Jhang district and the whole or greater portion of modern Montgomery district.¹ But McCrindle thinks that the territory of the Mālavas was of great extent, comprehending a part of the modern doab formed by the Akesines and the Hydraotes and extending according to Arrian to the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus. That is the modern Multan district with portions of Montgomery district.² It was during his retreat from the banks of the Hyphasis (Rāvi) that Alexander came into conflict with the Mallois. They were on the Hydaspes (Jhelum after its unity with Chenab). The scattered passages in the Greek works are our only source of information regarding the life, political and social, of these tribes at this time. The two tribes Mālavas and Kṣudrakas of Sanskrit literature, and Malloi and Oxydrakoi of Greek writers seem to have formed a league at this time. But whether they were able to oppose Alexander unitedly, it is very difficult to determine. Curtius informs us that their combined army was led by a brave Kṣudraka warrior. But Diodorus informs us that the Syrakusoi and Malloi could not agree as to the choice of the leader and ceased in consequence to keep the field together.³ Arrian, too, definitely tells us that Malloi had certainly agreed to combine with the Oxydrakoi and give battle to the common enemy, but Alexander had thwarted this design by his sudden and rapid march whereby these tribes were prevented from giving each other mutual help.⁴ We are further told that most of their cities were on the Chenab but their capital which was the last to be captured by Alexander was on the Ravi. Diodorus and Curtius

1 J. R. A. S. 1903, p. 631.

2 McCrindle — *Invasion of India*, App. Note, PP. 351.

3 *Ibid.* p. 236, fn. 1.

4 *Ibid.* p. 150.

wrongly assign this city to Oxydrakoi, but Arrian makes it quite clear that the city belonged to the Malloi. General Cunningham identifies the city with Multan, but St. Martin takes Harappa to be the 'Mallian capital'.

While sailing along the Hydaspes Alexander received the news that the Mallois and Oxydrokois "had conveyed their children and wives for safety into their strongest cities, and they meant to give him hostile reception." He, therefore, accelerated his voyage and reached the confluence of Akesines and Hydaspes, and then by forced marches through waterless tract brought his troops to the territory of the Mallois. As the Mallois never imagined that Alexander would attack them so soon by crossing so difficult a tract of country, they were taken by surprise being engaged in their fields. In a skirmish some were killed and the rest took shelter in a nearby stronghold. But the defeat suffered by the tribe was neither final nor decisive. The surprised tribe in sullen anger took shelter in fortified cities determined to resist till the end. As he had no infantry with him, Alexander besieged the city with the help of the Cavalry. This city has been identified with the ruins of Kot-Kamalia, a small but ancient town on a mound on the northern bank of the Ravi.¹ When the infantry arrived, Alexander sent Predikkas to attack another Malloi city, while he himself led assault on the besieged city. The place was soon captured, the majority of the defenders being put to the sword. In the meantime, Predikkas, who was sent to attack another city, found it deserted and easily captured it. The Mālavas had decided to oppose the Greeks at a more strongly fortified place, identified by Cunningham with Tulumba, but that city was also easily captured by a detachment under Predikkas.² Alexander then attacked a city of a tribe called the Brachmans, and then giving one day's rest to his worn out troops renewed his attack on the Mālavas. But this time he found most of their cities deserted, the men having preferred to make the desert and the jungle as their home, but not to submit to an alien yoke.

1 Cunningham — *Ancient Geography of India*, Ed. by S. N. Mazumdar Sastri, Pp. 238-241.

2 *Ibid.* Pp. 259-60,

Alexandar then sent Peithon and Demetrius against the largest city of the Mallois ; to which, he was informed, many men from other cities had fled for safety. For reasons unknown to us this city too was abandoned and the Mallois are said to have crossed the Ravi and arrayed themselves against the Greeks on its other bank. Alexander decided to reach the place with cavalry by forced marches, asking the infantry to follow. On seeing him crossing the river, the Mallois, at first attempted to retreat in good order but on noticing the small number of enemy, wheeled round to give battle. After some time perceiving that their heavy armed troops were in danger of being surrounded by the mobile Greek cavalry, they retired to a nearby city which was their capital where they made a last desperate effort to resist the foreign invader. On being forced off the city walls they took shelter in the citadel, but they could not hold it long, the bravery and leadership of Alexander overawed their every effort, and the citadel was captured, though he (Alexander) was seriously wounded in leading the attack. All the inhabitants including the men, women, and children were put to the sword. According to McCrindle, Diodorus and Curtius wrongly assign the city to the Oxydrakoi.¹ As a matter of fact if Arrian and Plutarch are to be believed the city belonged to Malloi and not to Oxydrakoi.

One who has gone through the works of Greek writers generally carries the impression that Alexander's conquest of the Mālavas and other small states of the Punjab was an easy affair. But quite contrary was the case. The resistance offered by this small tribe to the conqueror of nearly half of the ancient world, is truly amazing. This much must be conceded that the Macedonian soldiers, trained as they were under two foremost generals of ancient Greece, were no proper match for one or two small tribal states which played no important part in the political arena of India at any time.

The unguarded statements of the Greek writers confirm the above supposition. Curtius' statement as to the strength of the combined army of the Mallois and the Oxydrakois, has to be accepted with a grain of salt, because according to Arrian there

1 McCrindle — *Invasion of India by Alexander*. App. Note, Q. P. 351,

4 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

was no combination at all. The opposition of the small Punjab states seems to have disheartened the Greek soldiers very much. Because we are told by one authority that "When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war in which the most warlike nations of India were yet to take part, they began to chide the king in language of sedition".¹ The fear of the Macedonians was well justified. After the palpable resistance given by Darius III and meek submission of Ambhi, the Greeks thought that their conquest of India would be easy. After the battle of Hydaspes that dream of theirs was shaken. Henceforth every inch of the ground had to be fought for, every fortified place taken. It was this guerrilla warfare that had demoralised the Greek soldiers. No more they had to meet shaky armies of degenerated empire, ready to leave the field of battle at the first clash of arms. But they had now to meet men of different calibre, armed men who would stick to their post till hewn to death. Thus when they were first surprised while they were engaged in fields, the Mālavas did not tamely submit, but took shelter in a nearby stronghold. Then from city to city the carnage of war continued. On the fortified heights of Tulumba, and at Kot-Kamalia, they resisted the invader. They went so far as even to make the desert and jungle their homes rather than be slaves to the foreign conqueror, and it was when Alexander had exposed himself to gravest danger that the last Malloi city fell. The Greek writers in order to magnify Alexander convey the impression that Mālava tribe was practically annihilated, but that was far from the case. Both the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas are mentioned in Patañjali as we have seen above. Arrian too definitely tells us that the leading men from the Mallois and Oxydrakois came to conclude a treaty with Alexander, and a treaty was concluded. If there was practical annihilation, why then was there a treaty? Did Alexander conclude treaties with the people of Messaga, Aornos, Darius III, and others? A treaty is possible with a partially defeated people; it does not imply annihilation. What were the exact terms of the treaty we do not know, but these were probably some of the terms, namely,

1 *Ibid.* p. 234.

ontribution of chariots and horses or cavalry, and an annual tribute.¹

When they were attacked by Alexander, the Mālavas seem to have been in a fairly high state of civilization. They were mainly an agricultural community. Thus when Alexander made a surprise attack on them, they were engaged in their fields. They impressed the Greeks with their appearance, being men of tall stature and dignified bearing. "Their robes were of linen wrought with purple and gold." They also seem to have developed a currency of their own. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar draws our attention to a statement of Quintus Curtius referred to by General Cunningham : "that near the junction of the five rivers Alexander received from the Malli and Sudracae a present of 100 talents of white iron (*ferri candidi*). This white iron can be either nickel or tin. But tin was soft metal, therefore unsuitable for coinage ; besides it was well known to the Greeks who would not have, therefore, called it white iron. Nickel, on the other hand, thinks Cunningham, is hard and magnetic, as well as white, and as it was not known to the Greeks they could call it white iron. Thus in his (Cunningham's) opinion Nickel was used for purpose of currency by the Indian tribes, Mālavas and Ksudrakas, in the time of Alexander."²

With this ends the first stage of their history. We have no further information about their continuing to remain in this reign. Neither Kauṭilya nor Megasthenes mentions them. They seem to have migrated southwards and settled somewhere in Rajputana. Rāj Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, in his *Hindi History of Rajputana*, has devoted but one page to an account of them which, unfortunately is very scrappy and uncritical.³ We will, therefore, try to reconstruct their history so far as it relates to their settlement in Rajputana. Just sixty-one years ago Carlyle found no less than 600 coins belonging to the Mālavas at Nāgar, also called Karkkoṭaka-Nagar, lying in

1 *Ibid.* Pp. 154 and 249.

2 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, P. 144.

3 Ojha — *Rājputānāki Itihāsa*, Vol. I. p. 96.

the territory of Raja of Unīārā a feudatory of Jaipur.¹ Carlyle traced the names of forty kings, but Smith found only twenty. A large portion of this hoard appears to have been lost. These Mālava coins are remarkable for their small size, and one of them which is No. 106 in Smith's *Catalogue* is regarded by him as the smallest in the world.² He remarks : " It is difficult to understand how such a coinage could have been used, as it was used for centuries." The size of the coins, however, can suggest only one thing — the low economic condition of the tribe.

In 1923 Mr. R. O. Douglas wrote a paper called " On some Mālava Coins " which was published in J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XIX, (N. S.) P. 42 ff. That paper is important in some respect. His reading Mālāya instead of Mālava on some coins is noteworthy, but even he has not been able to throw light on the name of supposed kings of the tribe, which, as noted above, are about forty according to Carlyle, and twenty according to Smith. But are they really names of any kings at all? Some of them are *Magaja*, *Magojaya*, *Majupa*, *Mayojapa*, *Mapaya*, and so forth. It will be seen that most of them begin with " Ma " and consist of permutations and combinations of five letters *Ma*, *ga*, *ja*, *sa*, *ya*. The probability is that these letters constitute not names so much, as abbreviations. In fact it was suggested to me long ago by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, that the three letters *Magaja* which occur for instance, on coins 82-84 of Smith's *Catalogue* and which had been taken to be the name of a king looked like an abbreviation of the legend : *Mūlavaganasya jayah* which occurs for instance on coins Nos. 58-61. As stated above it is worthy of note that the Mālava coins are very small in size. To engrave the whole legend, therefore, on any one of its surfaces must have caused considerable difficulty. This seems to be the reason why the legend was abbreviated into these three letters. Similarly it is a habit with the coin manufacturers not to engrave each letter fully and entirely. Thus what looks like the letter *pa* in *Mapaya* may be *la*, and *Mapaya* might thus stand for *Mūlaya* equal to Mālava.

1 Cunningham.— *A. S. R.* vol. VI, 1871-3, pp. 72 ff.

2 V. A. Smith — *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 178,

Mr. Douglas has already shown that the tribal name is sometimes written Mālaya instead of Mālava. Similarly *Mapaja* may be explained as equivalent to *Māla-jayah* equal to *Mālava-jayah*. Again *Magajasa* may be equivalent to *Mālava-gaṇasya yaśaḥ*. It is thus not at all improbable to take these letters as the abbreviated forms of the legend. Otherwise we are compelled to weave the most fantastic names out of them.

I have already stated that the Mālavas were in south-western part of the Punjab before they migrated to the Nāgar-Chāl province of Jaipur State. If any proof is needed, it is furnished by the fact that the legend on some of the coins has to be read from right to left as in Kharoṣṭhī which is almost an unprecedented thing in Brāhmī; this is certainly due to their northern origin, where Kharoṣṭhī was the prevalent script since the Achaemenid conquest of North-west India. Kharoṣṭhī died a natural death in the 4th century A. D. It is thus evident that the Mālavas must have been settled in Jaipur area much earlier than this period. This is in keeping with the fact that the legend on the earliest coins as noted by Mr. Douglas are in Prakrit and not in Sanskrit. The Mālava occupation of this region is further confirmed by the Nasik Cave Inscription of Uṣāvadāta, a Śaka, son-in-law of Kṣatrapa Nahapāna.¹ It is inexplicable how Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha has lost sight of such an important fact in his *History of Rajputana*. The Nasik Inscription informs us that Uṣāvadāta had gone at the command of his lord, who can be no other than Nahapāna, to relieve the Chief of Uttamabhadras who had been besieged by the Mālayas, who fled away at the mere sound of his approach, and were made the prisoners of the Uttamabhadras. Uṣāvadāta is represented as afterwards having gone to Puṣkaras seven miles west of Ajmere. It is thus clear that the Mālayas were then settled in South-eastern part of Jaipur State. That the Mālayas were the same as Mālavas can not be doubted after the reading vouched for by Mr. Douglas on the coins examined by him. Thus we see that both on the first and second occasions the real cause of their migration was defeat at the hands of superior powers.

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 44.

It has been noted above that on most of their coins the term *Gaṇa* is associated with Mālava. It further deserves to be noticed that the inscriptions also speak of the Mālava *gaṇa*. The question that arises now is : what does *Gaṇa* signify? Rai Bahadur Ojha blindly following in the foot-steps of Monier-Williams and Fleet has taken the word to mean 'jāti'. In his Sanskrit-English Dictionary Monier-Williams translated the word by 'tribe'. This meaning was adopted by Fleet in his translation of the phrase *Mālava-gaṇasthiti* occurring in the two Mandasor Inscriptions.¹ Following them the Rai Bahadur has translated the English word by the Hindi term *jāti*, which means not only a tribe, but also a caste. It was Mr. K. P. Jayaswal who first pointed out that *gaṇa* signified a republic,² and Prof. Bhandarkar afterwards pointed out that it denoted a tribal oligarchy, — a federation of clans.³ The latter view is now generally accepted, but it was Mr. Jayaswal who placed the scholars on the right track, and Dr. Thomas challenged the late Dr. Fleet fifteen years ago in regard to the correctness of his rendering of the word *gaṇa* by tribe.⁴ Rai Bahadur Ojha's book was published but six years ago, and it is, indeed, a matter of regret that he has failed to take note of the exact significance of the term *gaṇa*. It will be thus seen that the Mālavas were a *gaṇa* — a tribal oligarchy, — at any rate from circa. 150 B. C. to circa. 550 A. D.

It is well known that the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta speaks of the Mālavas. In fact, they head the list of the tribes which were tributaries of the Gupta Emperor. The question arises : where are the Mālavas to be located in the Gupta period ? It does not seem very difficult to find an answer. The scholars are fully aware that the years of the Vikrama Era were designated Kṛta in the Gupta epoch and earlier,

1 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp. 72ff & 79ff,

2 Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 29.

3 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 165, and *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 110.

4 *J. R. A. S.* 1914, pp. 413 and 1010 ; 1916 p. 162,

and that the Mālavas were somehow associated with them. The typical verse is found in the Mandasor Inscription of Narvarman which runs thus :— “*Śrī(r) -m Mālava-gaṇāmnūte praśaste kṛta-samjñite ...*” The second expression *Kṛta-samjñite* which qualifies the phrase expressing the date shows that “*Kṛta*” was the original name of the Vikrama Era. But what does the first expression, *Mālava-gaṇāmnūte*, signify? It must mean “traditionally handed down by the Mālava Gaṇa”, and indicates that the Mālavas had their own peculiar system of computing the Kṛta years. This point has already been dwelt upon by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and it is not, therefore, necessary to deal with it further.¹ Suffice it to say that the Mālavas were connected with the Kṛta Era so far as their system of reckoning went. Wherever the Kṛta years are specified in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, the name of the Mālavas occurs in most cases. We have, therefore, to see where these inscriptions have been found which associate the Mālavas with the Kṛta years. They are Mandasor in the Gwalior State, Kāṇṣuvām in the Kotah State, Nāgarī in Udaipur State, and so forth. These inscriptions are found within an area marked by longitude N. 23-26 and latitude E. 74-77. It will be thus seen that the Mālavas in the Gupta period were no longer confined to the Nāgar-chāl province of the Jaipur State, but had moved southwards and settled in a province comprising south-eastern part of Rajputana and north-west part of Central India. Shortly after Gupta period the Mālavas seem to have migrated still further southwards. In the *Gurvāvali-Sūtra* of Dharmasāgaragani, Śrī Devendrasūri is represented to have gone from Ujjayinī in Mālavaka to Gurjaratrā (Gujarat).² It seems that Mālavaka touched Gujarat. Curiously enough this agrees with what the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chawang has stated.³ He makes *Po-lu-ka-che-po* (Bharoach) and *Mo-la-po* (Mālava) as two conterminous states about the middle of the 7th century A. D. He also tells us that Mālava was situated on the south-eastern side of the *Mo-ho* (v. l. *Mo-hi* = *Māhi*) river. This is also

1 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 187-94.

2 Weber — *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II, 990.

3 Watters — *Yuan Chawang*, Vol. II. p. 241.

confirmed by the copper-plate grants of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena II, dated G. E. 320-21.¹ The first inscription records that the king made a grant on the eastern boundary of Navagrāmaka in the *bhukti* of Mālavaka, whereas the second refers to his grant of land on the southern boundary of Candraputraka in the *bhukti* of Mālavaka. It is known that both these charters were found in the Rutlam State, and as a matter of fact Navagrāmaka mentioned in the copper-plate grant has been identified with Nogāwā in the same state. What is further noteworthy is that the Rutlam State is situated on the south-eastern side of the Mahī river at its source. This concurrent testimony points to the conclusion that in the post-Gupta period the Mālavas had occupied a province including the modern Rutlam State.

It must not however be supposed that the Mālavas migrated southward only. In the post-Gupta period they seem to have gone eastward also. All the copper-plates of Pāla kings excepting that of Dharmapāla refer to the Kulikas or cultivators as consisting not only of the Khasas and Hūṇas but also of the Mālavas. The above account of the Mālavas refers to the pre-Muhammadan times. Before, however, we conclude this paper, it would be well to notice whether they survive in the modern period. It is well known that there is a province called Malwa in Central India. "It consists solely of the plateau lying between 23° 30' and 24° 20' N and 74° 30' and 78° 10' E. which is terminated on the south by the great Vindhyan range, on the east by the arm of the same range which strikes north from Bhopal to Chanderi (the Kulācala parvata of the Purāṇas), on the west by the branch which reaches from Amjheri to Chitor (in Rajputana), and on the north by the Mukundwara range which is from Chitor to Chanderi²."

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 188 ff.

2 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, pp. 95-100.

It is also worthy of note that the name Mālava has survived not only in that of a province as just noted, but also in those of two Brāhmaṇa castes. They are called the 'Mālavis' or 'Mālāvikas'. They are the proper Brāhmaṇas of Mālava and the adjoining country. They are not only found in their special habitat, but also in Gujarat on one hand, and Central Provinces and United Provinces on the other. Perhaps the most noteworthy example of this caste is Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. These 'Mālavi' Brāhmaṇas, however, are isolated from their main stock in Malwa.¹

¹ Wilson — *Indian Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 114 and 189. Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, P, 153.

⁵ [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

ON THE DATE OF ŚRĪKANṬHA AND THE
BRĤAT-SAMĤITĀ

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA, B. A. (Hons.)

Writing in the maiden number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, on the knotty problem of " the date of Śrīkanṭha and his Brahma-Mīmāṃsā ",¹ Mr. T. R. Chintamani permits himself an unhappy digression in a foot-note wherein he bitterly complains against Śrī Madhvācārya having quoted the verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलम् ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

from " an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Br̥hat-Sam̥hitā* " ; and concludes with pretentious familiarity that " perhaps the source referred to by Śrī Madhvācārya in this connection is on a par with the Kāṭharāyaṇa — Māṭharāyaṇa sources from which he is in the habit of citing certain *Śruti* texts ! "

The writer's anxiety to create for himself many opportunities and lose none to criticise Madhva though obvious is yet highly regrettable. For, I perceive no earthly connection, from the writer's treatment of the problem at any rate, between the problem of Śrīkanṭha's date and Madhva's citing a verse (albeit also cited by the former) from the *Br̥hat-Sam̥hitā*. That the writer himself was only too plainly conscious of the blessed irrelevance of Madhva's quotation to his subject is betrayed by the fact that he himself has to resort to the luxury of a foot-note to censure Madhva.

Having come to the happy conclusion that " Śrīkanṭha should have flourished about the middle of the 13th century " (p. 67), Mr. Chintamani proceeds to give some corroborative evidence and it is here that he introduces the verse ' उपक्रमोपसंहारौ ' etc. Says he

1 The date of Śrīkanṭha and his Brahmamīmāṃsā, by T. R. Chintamani, M. A., Research Student, University of Madras. *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. i, part 1 ; January 1927.

“ The date we have thus arrived at is confirmed by the following reference. Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलम् ।

अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

“ My revered preceptor, Professor S. Kuppusvami Sastrigal, has been able to identify¹ this verse as Akhaṇḍānanda's. Akhaṇḍānanda in his *Tattvadīpana* refers to this verse with the following remarks :

अत्र संग्रहश्लोकः

‘ उपक्रमोपसंहारा..... ’

Edition of *Tattvadīpana* in the

Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 687.

“ It is a well-known fact that *Saṅgraha-ślokas* are the compositions of authors who refer to them as such² ” (Italics mine).

I am sure, Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppusvami Sastri would certainly disclaim any conspicuous or extra-ordinary ability in tracing the verse in question in a printed prose work such as the *Tattvadīpana*; and I have no manner of doubt that he would be the last man to identify himself, sympathise with or lend his weighty support to the attacks and insinuations of his precocious pupil, Mr. Chintamani, against Madhva.

It would appear from the foregoing quotations that Mr. Chintamani would regard Śrīkaṇṭha as later than Akhaṇḍānanda for the very simple reason that the former quotes the verse ‘ उपक्रमो..... ’ in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, which has been -- in the writer's opinion -- shown to have been composed by Akhaṇḍānanda. Since Śrīkaṇṭha “ belongs ” to the middle of the 13th century, “ Akhaṇḍānanda belongs to the beginning of the 13th century.”

In spite of assiduous attempts, Mr. Chintamani has not successfully demonstrated a clear case of borrowing on the part of Śrīkaṇṭha from Akhaṇḍānanda. On the contrary, the occurrence of the verse in Śrīkaṇṭha as well as in the other, would at

1 The opening verse of the leading article in this number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, could similarly be identified as an unacknowledged adaptation with a change of the last quarter, of a well-known verse in the *Nilakaṇṭha Vijaya* of Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita; Madras 1924.

2 Op. cit., p. 68.

best only indicate that both have it from a common source. Nor is the verse indubitably Akhaṇḍānanda's own though quoted as a *Saṅgraha śloka*. Mr. Chintamani himself admits that "Akhaṇḍānanda is indebted to his teacher Prakāśātman for this verse" and that "with slight modifications, Akhaṇḍānanda adopted the verse and gave it as a *Saṅgraha śloka*"¹ — whatever one may think of the intellectual honesty involved in such a procedure. Anyhow it is amusing to note that Mr Chintamani's dictum that "it is a well-known fact that *Saṅgraha ślokas* are the compositions of authors who refer to them as such" (p. 68) is miserably contradicted by himself at the very next page.

Nor does it appear very necessary that Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse in question from Akhaṇḍānanda. There is nothing to support such a very original notion in Śrīkaṇṭha's work. In the first place, Mr. Chintamani does not express the entire truth when he baldly observes, "Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो.....'". Indeed, Śrīkaṇṭha quotes it with a significant remark: *तथा पठन्ति* which shows that the verse so quoted is of hoary antiquity — being, in fact, the stock-in-trade of all Vedāntins. Śrīkaṇṭha is not likely to have borrowed it from Akhaṇḍānanda. There is no valid reason to support such a conjecture other than the flimsy one of *Saṅgraha ślokas* being the compositions of authors who refer to them as such which is so pathetically negatived in the same breath by the writer himself. Nor is 'तथा पठन्ति' the usual or legitimate manner of acknowledging such a debt!

Lastly, Śrīkaṇṭha's priority to Madhva seems to be established by the repudiation of the pro-Śaiva interpretations of *śrutis* in the former's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* by Madhva in his *Anu-Vyākhyāna*. The strong Vaiṣṇavite tenor of Madhva's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and the strong plea which he puts forth on behalf of the supremacy of Viṣṇu throughout his commentary and notably in the commentary on the very first *Sūtra*² appear to be directed pointedly towards the repudiation of an

1 Loc. cit., p. 69.

2 ब्रह्मशब्दश्च विष्णोर्वैव । न चैतरग्रन्थाविरोधः । न च वैष्णवेषु तथा । तस्मैव मोहामित्युक्तं ॥ अनुमानतोऽन्ये न कल्पनीयाः

equally vehement and passionate Śaivite interpretation¹ of the *Sūtras*. The plausibility of Śrīkaṇṭha's work having been the one which Madhva ought to have had in view, is established beyond doubt by an actual and elaborate refutation of the Śaivite interpretation of the Upaniṣadic text :

‘ कृतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् ।
ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं ’

sponsored by Śrīkaṇṭha, in Madhva's *Anu-nyūkyūna* :

स्यादेतत् । ब्रह्मशब्दबलेनान्नमयादीनां विष्णुत्वं न निश्चेतुं शक्यते । ‘ कृतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् । ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं शंकरं नीललोहितम् ’
इति तापनीयवाक्ये रुद्रेषि परं ब्रह्मश्रवणात् इत्यतः पूर्वोत्तरार्धं भिन्नविषयत्वेन व्याख्याति² ॥

In the आनन्दमयाधिकरण Śrīkaṇṭha proclaims Śiva as the *ānanda-maya* :

अतोयमानन्दमय आत्मा जीव एव न परमेश्वरः इति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः आनन्दमयोयमात्मा परमेश्वर इति । कुतः । अभ्यासात्³ ॥ and Madhva naturally, is eager to refute this view as can be seen from his inclusion of the contention that *ānandamaya* is रुद्र (परमेश्वर of Śrīkaṇṭha) in the *pūrvapakṣa* and from his *siddhānta* that *ānandamaya* is Viṣṇu : आनन्दमयो ब्रह्मादिः प्रकृतिविष्णुर्वा ? । ब्रह्मशब्दाद्विरण्यगर्भप्राप्तिः । शतानन्दनाम्ना च । अष्टमूर्तित्वात्सूर्यं प्रोक्तत्वाच्च रुद्रस्य । तथापि न ते आनन्दमय शब्देनोच्यन्ते किंतु विष्णुरेव⁴ ॥ These two instances would suffice to establish that Madhva is endeavouring to refute the Śaivite interpretation already current and established in his days. The probable identity of the Śaivite commentator responsible for those views with Śrīkaṇṭha deserves careful consideration especially when the views criticised by Madhva are directly traceable to Śrīkaṇṭha's Bhāṣya.

It is also significant to note Jayatīrtha echoing the term अभियुक्त used by Śrīkaṇṭha : तथा ह्यभियुक्तावदन्ति (p. 50) : न च तच्छास्त्रं विष्णुपरामिति वाच्यं । अभियुक्तैः शिवादिपरत्वे न व्याख्यातत्वात्⁵ ॥

1 शिव एको ध्येयः । अन्यथा कथं संसारनिवृत्तिः । शिव एको ध्येयः शिवंकरः सर्वमन्यपरित्यज्येति शिवव्यतिरिक्तस्य मुमुक्षूणां ज्ञेयत्वं ध्येयत्वं च परिसंख्यायते । अतः शिव एव परं ब्रह्म ।

Śrīkaṇṭha : *Brahma Mīmāṃsā*, Mysore Oriental Library Series, p. 25.

2 *Nyāya Sudhā* of Jayatīrtha, p. 128.

3 Śrīkaṇṭha, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

4 Madhva : *Commentary on Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 12.

5 *Nyāya Sudhā*, p. 112.

Literary tradition among the commentators of the Dvaita school also endorses the view that Madhva implied a criticism of Śrīkaṇṭha also. The author of the *Candrikāprakāśa*¹ in commenting on Vyāsātīrtha's *Candrikā* indicates the Śaiva-Viśiṣṭa-dvaita tenets refuted² by Madhva. Vādirāja Svāmin roundly asserts that Madhva's work was the last word on the Vedānta :

अन्ते सिद्धस्तु सिद्धान्तो मध्वस्यागम एव हि³ ।

an assertion which could not have been made if the Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya had come later than Madhva. Vādirāja Svāmin is not usually an ill-informed person in such matters.

It would thus appear that Śrīkaṇṭha must have been a predecessor of Madhva, who falls entirely within the 13th century (1199-1272 A. D.). Śrīkaṇṭha must therefore have flourished at least a century earlier and may therefore be placed in the 12th century. Śrīkaṇṭha's emphatic Śaivite interpretation could thus be shown to have been directed against Rāmānuja and it will then be clear how Madhva had a double task of reclaiming and reaffirming the Supremacy of Viṣṇu as well as of refuting the Śaivite interpretations of Śrīkaṇṭha.⁴

Mr. Chintamani places Akhaṇḍānanda in the beginning of the 13th century. It is therefore quite impossible that Śrīkaṇṭha ever borrowed from or was otherwise indebted to Akhaṇḍānanda who was later than himself ; nor even from Prakāśātman who must have been, at the worst, a contemporary of his. Madhva, too, was a contemporary of Akhaṇḍānanda and to begin his philosophical career by misappropriating a verse from Akhaṇḍānanda must have sounded hideous to him — Mr. Chintamani's verdict notwithstanding, — especially when he could have had access to it in the earlier works of Śrīkaṇṭha and Sudarśana Sūri.

1 *Tātparya Candrikā* of Vyāsātīrtha with Comm., *Prakāśa*, by Rāghavendra Tīrtha, Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore.

2 Op. cit., Vol. i, p. 72.

3 *Yukti-mallikā* of Vādirāja Svāmin.

4 Cf. यद्वा कश्चिदुपक्रमादिना शिव एव वेदान्ततात्पर्यावधारणमत्र प्रतिज्ञायत इत्याह, तत्तु पूर्वाधिकरणोदाहृतवचनैः प्रत्यधिकरणं भाष्योक्तश्रुत्यादिभिः विष्णुपरोपक्रमादितात्पर्यलिङ्गैः विष्णोर्वैव तात्पर्यावधारणोपपादनेन मां विधत्तेऽभिधत्ते मामित्यादिरमृत्याच विरुद्धत्वादपेशलं बोध्यम् ॥

Candrikā Prakāśa, p. 72.

Mr. Chintamani seems to have been blissfully innocent of the fact that Sudarśana Sūri, the illustrious commentator on the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja shows clear traces of his acquaintance with the verse, 'उपक्रमो...' of which he quotes more or less the first half :

प्रमाणान्तराविरोधश्च तात्पर्यलिङ्गं । उपक्रमोपसंहारादिषु अपूर्वत्वमपि तात्पर्य-
लिङ्गतया ह्युक्तं । अभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलमिति । अपूर्वत्वं च साधकबाधकप्रमाणागोचरत्वं¹ ।

Sudarśana, apart from the probability of his having been slightly earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda, is not likely to have borrowed the verse from him. Mr. Chintamani, had he known Sudarśana's familiarity with the verse, would certainly have convicted him also of misappropriation. Sudarśana, then, has entirely escaped scot-free, thanks to the writer's ignorance. Anyhow, there is no doubt that the verse goes back to some source far earlier than Sudarśana.

We are therefore constrained to observe that Mr. Chintamani has come out rather very badly in the first part of his self-imposed task of settling the date of Śrīkaṇṭha. He seems somehow to have missed the royal road to successful research which lies in a patient collection of all available and unimpeachable references in the works of Śrīkaṇṭha², Madhva and Akhaṇḍānanda (if the last has any thing at all to do with the vexed question of Śrīkaṇṭha's date) to the views of their predecessors and contemporaries and then proceed to examine how far any one of them presupposes, quotes or criticises the other. Mr. Chintamani however seems to have set about it in the wrong way by

1 *Śrī Bhāṣya* with the Comm. of Sudarśana, p. 328, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889.

2 The phrase पूर्वचार्यैः ऋतुविनं at the outset of Śrīkaṇṭha's Bhāṣya is taken by some to pre-suppose a reference to Madhva also and thus is relied upon to establish Śrīkaṇṭha's posteriority to all the three famous Bhāṣyakāra's of S. India. But firstly too rigid a numerical significance need not be attached to the casual use of the plural which could be explained otherwise ; secondly, the required number of three Bhāṣyakāras can still be made up without including Madhva among predecessors of Śrīkaṇṭha ; and thirdly because of the surmise of Madhva's probable inclusion in the phrase being negated by traces of his having used Śrīkaṇṭha.

attempting to make the whole problem turn on a stray quotation by Madhva of a certain verse "from an anonymous but contemporary work."

II

THE BRĤAT SAMĤITĀ

Worse is the fate that hath overtaken him in the other part of his self-imposed task of proving Madhva to have misappropriated the verse 'उपक्रमो' from the *Tattvadīpana*.

Mr. Chintamani remarks rather patronisingly, "This verse, in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*, seems to have become familiar to Śrī Madhvācārya through an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Br̥hat Sam̥hitā*". (Italics mine). To be sure, Madhva quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो' in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 4, from the *Br̥hat Sam̥hitā*; but there is nothing in this to occasion such a huge surprise. However, he manages to overcome his surprise and proffers a critical piece of advice to his readers that "this *Br̥hat Sam̥hitā* ought to be differentiated from the astronomical work of the same name." The advice is quite unwarranted since not even a tyro of Madhva's works would confound for a moment, the two *Br̥hat Sam̥hitās*. Perhaps, it is but the recrudescence of a subjective experience of the writer himself! Mr. Chintamani, however, finally declares for the supreme enlightenment of his readers "A *Br̥hat Sam̥hitā* has been published as No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series. I have carefully examined the work and the verse in question does not occur anywhere in that work. Perhaps the source referred to by Śrī Madhvācārya " (Italics mine). All the trouble and credit of this amazing process of research is grievously annulled when it is revealed that No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series is *not* a *Br̥hat Sam̥hitā* merely but a *Br̥had Brahma Sam̥hitā*!! 'नहि त्रिपुत्रो द्विपुत्र इत्युच्यते' must certainly have escaped the notice of Mr. Chintamani! No wonder, therefore, that despite strenuous efforts Mr. Chintamani could not trace the verse quoted by Madhva from the *Br̥hat Sam̥hitā* in the *Br̥had Brahma Sam̥hitā*. One cannot, therefore, but heartily pity him for having wasted his critical acumen in the wrong place!

Granting that the verse quoted by Madhva could not be found in the misleading No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series, it does not prove that the same must necessarily have been misappropriated from Akhaṇḍānanda's work or for the matter of that, even from Prakāśātman's *Śabdānirṇaya*.¹ The whole serio-comic is badly exposed when it is brought to light that Madhva has quoted not only the unfortunate verse 'उपक्रमा' from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (whatever it is), but also not less than twenty-five others in various places in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. Nor is this all. In his commentary on the *Śrī Bhāgavata* Madhva again quotes as many as eleven lines from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. I may take this opportunity of recording all the verses quoted from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* for obvious reasons.

यज्जानवसरोऽन्यत्र पदं तत्र प्रतिष्ठितं ।
वाक्यं वेति सतां नीतिः सावकाशो न तद्भवेत्² ॥
उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये³ ॥
शिरो नारायणः पक्षः दक्षिणः सन्य एव च
प्रद्युम्नश्चानैरुद्धश्च संदोहो वासुदेवकः
नारायणोऽथ संदोहो वासुदेवः शिरोऽपि वा
पुच्छं संकर्षणः प्रोक्त एक एव तु पञ्चधा
अङ्गाङ्गित्वेन भगवान्क्रीडते पुरुषोत्तमः
ऐश्वर्यान्नविरोधश्च चिन्त्यस्तास्मिन् जनार्दने
अतर्क्ये हि कुतस्तर्कस्वप्नमेये कुतः प्रमा⁴ ॥
यथाहि पौरुषं सूक्तं विष्णोरेवाभिधायकं
न तथा सर्ववेदाश्च वेदाङ्गानि च नारद⁵ ॥
आत्मान्तरास्मेति हरिरेक एव द्विधा स्थितः
निविष्टो हृदये नित्यं रसं पिबति कर्मजम्⁶ ॥
परस्परविरोधे तु वाक्यानां यत्र युक्तता
तत्रैवार्थः पारिज्ञेयः नावाक्या युक्तिरिष्यते
विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः
तत्र दृष्टानुसारेण तेषामर्थोन्ववेक्ष्यते⁷ ॥

1 I hope, Mr. Chintamani would not have us believe that Madhva's references to and citations from a *Śabdānirṇaya* are really from Prakāśātman's *Śabdānirṇaya* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series !

2 Madhva on *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 1.

3 Ibid., i, 1, 4.

4 Ibid., i, 1, 15.

5 Ibid., i, 2, 26.

6 Ibid., i, 2, 11.

7 Ibid., ii, 1, 18.

एकोऽविभक्तः परमः पुरुषो विष्णुरुच्यते
 प्रकृतिः पुरुषः कालस्त्रय एते विभागतः
 चतुर्भिस्तु महान्प्रोक्तः पञ्चमाहं कृतिर्मता
 तद्विभागेन जायन्ते आकाशाद्याः पृथक् पृथक् ।
 यो विभागी विकारः स सोऽविकारः परोहरिः
 अविभागात्परानन्दः नित्यो नित्यगुणात्मकः
 विभागो ह्यल्पशक्तित्वं न तदस्ति जनार्दने¹ ॥
 न युक्तियोगाद्वाक्यानि निराकार्याण्यपि क्वचित्
 विरोध एव वाक्यानां युक्तयो न तु युक्तयः² ॥
 श्रोत्रादीनां तु पञ्चैव तथा वागादि पञ्चकं
 मनोबुद्धिसहायानि द्वादशैवेन्द्रियाणि तु
 विषयद्रवणात्तेषामिन्द्रियत्वमुदाहृतं
 तेषां नियामकः प्राणः स्थित एवाखिलप्रभुः³ ॥
 पार्थिवानां शरीराणामर्धेन पृथिवी स्मृता
 इतरेर्धे त्रिभागिन्य आपस्तेजस्तु भागतः
 इति सामान्यतो ज्ञेयं भेदस्तु प्रतिपूरुषं
 स्वर्गस्थानां शरीराणामर्धं तेज उदाहृतं⁴ ॥
 न देवानभिकांक्षेत कुत एव हरेर्गुणान्
 प्राजापत्यान् चार्षे च गान्धर्वादीनपि क्वचित्
 ऋष्यादिषु विशेषेण दोषो नैव विशेषतः⁵ ॥
 अनादि जन्मसंबन्धं निभेत्तु पापपञ्जरम् ।
 पात्रत्या सेवया शक्यं तावत्कार्यं न संशयः
 यावद्दूरे स्थितो गम्यात्तावद्गन्तव्यमेव हि
 इह जन्मान्तरे वापि तावत्यैव तु दर्शनं
 श्रवणं मननं चैव निदिध्यासनमेव च
 परे गुरौ च या भक्तिः परिचर्यादिकं हरेः
 एषा सेवेति संप्रोक्ता यया तद्दर्शनं भवेत्⁶ ॥
 विद्वेषिणोऽप्युदासीना भक्ता अपि न संशयः
 हरेर्हि सदनं यान्ति व्यक्तं भक्तैस्तु गम्यते
 आरभ्य तम आमुक्तेः कृष्णस्य सदनं यतः
 अन्यत्तद्विहारलोकत्वादन्येषामस्य लोकता⁷ ॥
 यथेष्टभाबनाद्विष्णुरनुभूः परिकीर्तितः

1 Ibid., ii, 3, 7.

2 Ibid., ii, 1, 26.

3 Ibid., ii, 4, 18.

4 Ibid., ii, 4, 23.

5 Ibid., iii, 4, 42.

6 Ibid., iii, 4, 50.

7 Bhāgavata Tātparyā of Madhva, II, 7, 34.

उदधिः कर्मणामीशः सर्वः पूर्णगुणो यतः
 सत्यः केवलसागत्वात् नियमो नियते रजः¹ ॥
 तपः प्रियं सदा विष्णोस्तपसैवाप्यते हारिः
 स्वयं च तपसैवेदं विभर्ति ज्ञानमेवाहि
 तपःशब्दाभिधं प्रोक्तं ज्ञानरूपो हरिर्यतः
 ज्ञानवीर्यो ज्ञानबलो ज्ञानानन्द उदाहृतः² ॥

I have also "carefully examined" No. (8 of the Ānandāśrama Series and not one of the verses quoted by Madhva from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* "occur in that work anywhere" which proves that apart from the obvious difference in their respective titles, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* should not be 'confounded' with the *Bṛhad Brahma Saṃhitā* as is most regrettably done by Mr. Chintamani. It will be news to him that Madhva himself makes a distinction between *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and a *Brahma Saṃhitā* and actually quotes from the latter. The identity of the latter, however, with No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series is tho' probable yet unproven.

A patient and sympathetic attention to the large number of verses quoted by Madhva from the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* in his works, would show that they are on a variety of topics. A close scrutiny of their order and arrangement would also reveal many interesting facts. For instance, two or more verses are sometimes quoted consecutively dealing with a single topic. At other times, a half of a preceding or following verse is found together with a given complete verse. The interesting variety of topics with which they deal -- theology, psychism, devotion, the physical constitution of bodies, etymology, and rules of interpretation go a long way to indicate that they are genuine quotations from a work now lost to us.

It is also significant to note that besides 'उपक्रमो' there are four other verses quoted in different contexts but all dealing with the proper method of interpretation and reconciliation of texts which proves that the verse 'उपक्रमो.....' has a legitimate place in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and was not (and in fact could not have been) falsely ascribed to an imaginary *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*.

1 Op. cit., ii, 2, 7.

2 Op. cit., ii, 9, 24.

Another important fact to be noticed in this connection is that one of the verses concerning the canons of interpretation cited by Madhva from the *Brhat Saṃhitā* and later on quoted by Vyāsarāja Svāmin in his *Nyūyāmṛta* is seen to be quoted and passed over in silence by Madhusūdana Sarasvati in the *Advaita Siddhi*.¹ Now, from what we know of Madhusūdana, we can safely say that he would certainly have denied the genuineness of the text from the *Brhat Saṃhitā* rather than taken the trouble of quoting it and passing it over. Instances are not wanting² wherein Madhusūdana refuses to subscribe to the genuineness of texts cited by Madhva. Hence we may safely conclude that Madhusūdana had no difficulty in admitting the text 'विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः' as a genuine citation from a genuine work known as *Brhat Saṃhitā*.

The foregoing observations would establish the genuineness of the *Brhat Saṃhitā* once extant but no longer available. Instances are not rare of 'Saṃhitās' such as the present one which are known to have existed once through quotations in later works; but which to-day, have passed into the limbo of the forgotten and the irrecoverable. Rāmānuja and Madhva both quote from a *Parama Saṃhitā*; Sudarśana quotes from a *Śrīkūṭottara* and Madhva again quotes from a *Prakūśa Saṃhitā* all of which are now completely lost. The present writer, however, has great pleasure in announcing to such as are interested that a small fragment of the *Prakūśa Saṃhitā* is extant and that a transcription from an old manuscript copy of it (also extant) is still in his possession. There is no inherent impossibility in the *Brhat Saṃhitā* having been extant in the times of Madhva nor is there any reason to discredit the Ācārya's statement so far as we know.

Anent "the Kātharāyaṇa-Mātharāyaṇa sources from which he (Madhva) is in the habit of citing certain *Śruti* texts," time

1 विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः ।

तत्र दृष्टानुसारेण तेषामर्थान्वयेष्यते ॥ quoted in the *Pūrvapakṣa; Advaita Siddhi* p. 105, Śrī Vidyā Press, Kumbhakonam, 1893. The same text would be found quoted by Madhva under ii, 1, 18 (*Vedānta Sūtra*) and extracted on p. 237 ante.

2 'सत्येभिरे'ति तु न भेदाभ्यासः । एतद्वक्ष्यत्यस्य आगमाधिकत्वात् । Op. cit., p. 286.

and patient research alone would bring to light most of the untraceable *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis* quoted by Madhva in his works; but the attitude of mind which posits in the name of Madhva *Śrutis* even he has not cared to 'fabricate' will neither farther research in that direction by one single step nor reflect credit on the maker of such wild accusations.

Now for the question whether Akhaṇḍānanda is to be regarded as the *de facto* author of the verse 'उपक्रमो०'; which, "in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*, seems to have become familiar to Śrī Madhvācārya." (Italics mine). The insinuation embodied in the italicised phrase needs no comment. On Mr. Chintamani's own showing, the verse goes back to an earlier source. I am really surprised at Mr. Chintamani's serious misrepresentation and deliberate misquotation from Akhaṇḍānanda. Says he "Akhaṇḍānanda refers to this verse with the following remarks :

अत्र संग्रहश्लोकः

‘उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।

अर्थवादोपपत्ति च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ’ ॥

Edition of the *Tattvadīpana* in

the Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 687."

But the real and undistorted fact is that Akhaṇḍānanda refers to the verse with the remark :

तथा च संग्रहश्लोकः

‘उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासो’ इति

Mr. Chintamani substitutes अत्र for तथाच in the original and altogether omits 'इति' of Akhaṇḍānanda and offers an emended

1 The fact is that Madhva has cited only Kāṣāyaṇa and Māthara *Śrutis* in his works besides others but nowhere has he cited anything like Kātharāyaṇa and Mātharāyaṇa *Śrutis*. Perhaps the *Śrutis* foisted on Madhva by Mr. Chintamani are the result of his original researches into the works of Madhva ! A learned critic of Madhva is said to have confounded the Tura Śruti of Madhva with Catura Śruti. Evidently Mr. Chintamani has tried to improve upon this prototype.

2 The presence of this इति coupled with तथाच... would seem to indicate that Akhaṇḍānanda himself was quoting it faithfully from some earlier source.

version. But this is playing tricks with evidence which cannot go undetected. I can only add how painful it is for me to expose the frantic attempts of Mr. Chintamani to foist the verse on Akhaṇḍānanda by such artificial means of questionable probity.

Far from emanating for the first time either from Akhaṇḍānanda or his preceptor, the *Tātparyā Liṅgas* (enumerated in the verse) have been the stock-in-trade of all Vedāntins from time immemorial. The six *Tātparyā Liṅgas* or principles of interpretation are as old as the *Vedānta Sūtras*. In fact, these enjoyed among the Vedāntins the same recognition and importance which the Mīmāṃsakas gave to another set of six canons of interpretation: श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये पारदौर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात्¹। the order of authority here being in the ascending order from the last :

श्रुत्यादीनामतःषण्णामेकार्थोपनिपातिनां ।

पूर्वं पूर्वं बलीयः स्याद्दुर्बलं चोत्तरोत्तरम्² ॥

There is a remarkable parallelism³ between the two sets of canons and it is not altogether rare to find even the Mīmāṃsakas making use of the canons of their compeers, the Vedāntins. References to अपूर्वता, फलं and अर्थवाद are common enough in Mīmāṃsā literature :--

प्रतीयते विधिश्चायं बलीयानर्थवादतः ।

प्रधान्याप्रक्रमस्यत्वाद्प्राप्तविपयत्वतः ॥

उपक्रमस्यत्वाच्चासंजातविरोधो विधिर्निर्विघ्नमेव स्वार्थं बोधयन्नुपसंहारस्थं स्वविरुद्धमर्थवाद् लक्षणां नयति⁴ ॥

फलार्थेषु गुणेषु स्याद्वाक्यभेदोऽर्थभेदतः ।

उपक्रमोपसंहारसाम्याच्चात्रैकाग्र्यता⁵ ॥

1 *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* iii, 3, 14.

2 *Śāstradīpikā*, p. 249, Bombay, 1915.

3 Cf. उपक्रमादिलिङ्गानां बलीयो ह्युत्तरोत्तरं ।
श्रुत्यादेः पूर्वपूर्वं तु ब्रह्मनर्कविनिर्णयात् ॥

4 *Śāstradīpikā* p. 91.

5 Op. cit., p. 83,

The speculative age of the Upaniṣads which had already given currency to a number of new technical terms in logic¹ could not possibly have failed to evolve canons of interpretation corresponding to 'उपक्रमो'. Bādarāyaṇa himself makes striking use of some of them : अभ्यास, फलं and उपपत्ति. In the *Samanvaya Sūtra* तन्नु समन्वयात्, he tacitly admits the application of all the *Tūtparyā Liṅgas* in arriving at a satisfactory interpretation of the divergent testimony of the Upaniṣads in regard to the nature of Brahman. He himself makes significant use of *abhyāsa* : आनन्द-मयोऽभ्यासात् ; upapatti : अन्तरउपपत्तेः अनुपपत्तेस्तु न शरीरः and of फल. Śaṅkara notes Auḍulomi's resort to *arthavāda* in his commentary.²

Prakāśātman himself in his *Śabdaniṣṭhāna* declares that the identity of the individual with the Supreme is established by the proper application of the *Liṅgas* उपक्रम etc., in the interpretation of texts. His own statement,

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।

अर्थवादोपपत्ती च यतो जीविस्ततः परः ॥

does not give the impression that the '*Liṅgas*' herein brought together originate for the first time from him. On the contrary, Prakāśātman is visibly anxious to find support for his thesis in the hoary interpretational traditions of the Vedānta as embodied in the verse 'उपक्रमो'. This is quite clear from his own commentary on the verse : यस्मिन्वाक्ये षाड्विधं ताःपर्यलिङ्गं यस्मिन्नर्थे गम्यते तद्वाक्यं तत्परमित्यध्यवसीयते whereupon he cites the relevant texts embodying these *Liṅgas* and concludes : एवं यतः वेदान्तवाक्येषु जीवस्य ब्रह्मात्मतायां वाक्यतात्पर्यलिङ्गानां षण्णां समुच्चयो । वक्तृत्वा यथायोगं गम्यते

1 Cf. "In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Kaṭhopaniṣad* etc., there occur such terms as *tarka* (debate), *yukti* (continuous argument), *jalpa* (wrangling), *vitandā* (cavil), *chala* (quibble), *nirṇaya* (ascertainment), *prayojana* (purpose), *pramāṇa* (proof), *prameya* (object of knowledge)" etc. *History of Indian Logic*, Vidyabhushan, p. 23, Calcutta 1921.

2 'चितितन्मात्रेण तदात्मकत्वादित्यौडुलोमिः' * * * अत एव जक्षणादिसंकीर्तनमापि दुःखाभावमात्राभिप्रायं स्तुत्यर्थं ॥ इत्यौडुलोमिराचार्यो मन्यते ।

ततः परमात्मैवायं जीवः¹ ॥ Attention must be drawn to his use of the terms तात्पर्यलिङ्ग etc. without any explanation and to his reference even to the exact number of them as six inspite of the fact that actually seven *Liṅgas* are embodied in the verse given by him. The point is that उपक्रम and उपसंहार came to be treated as one *Liṅga* and the assumption of this attitude by Prakāśātman (see comm., ante) without any explanation also shows that even by the time of Prakāśātman and necessarily long before him, the Vedāntins had effected the amalgamation which continued to pass muster. This again, presupposes the popularity of the seven *Liṅgas* from very early days and Prakāśātman could not certainly have invented² them. Neither was he the first person to codify them for reasons already detailed. On the contrary, Prakāśātman seems to have simply adopted the well-known verse *mutatis mutandis* in his *Śabdanirṇaya*,

The author of the *Pañcapādikā* has clearly anticipated the *Tātparyā Liṅgas* though he does not make out an elaborate inventory of them which is done by Prakāśātman in his *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa*. Padmapāda's several references,

पदानां परस्परानवाच्छिन्नार्थानां अनन्याकाङ्क्षाणां अव्यतिरिक्तैकसप्रतिपादक-
मात्रान्वयः (समन्वयः³) ।

तथासति, तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यानां निरुपचरितब्रह्मात्मैक्यावगमः पदसमन्वयः विना-
कारणेन स्वेच्छामात्रेण संपदादिपरः परिकल्प्येत । तदवगमनिमित्तं च मिथ्याज्ञाना-
पायपूर्दिका विस्मृतहस्तगतसुवर्णावाप्तिवत् ब्रह्मप्राप्तिः फलमनुभवारूढमपहृयेत्⁴ ॥

तदेवं वृद्धन्यवहारानुसारेणैव समन्वयानुसरणे⁵ सति तद्रम्यं ब्रह्म ॥

1 *Śabdanirṇaya* pp. 69-70. The most significant and 'tell-tale' lacuna here being the absence of the finite verb which betrays the verse in its true colors as an excerpt *mutatis mutandis*, it is easy to see that the verse is not a self-sufficing composition of Prakāśātman.

2 Nor is Śaṅkara the inventor, much less the codifier of the *tātparyā liṅgas* for the first time as is fondly believed by some. In fact Śaṅkara has nowhere referred to all the six *tātparyā liṅgas* in a connected manner in one place, nor given the verse embodying them in his *Bhāṣya* beyond noting in one place : उपक्रमेण उपसंहाराभ्यामेकार्थतावगमात् ॥ (III, 3, 36),

3 *Pañcapādikā* of Padmapāda, p. 84, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series.

4 Op. cit., p. 91.

5 Op. cit., p. 98,

prove that he was fully aware of the six *Tātparya Liṅgas* and the use that Śaṅkara desires to be made of them.

The prevalence of these *Tātparya Liṅgas* long before Prakāśātman is established by Padmapāda's references to फल, अर्थवाद etc. and by Vācaspati Miśra's references to some of them :—

नचैतान्युपक्रमपरामर्शोपसंहारैः क्रियासमभिहारेणीदृगात्मतत्त्वं अभिदधति तत्पराणि सन्ति शक्यानि शक्रेणाण्युपचरितार्थानि कर्तुं ; अभ्यासेहि भृयस्वमर्थस्य भवति' ॥

येनवाक्यमुपक्रम्यते येनचोपसंहियते तदेव वाक्यार्थ इति शाब्दाः² ॥

Reference has already been made to Sudarśana Sūri's familiarity with the verse.

Prakāśātman brings out clearly all the six *Tātparya Liṅgas* anticipated by Padmapāda :

तच्च तात्पर्यं यस्मिन्नर्थे वाक्यस्योपक्रमोपसंहारैकरूप्यं³ यस्याचार्थस्य उनः पुनरभ्यासो यस्मिन्नर्थे फलविशेषसंकीर्तनं अपूर्वार्थप्रमेयताच यत्रचार्थवादीपादानमुपपत्तिभिरुपपादनं चेत्यादीनि लिङ्गानि भवन्ति, तस्य वाक्यस्य तस्मिन्नर्थे तात्पर्यं⁴ ।

तस्मादुक्तानि तात्पर्यलिङ्गानि ब्रह्मणि दृश्यन्ते⁵ । and indicates at length the relevant Upaniṣadic texts embodying them.

It will be seen from the foregoing passage of the *Vivaraṇa* that its author has indicated at length the application of the six *Tātparya Liṅgas* embodied in the well-known verse 'उपक्रमो' without himself quoting it in the *Vivaraṇa* but which he gives *mutatis mutandis* in his *Śabdānirṇaya* where the last quarter यतो जीवस्ततः परः seems to have been specially introduced in place of the regular one : लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ।

1 *Bhāmati* of Vācaspati Miśra, p. 8, (with Kalpataru and Parimala) Nirṇayaśaṅkar Press, 1917.

2 Op. cit., p 103.

3 Mark the reference to उपक्रम and उपसंहार as one *liṅga* here also without any attempt to explain the same.

4 *Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa* of Prakāśātman, p. 235, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, 1892.

5 Ibid.

7 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.].

Now, Akhaṇḍānanda, after making the necessary comments on the *Vivaraṇa* passage quoted above, cites the full verse too, which sums up the *Liṅga*s not with the remark अत्रसंग्रहश्लोकः which would mean that the *Śloka* is from his own pen but with the significant remark तथाच संग्रहश्लोकः 'उपक्रमो' इति¹ which implies that he is eager to bring the various texts quoted and correlated with their particular *Liṅga*s by Prakāśātman himself into line with the well-known verse giving the *Tālparya Liṅga*s. तथाच तात्पर्यलिङ्गसंग्राहकः प्रसिद्धः उपक्रमापसंज्ञा निर्णय इत्ययं श्लोकोऽस्मिन्नर्थे जागर्तीत्यर्थः—such will be the most legitimate and reasonable conclusion we have to draw from the manner of Akhaṇḍānanda's introducing the verse. I am afraid, Mr. Chintamani has no right to evade this natural interpretation of Akhaṇḍānanda after having purposely distorted his statement and given a curiously perverted misquotation.

We have already demonstrated Śrīkaṇṭha's priority to Akhaṇḍānanda. Even if our reasonings may not convince everybody, it is admitted by Mr. Chintamani himself that Śrīkaṇṭha was not removed from Akhaṇḍānanda by more than a couple of decades. In any case, it is clearly demonstrable that the verse goes back for earlier than both Śrīkaṇṭha and Akhaṇḍānanda. Śrīkaṇṭha cites the verse with the remark "वेदान्तवाक्यानां ब्रह्मणि तात्पर्यनिर्णायकानि कानि लिङ्गानीति चेदुपक्रमादानि तथा पठान्ति² उपक्रमो...' इति³" which is coolly and completely omitted by Mr. Chintamani. The phrase तथापठन्ति attests the hoary antiquity of the verse in question. Śrīkaṇṭha, as a predecessor of both Madhva and Akhaṇḍānanda, could not have borrowed the verse from Akhaṇḍānanda unless Mr. Chintamani now revises the dates he has assigned to both Akhaṇḍānanda and Śrīkaṇṭha. Secondly, if Śrīkaṇṭha had been in any manner indebted to Akhaṇḍānanda for the verse, he would have made the fact clearer by some such acknowledg-

1 *Tattvādīpana* of Akhaṇḍānanda, p. 687, Benares Sanskrit Series.

2 Śrīkaṇṭha *Brahma Mīmāṃsā Bhāṣya*, p. 21, Mysore Oriental Library Series.

3 Attention has already been drawn to the significance of the term. See *ante* p. 241.

ment as तथोक्तं तत्त्वदीपने. The phrase तथा पठन्ति seems to smack more of indebtedness to some Purāṇic source.¹

This is happily confirmed by another quotation from some Śaiva Āgama work which Śrīkaṇṭha gives in which the *Tātparyā Līngas* are clearly presupposed :—

य उपक्रमादिभिस्तात्पर्यनिर्णयः तदेव वेदान्तवाक्यानां श्रवणमित्युच्यते । तथाह्युच्यते

अज्ञानप्रभवं दुःखं ज्ञानं तस्य निवर्तकं ।

सर्ववेदान्तवाक्यानां श्रवणं तत्प्रवर्तकं ॥

श्रवणं नाम वाक्यानां वैदिकानां परावरे ।

उपक्रमादिभिल्लिङ्गैः शिवे तात्पर्यनिर्णयः ॥ इति² ॥

This Āgama work must have been at least a century earlier than Śrīkaṇṭha and if the *Līngas* “उपक्रम etc.,” are to be found presupposed in it, it readily stands to reason that they were far earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda — whatever his date.

Rāmānuja, who was certainly earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda in one place remarks :

उपक्रमविरोध्युपसंहारवाक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चयो न घटते³ ।

The probability of the verse ‘उपक्रमो...’ going back to some Purāṇic source (as supposed by Madhva), is endorsed by some quotations in Vidyāraṇya’s *Vivaraṇa Prameya Saṃgraha* :

एतच्छ्रुतितात्पर्यस्यैव पुराणेषु प्रतिपादित्वात् ।

तथाहि

श्रोतव्यः श्रुतिवाक्येभ्यो मन्तव्यश्चोपपत्तिभिः ।

मत्वाच सततं ध्येय एते दर्शनहेतवः ॥

तत्र तावन्मुनिश्रेष्ठाः श्रवणं नाम केवलं ।

उपक्रमादिभिल्लिङ्गैः शक्तितात्पर्यनिर्णयः⁴ ॥

1 Cf. मनोमहान्मतिब्रह्मा पूर्बुद्धिः ख्यातिरिश्वरः ।

प्रज्ञासंविच्चिन्तिश्रैव स्मृतिश्च परिपठ्यते ॥

Śaṅkara Bhāṣya i, 4, 1.

2 *Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya* p. 21, Mysore Oriental Library Series.

3 Rāmānuja’s *Vedārtha Saṃgraha*, Pandit Reprints, p. 47.

4 *Vivaraṇa Prameya Saṃgraha*, Bengali Edn., Basumati Sahitya Mandir, Calcutta, pp. 7-8.

The exact identity of the Purāṇa is not however clear. There seems, however, to be some distant parallelism in tone to these verses in some of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* verses cited by Madhva :

अवणं मननं चैव निदिध्यासनमेव च ।

परे गुरौ च या भक्तिः परिचर्यादिकं हरेः ॥

The reference to अवण, मनन and निदिध्यासन in both the sets of verses cannot simply be accidental. Nor is it without significance that “the *Līngas* such as उपक्रम etc.,” should have been referred to in both the works — the one cited by Vidyāranya and the other by Madhva. Our quest for the parentage of the verse ‘उपक्रमो...’ leads us to unexpected quarters. Amalānanda in his *Śāstradarpaṇa*¹ seems to discern some of the *Tātparyā Līngas* in some *Śruti* texts ! Granted that the verse ‘उपक्रमो’ is a genuine Purāṇic text, it can readily be traced to some *Śruti* text in conformity with a well-known Mīmāṃsaka dictum. It may not be entirely idle to point out for the serious consideration of scholars that Nārāyaṇa² in his commentary on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī’s *Siddhānta Bindu* actually quotes the verse ‘उपक्रमो’ “in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*” as a *Śruti* text which whatever we may think of it, is much more startling and monstrous than Madhva’s mere ascription of it to “an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* !”

However that may be, the suggestion may not after all be out of place here that the ‘*Purāṇa*’ cited by Vidyāranya may be identical with the source referred to by Madhva as *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. Not infrequently, the texts and sources referred to by Madhva are found to be corroborated by earlier and later Advaitins. I shall bring my article to a close by referring to only one such instance of the citation of the verse :

1 श्रुतिः सखिदानन्दैकरसमेकात्मभूतं ब्रह्मोपक्रमपरमशोपसंहारिकल्ल्यातात्पर्येणावगमयन्ती नोपचारमर्हति ॥ Bengali Edn., p. 656, Lotus Library, Śaka 1839.

2 उपक्रमोपसंहारावध्यासोऽश्रुवताफलं ।

अर्थवाद्गोपनी च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

इति श्रुत्या प्रकृतलिङ्गवत्कोषित एव श्रुतीनां तात्पर्याक्तः ।

Siddhānta Bindu with Comm. of Nārāyaṇa, p. 238, Benares Sanskrit Series, 65, 1928.

अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखं ।

अस्तोभमनवयं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

quoted by Madhva from the *Skānda* in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* among a number of other verses from the same source which is corroborated by Padmapāda in his *Pañcapādikā* :

तथा च पौराणिकाः “अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्ध”

The verse ‘अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं’ is as popular and authoritative among the Vedāntins as ‘उपक्रमोपसंहारौ’ etc. Madhva’s ascription of it to the *Skānda* is fully confirmed by Sudarśana Sūri’s classical commentary on the *Śrī Bhāṣya*² while its Purāṇic genuineness is admitted by Padmapāda.

It is not improbable that in the absence of such an earlier admission of and cross reference to the Purāṇic authenticity of this verse, Madhva’s ascription of it to the *Skānda* would certainly have been questioned by born sceptics and Madhva-phobes like Mr. Chintamani. Providence alone has to be thanked for yet preserving — sometimes prominently and at other times completely hidden from the searching eyes of enthusiastic researchers — some traces of the numerous texts cited by Madhva ; and in the interests of historical and critical scholarship let us hope that many more texts and sources referred to by Madhva will in the near future be brought to light.

1 *Pañcapādikā* p 82,

2 *Śrūta Prakāśa* of Sudarśana, pp. 11-12, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889.

PALI CHRONICLES

BY

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The Dipavaṃsa or the Chronicle of the Island of Lāṅkā is the earliest known work of its kind. It puts together certain well-known traditions handed down among the Buddhists of Ceylon, sometimes in a clumsy manner. Its diction is in places unintelligible, and its narrative is dull and interrupted by repetitions. Its authorship is unknown. The canonical model of this work is to be traced in a number of verses in the Parivārapāṭha of the Vinaya-piṭaka. The Dipavaṃsa is an authoritative work well-known in Ceylon at the time of Buddhaghosa, and as a matter of fact the great Pali commentator has copiously quoted from it in the introductory portion of his commentary on the Kathāvatthu. Dr. Oldenberg has cited and translated the book into English. He says that the Dipavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa are in the main nothing but two versions of the same substance both being based on the historical introduction to the great commentary of the Mahāvihāra. The Dipavaṃsa follows step by step and almost word for word the traces of the original. According to Oldenberg the Dipavaṃsa cannot have been written before 302 A. D. because its narrative extends till that year. If we compare the language and the style in which the Dipavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa are written, it leaves no doubt as to the priority of the former. The Dipavaṃsa was so popular in Ceylon that King Dhātusena ordered it to be recited in public at an annual festival held in honour of an image of Mahinda in the 5th century A. D. (Vide the Dipavaṃsa edited by Oldenberg, Introduction, pp. 8-9). Dr. Geiger has published a valuable treatise known as the Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa (1904).¹ An idea of its contents can be gathered from the summary given below.

1 Dipavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa und die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon, Leipzig, 1905. Translated into English by E. M. Coomaraswamy, Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, Colombo, 1908.

The first chapter gives an account of Buddha's first visit to the island of Lankā. Gotama obtained perfect enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree. He surveyed the whole world and perceived the island of Lankā, a dwelling place fit for saints. He foresaw that Mahinda, the son of the Indian King Aśoka, would go to the island and propagate the Buddhist faith there. Accordingly he placed a divine guard over the island. He visited Lankā and drove the Yakkhas, inhabitants of the place, out of the island.

Buddha visited the island for the second time when the island was on the verge of being destroyed by a terrific war which ensued between the mountain-serpents and the sea-serpents. The Lord exhorted them to live in peace and all the serpents took their refuge in him.

His third visit to the island was in connection with an invitation he got from the Nāga King Mañiakkhika of Kalyāṇi.

The Dipavaṃsa then traces Buddha's descent from the Prince Mahāsammata, the first inaugurated king of the earth. Gotama Buddha was the son of Suddhodana, chief of Kapilavatthu and Rāhulabhadda was the son of Gotama. Mention is also made of many other kings who reigned before Suddhodana and after Mahāsammata.

A brief account of the first two Buddhist Councils and the different Buddhist schools that arose after the second council is also given. The first council was held under the presidency of Mahākassapa and under the patronage of Ajātasattu. The first collection of Dhamma and Vinaya was made with the assistance of Upāli and Ānanda. The second council was held during the reign of Kālāsoka. The Vajjiputtas proclaimed the ten indulgences which had been forbidden by the Tathāgata. The Vajjiputtas seceded from the orthodox party and were called the Mahāsāṃghikas. They were the first schismatics. In imitation of them many heretics arose, e. g., the Gokulikas, the Ekabbohārikas, the Bahussutiyas, etc. In all there were eighteen sects — seventeen heretical and one orthodox. Besides these there were other minor schools.

The *Dipavaṃsa* further deals with the reign of the great Indian King Asoka, the grandson of Candagutta and son of Bimbisāra, and the notable events that took place in his time. It was during his reign that Mahinda went to Ceylon and spread Buddhism there with the help of the Ceylonese King Devānaṃpiyatissa who was a contemporary of Asoka the Great. It is said that this great king built 84,000 vihāras all over the Jambudvīpa. The third Buddhist Council was held under the presidency of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa and under the patronage of Asoka. After the council was over the Thera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries (Gandhāra, Mahisa, Aparantaka, Mahārāṭṭha, Yona, Himavata, Suvannabhūmi, and Lāṅkā) for the propagation of Buddha's religion.

The *Dipavaṃsa* gives a brief account of the colonization of Ceylon by Vijaya, son of the King of Vaṅga, and also a systematic account of kings of Ceylon who ruled after Vijaya and their activities in promoting the cause of Buddhism. Sihabāhu, King of Vaṅga, enraged at the bad conduct of Vijaya, his eldest son, banished him from his kingdom. Vijaya with a number of followers went on board a ship and sailed away on the sea. They in course of their journey through the waters visited the sea-port towns of Suppāraka and Bharukaccha and later on came to Lāṅkādvīpa. Vijaya and his followers set on colonising this country and built many cities. Vijaya became the first crowned king of the island. After Vijaya we find a long list of kings among whom Devānaṃpiyatissa stands out pre-eminent.

It was during the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa that Buddhism was first introduced into Lāṅkā through Mahinda who at the instance of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, the President of the Third Council, went to Ceylon for the propagation of the Buddhist faith there. It may be noted here that the great Indian King Asoka was a contemporary of Devānaṃpiyatissa and that they were in friendly terms. Asoka sent a branch of the Bodhi-tree of the Tathāgata to Lāṅkā which was planted with great honour at Anurādhapura.

After the death of Devānaṃpiyatissa Buddhism was not in a flourishing condition. The immediate successors of the king

were weak. The *Damīlas* came over to *Laṅkā* from Southern India and occupied the country. The people were tired of the foreign yoke. They found in *Dutthagāmaṇi*, a prince of the royal family, who could liberate the country from the foreign domination. *Dutthagāmaṇi* at the head of a huge army drove the *Damīlas* out of the country. He was the greatest of the Sinhalese kings. Whether as a warrior or a ruler, *Dutthagāmaṇi* appears equally great. He espoused the cause of Buddhism and built the *Lohapāsāda*, nine storeys in height, the *Mahāthūpa*, and many other *vihāras*. Indeed Buddhism was in its most flourishing condition during the reign of this great king.

Dutthagāmaṇi was followed by a number of kings, among them *Vattagāmaṇi* was the greatest. His reign is highly important for the history of Buddhist literature. It was during his reign that the *bhikkhus* recorded in written books the text of the three *Piṭakas* and also the *Aṭṭhakathā*. *Vattagāmaṇi* was also succeeded by a number of important kings. The account of the kings of Ceylon is brought down to the reign of king *Mahāsena* who reigned for 27 years from circa 325 to 352 A. D.

At the close of the 4th century A. D. there existed in Ceylon, an older work, a sort of chronicle of the history of the island from very early times. The work was a part of the *Aṭṭhakathā* which was composed in old Sinhalese prose mingled with Pali verses. The work existed in the different monasteries of Ceylon and on it, the *Mahāvamsa* is based. The chronicle must have originally come down to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon; but it was later carried down to the reign of Mahāsena (4th century A. D.) with whose reign the *Mahāvamsa* comes to an end. Of this work, the *Dīpavamsa* presents the first clumsy redaction in Pali verses. The *Mahāvamsa* is thus a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the *Dīpavamsa* as a sort of commentary on the latter.

Author The author of the *Mahāvamsa* is known as *Mahānāman*.

A well-known passage of the *Cūḷavamsa* alludes to the fact that King *Dhātuseṇa* bestowed a thousand pieces of gold and gave orders to write a

Mahāvamsa - its
sources

Date

gaha and Mithilā, and they reigned in groups in their due order. One group whose chief was Okkāka ruled at Kapilavatthu and was known as the Śākya. In this line was born Yasodharā, a daughter of king Jayasena, and she was married to Sakka Añjana. They had two daughters, Māyā and Pajāpatī, who were both married to Suddhodana, a grandson of Jayasena and son of Sihahanu. The son of Suddhodana and Māyā was the Lord Buddha whose consort was Bhaddakaccānā, son was Rāhula, great friend was Bimbisāra, and another contemporary was Bimbisāra's son, Ajātasattu.

The first Buddhist Council¹ was convened three months after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha (at Kuśinārā) in the Sattapanni Cave at Rājagaha where his nearest disciples followed by seven hundred thousand Bhikkhus and a large number of lay men assembled to establish the most important rules of the Order as, according to their recollection, the Master himself had laid down. The work of the compilation was entrusted to Thera Ānanda and Thera Upālī. Thera Upālī spoke for the Vinaya, and Thera Ānanda for the rest of the dhamma; and Thera Mahākassapa seated on the Thera's chair asked questions touching the Vinaya. Both of them expounded them in detail and the Theras repeated what they had said. The work of the First Council took seven months to be completed, and the Council rose after it had finished compilation of the Dhamma, and the canon came to be known as Thera Tradition.

A century after the parinibbāna of the Buddha when Kālāsoka was the reigning king, there were at Vaiśālī many Bhikkhus of the Vajji clan who used to preach the ten points of Buddhism. But the Theras of Pāvā and Avantī with their leader, the great Thera Revata, declared that these ten points were unlawful, and wanted to bring the dispute to a peaceful end. All of them followed by a large number of Bhikkhus then went to Vaiśālī and there met the Bhikkhus of the Vajji clan. Kālāsoka too

1 Prof. Przyłuski's *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pt. I, pp. 8, 30, 66 and 116 should be consulted. Read also *Buddhist Councils* by Dr. P. C. Majumdar published in the *Buddhist Studies*, Edited by Dr. B. C. Law,

went there, and, hearing both sides, decided in favour of the true faith, held out by the Theras of Pāvā and Avantī. The brotherhood then came together finally to decide, and Revata resolved to settle the matter by an *Ubbāhikā* wherein four from each of the two parties were represented. Thera Revata, in order to hold a council, chose also seven hundred out of all that troop of Bhikkhus, and all of them met in the Vālikārāma and compiled the Dhamma in eight months. The heretical Bhikkhus who taught the wrong doctrine founded another school which came to bear the name Mahāsāṅghika.

The Third Council was held under better circumstances during the reign of King Asoka at the Asokārāma in Pāṭaliputta under the guidance and presidentship of Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Within hundred years from the compilation of the doctrine in the Second Council, there arose eighteen different sects in the Buddhist Order with their respective schools and systems, and another schism in the Church was threatened. At this time, 218 years from the parinibbāna of the Buddha, Asoka came to the throne, and after a reign of four years, he consecrated himself as king Pāṭaliputta. And, not long after, Sāmaṇera Nigrodha preached the doctrine to the king, and confirmed him with many of his followers in the refuges and precepts of duty. Thereupon the King became bountiful to the Bhikkhus and eventually entered the doctrines. From that time the revenue of the brotherhood was on the increase but the heretics became envious, and they too, taking the yellow robe and dwelling along with the Bhikkhus, began to proclaim their own doctrines as the doctrine of the Buddha, and carry out their own practices even as they wished. They became so unruly that King Asoka was obliged to arrange an assembly of the community of Bhikkhus in its full numbers at the splendid Asokārāma under the presidency of Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Then did the king question one by one on the teachings of the Buddha. The heretical Bhikkhus expounded their wrong doctrine, upon which the king caused to be expelled from the Order all such Bhikkhus and their followers. Only the rightly believing Bhikkhus answered that the Lord taught the Vibhajja-doctrine, and this was supported and confirmed by Thera Moggalliputta Tissa. Three thousand learned Bhikkhus were then

selected to make a compilation of the true doctrine under the guidance of the great Thera, and they completed their work at the Asokārāma in nine months.

Vijaya of evil conduct was the son and prince regent of King Sihabāhu, ruler of the kingdom of Lāla; but he was banished from the kingdom by his father for his many intolerable deeds of violence. Boarded on a ship with his large number of followers with their wives and children, Vijaya first landed at Suppāraka, but afterwards, embarking again landed in Lankā in the region called Tambapanni, where he eventually married and consecrated himself as king and built cities. After his death, he was succeeded by his brother's son Paṇḍuvāsudeva who married Subhaddakaccāna and consecrated himself as king. He was in his turn succeeded by his son Abhaya who was followed by Paṇḍukābhaya. Between Paṇḍukābhaya and Abhaya, there was no king for 17 years.

Paṇḍukābhaya's son Mutasiva followed his father and was succeeded by his second son Devānāmpiyatissa whose friend was Dhammāsoka whom he had never seen, but to whom he was pleased to send a princeless treasure as a gift. Dhammāsoka appreciated the gift, and sent as a return-gift another treasure to Devānāmpiyatissa who was now consecrated as King of Lankā.

After the termination of the Third Council, Moggalliputtatissa Thera, in order to establish the religion in adjacent countries, sent out learned and renowned missionaries to Kāśmir, Gandhāra, Mahisamaṇḍala, Varavāsa, Aparāntaka, Mahārāṭha, Suvannabhūmī (Burma), and to the Yona country. To the lovely island of Lankā, he sent there Mahinda, the Theras Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla to preach the religion.

Mahinda, then a monk, came out to Lankā with four Theras Sanghamittā's son Sumana, the gifted Sāmapera. Even on their landing many devas, nāgas and supannas were converted to the doctrine, and he with his followers entered the capital city where people thronged to see him, and he preached the true faith

to them. The wise king Devānampiyatissa heard him explain some of the miracles and teachings and episodes of the life of the Buddha, and became one of his most devoted patrons. The king then built for the great Thera the Mahāvihāra, henceforth known as the Mahāmeghavanārāma which the Thera accepted. Next the king built for him and his followers, another vihāra on the Cetiyapabbata, henceforth known as the Cetiya pabbata-vihāra, which too the Thera accepted. The wise king then became eager to enshrine one of the relics of the Great Lord the Buddha in a stūpa, so that he and the followers of the faith might behold the Conqueror in his relics and worship him. Upon his request Mahinda sent Sumana to King Dhammāsoka with the instruction to bring from him the relics of the Sage and the alms-bowl of the Master, and then to go to Sakka in the fair city of the gods to bring the collar-bone of the Master from him. Sumana faithfully carried out the instruction, and when he landed down on the Missaka mountain with the relics, the king and the people were all filled with joy, and thirty thousand of them received the Pabbajjā of the Conqueror's doctrine. Later on the king sent his nephew and minister Aritṭha again to Dhammāsoka to bring the Bodhi-Tree, which at Dhammāsoka's approach, severed of itself and transplanted itself in the vase provided for the purpose. Aritṭha then came back on board a ship across the ocean to the capital with the holy tree and a gay rejoicing began. With the Bodhi-tree came also Therī Saṅghamittā with eleven followers. The Tree and its Saplings were planted with due ceremony at different places, and royal consecration was bestowed on them. Under the direction of the Thera Mahinda who converted the island, Devānampiyatissa continued to build vihāras and thūpas one after another, and thus ruled for 40 years, after which he died. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, prince Uttiya; but in the eighth year of his reign, the great Thera Mahinda, who had brought light to the island of Lankā died at the age of sixty; and the whole island was struck with sorrow at his death, and the funeral rites were observed with great ceremony.

After a reign of ten years Uttiya died, and was followed by Mahāsīva, Sūratissa, two Damiḷas, Sena and Guttaka, Asela and

Elāra, a Damiḷa from the Cola country, in succession. Elāra was killed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi who succeeded the former as King.

Gāmaṇi, for such was his original name, was born of prince Kākavaṇṇatissa, overlord of Mahāgāma, and Vihāradevī, daughter of the King of Kalyāṇi. Gāmaṇi was thus descended through the the dynasty of Mahānāga, second brother of Devānampiyatissa. Kākavaṇṇatissa had another son by Vihāradevī named Tissa, and both Gāmaṇi and Tissa grew up together. Now when they were ten and twelve years old, Kākavaṇṇatissa who was a believing Buddhist, wanted his sons to make three promises; first, they would never turn away from the Bhikkhus, secondly, the two brothers would ever be friendly towards each other, and, thirdly, never would they fight the Damiḷas. The two brothers made the first two promises but turned back to make the third, upon which their father became sorry. Gāmaṇi gradually grew up to sixteen years, vigorous, renowned, intelligent, majestic and mighty. He gathered round him mighty and great warriors from far and near villages, as well as from the royal and noble families. Gāmaṇi developed a strong hatred towards the Damiḷas who had more than once usurped the throne of Laṅkā, and became determined to quell them down. Now he had gathered a strong army of brave and sturdy warriors round him, he approached his father for permission to make war on the Damiḷas. But the king, though repeatedly requested, declined to give any such permission. As a pious Buddhist devoted to the cult of ahimsā, he could not give permission for war that would result in bloodshed and cruelty. He also dissuaded the warriors to fight for his sons. Gāmaṇi, thereupon, became disgusted with his father, and went to Malaya; and because of his anger and disgust towards his father, he was named as Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. In the meantime King Kākavaṇṇatissa died, and there arose a deadly scramble for the throne between the two brothers, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Tissa. Two battles were fought with considerable loss of life, and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi eventually became victorious. Peace was then concluded and the two brothers began to live together again. He took some time to provide for his people who had suffered during the last wars and then went out to fight against the Damiḷas. He overpowered Damiḷa Chattā, conquered Damiḷa Titthamba and many

other mighty *Damīla* princes and kings. Deadly were the wars that he fought with them, but eventually he came out victorious and united the whole of *Laṅkā* into one kingdom. *Gāmaṇi* was then consecrated with great pomp, and not long after he himself consecrated *Maricavaṭṭi vihāra* which he had built up. Next took place the consecration of the *Lohapāsāda*, but the building up of the Great *Thūpa* was now to be taken up. He took some time to the obtaining of the wherewithal, i. e., the materials of the *thūpa* from different quarters, and then began the work in which masons and workmen from far and near did take part and at the beginning of which a great assemblage of *Theras* from different countries took place. When the work of the building had considerably advanced, the king ordered the making of the Relic-chamber in which the relics were afterwards enshrined with due eclat, pomp, and ceremony. But ere yet the making of the *chatta* and the plaster work of the monument was finished, the king fell ill which later on proved fatal. He sent his younger brother *Tissa*, and asked him to complete the *thūpa*, which *Tissa* did. The ill king passed round the *Cetiya* on a palanquin and did homage to it, and left with *Tissa* the charge of doing all the work that still remained to be done towards it. He then enumerated some of the pious works he had done in his life to the *Theras* and *Bhikkhus* assembled round his bed, and one of the *Theras* spoke to him on the unconquerable foe of death. Then the king became silent, and he saw a golden chariot came down from the *Tusita* heaven. Then he breathed his last, and was immediately seen reborn and standing in celestial form in a car that had come down from the *Tusita* heaven.

Dutthagāmaṇi was succeeded by his brother *Saddhā Tissa* who ruled for 18 years, and built many *cetiyas* and *vihāras*. He was followed by *Thūlathana*, *Laṅjatissa*, *Khallātanāga* and *Vatthagāmaṇi*. The last named was a famous king during whose reign the *Damīlas* became powerful and again usurped the throne. *Vatthagāmaṇi* was thus followed by *Damīla Puḷahattha*, *Damīla Bāhiya*, *Damīla Panayamāraka*, *Damīla Piḷayamāraka* and *Damīla Dāṭhika*. But the *Damīlas*

were dispossessed of their power not long after by Vattagāmaṇi, who now ruled for a few more years.

After his death, his adopted son Mahācūḷi Mahātissa reigned for 14 years with piety and justice. He was followed by Coranāga, Tissa, Sīva, Damiḷa Vātuka, Brahman Niliya, Queen Anulā, Kūṭakaṇṇa Tissa, Bhātikābhaya, and Mahādāthika Mahānāga¹. All of them had short reigns and were builders of vihāras and cetiyas. Anulā was a notorious queen and to her love intrigues at least four kings, Sīva, Tissa, Damiḷa Vātuka and Brahman Niliya, lost their lives. Except Tissa, they were all upstarts and they rightly deserved the fate that had been theirs.

After Mahādāthika's death, Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya, his son, followed him on the throne. He was followed by Kaṇṇirajānutissa, Cūḷābhaya, Queen Sivali, Ilanāga, Candamukhasiva, Yasalālakatissa, Subharāja, Vāṇkanāsikatissaka, Gajabāhukagāmaṇi and Mahallaka Nāga in succession. Most of these kings were worthless, and their merit lay only in the building or extension of vihāras and other religious establishments and in court-intrigues. Two of them, Ilanāga and Subharāja were however comparatively more noted for their acts of bravery and valour exhibited mostly in local wars.

After the death of Mahallanāga, his son Bhāṭikatissaka reigned for 24 years. He was followed in succession by Kanitṭhatissaka, Kuḷḷanāga, Kuṇḍanāga, Sirināga Tissa (I), Abhayanāga, Sirināga II, Vijayakumāraka Saṃghatissa, Sirisaṃghabodhi, Goṭhābhaya and Jeṭṭhatissa who are grouped together in a chapter entitled "Thirteen Kings" in the Mahāvamsa. Scarcely there is anything important enough to be recorded about these kings, besides the fact that most of them ruled as pious Buddhists always trying to further the cause of the religion by the foundation and extension of religious

1 In the list of ancient kings of Ceylon the name of Dārubbhatikātissa appears after Damiḷa Vātuka (Vide Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, Introduction, p. XXXVII).

establishments, and that they carried out the affairs of the kingdom through wars, intrigues, rebellions and local feuds.

The Jetṭhatissa was succeeded by his younger brother, Mahāsena, who ruled for 27 years and during whose reign, most probably, the Mahāvamsa was given its present form. Originally it ended with the death of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, but now it was probably brought up-to-date.

On his accession to the throne, he forbade the people to give food to any Bhikkhu dwelling in the Mahāvihāra on penalty of a fine of hundred pieces of money. The Bhikkhus thus fell in want, and they left the vihāra which remained empty for nine years. It was then destroyed by the ill-advisers of the king and its riches were removed to enrich the Abhayagiri-vihāra. The king wrought many a deed of wrong upon which his minister Meghavannābhaya became angry and became a rebel. A battle was imminent, but the two former friends met, and the king, repentant of his misdeeds, promised to make good all the harm done to the religious establishments of Laṅkā. The king rebuilt the Mahāvihāra, and founded amongst others two new vihāras, the Jetavanavihāra and the Maṇihira vihāra. He was also the builder of the famous Thūpārāma vihāra, as well as of two other nunneries. He also excavated many tanks and did many other works of merit.

Dr. Kern says in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* that the Mahāvamsa deserves a special notice on account of its being so highly important for the religious history of Ceylon. Dr. Geiger who has made a thorough study of the Pali chronicles, has edited the text of the Mahāvamsa for the P. T. S. London and has ably translated it into English for the same society, with the assistance of the late Dr. M. H. Bode. G. Turnour's edition and translation of this text are now out of date. Prof. Geiger has translated it into German. Mrs. Bode has retranslated it into English and Dr. Geiger himself has revised the English translation. There is a commentary on the Mahāvamsa known as the *Mahāvamsaṭṭhikā* (*Wamsatthapakāsinī* revised and edited by Baṭuwantudawe and Nānissara, Colombo, 1895) written by Maḥā-

nāma of Anurādhapura. This commentary is helpful in reading the text. It contains many additional data not found in the text. Readers are referred to the Mahāwanse, ed. by Turnour, Ceylon, 1837, Mahāvamsa revised and edited by H. Sumaṅgala Baṭuwantudawe, Colombo, 1883, and Cambodjan Mahāvamsa by E. Hardy, J. R. A. S. 1902. There is a Sinhalese translation by Wijesinha, Colombo, 1889 (chapter & verse).

It has long been ascertained that both the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa owe their origin to a common source - the Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa of the Mahāvihāra monastery, which, evidently was a sort of chronicle of the history of the island from very early times, and must have formed an introductory part of the old theological commentary (Atthakathā) on the canonical writings of the Buddhists. Both Oldenberg and Geiger, the celebrated editors of the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa respectively, are of opinion that this Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa was composed in Sinhalese prose, interspersed, no doubt with verse in the Pali language. This book (Mahāvamsa-Atthakathā) existed in various recensions in the different monasteries of the island, and the author of both the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa borrowed the materials of their works from one or other of the various recensions of that Atthakathā. This borrowing presumably was independent, and quite in their own way; but even then, in the main, they are nothing but two different versions of the same thing. But as the Dipavamsa had been composed at least one century and a half earlier than the Mahāvamsa, it shows perhaps more faithfulness to the original, i. e., to the Atthakathā, for, as Oldenberg points out, that the "author of the Dipavamsa borrowed not only the materials of his own work, but also the mode of expression, and even whole lines, word for word, from the Atthakathā. In fact, a great part of the Dipavamsa has the appearance not of an independent, continual work, but of a composition of such single stanzas extracted from a work or works like the Atthakathā".¹ But the author of the Mahāvamsa is not so fettered in his style or execution. Coming as he did at least one

1 Dipavamsa (Oldenberg), Introduction, p. 6.

century and a half later (i. e., the beginning of the 6th century A. D.) than the author of the *Dīpavaṃsa* when the islanders had attained much more freedom in their learning and writing of the Pali language, he evidently showed greater ease and skill in his use of the language, as well as in his style and composition, and finally, a more free and liberal use of the material of his original.

It is well-known that Mahānāma was the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, whereas we are completely in the dark as to the authorship of the *Dīpavaṃsa*. A further proof of the fact that both the authors were indebted to a common source is provided by a very striking coincidence of the two narratives, namely, that both the chronicles finish their accounts with the death of King Mahāsena who flourished about the beginning of the 4th century A. D. It was not much later that the *Dīpavaṃsa* was composed, but as the *Mahāvaṃsa* was composed still later, we might as well expect the bringing down of the narrative to a later date. But this was not the case, apparently for the fact that their common source, the *Atthakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* of the Mahāvihāra monastery, as shown by Oldenberg, was very intimately connected with King Mahāsena with whose reign the glorious destinies of the monastery came practically to an end, and there the *Atthakathā* could only logically stop its account¹.

But the historical writers of the Mahāvihāra fraternity did not at once bring down their account to the reign of Mahāsena. The *Atthakathā Mahāvaṃsa* seems to have originally brought down its account only to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon; but it was later on continued and brought down to the reign of Mahāsena, where both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* as already noticed came to an end.

That the *Dīpavaṃsa* was well-known to the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is evident from the very arrangement of the chapters and events of the narrative, so much so that the *Mahāvaṃsa* seems to be more an explanatory commentary on the earlier chronicle. The account in the *Dīpavaṃsa* is condensed, and the sequence of events and characters presents the form more of a list and cata-

¹ *Dīpavaṃsa* (Oldenberg), Introduction, p. 8.

logue than of any connected account. The Mahāvamsa, on the other hand, is elaborate, more embellished, and seems rather to explain the catalogue of events and characters of the earlier chronicle so as to give it the form of a connected narrative. Geiger rightly thinks in this connection that "the quotation of the Mahāvamsa refers precisely to the Dipavamsa."¹ The well-known passage of the Cūḷavamsa (38.59), ' Datvā saḥassaṃ dīpetum Dīpavamsaṃ samādisi ' which Fleet translates as ' he (King Dhātusena) bestowed a thousand (pieces of gold) and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the Dipavamsa ', also lends support to this view², for this *dīpikā*, Fleet says, is identical with Mahāvamsa.

It is interesting to compare the more important chapters of the two chronicles to see how their subject matters agree or differ. We have already indicated that their contents are almost identical ; in the Dipavamsa they are condensed, and in the Mahāvamsa elaborate. After an identical account of the race of Mahāsammata, both the earlier and later chronicles proceed to give a more or less detailed account of the three Buddhist Councils. The account of the First Council is almost the same. Five hundred chosen Bhikkhus assembled under the leadership of Mahākassapa in the Sattapanna cave at Rājagaha and composed the collection of the Dhamma and the Vinaya. The Dipavamsa mentions the fourth month after the Master's death as the time at which the first council was held. This was the second Vassa-month, i e., Sāvāna. This date is substantially confirmed by that provided by the Mahāvamsa which mentions the bright half of Āsāḍa, the fourth month of the year as the beginning of the Council. But as the first month was spent in preparations, the actual proceedings did not begin till the month of Sāvāna. The account of the Second Council too is substantially the same. It was brought about by the *dasavattḥūni* of the Vajjians of Vesālī, a relaxation of monastic discipline ; and 700 Bhikkhus took part in the discussion of the Council. It was held in the 11th year of the reign of Kālāsoka ; there is, however, a slight discrepancy about the

1 Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. p. XI.

2 Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. p. XI — where Geiger quotes Fleet,

locality where the Council was held. The Mahāvamsa mentions Vālikārāma, whereas the Dipavamsa mentions the Kūṭāgārasālā of the Mahāvana monastery as the place of the Council. The tradition of the schism in the second Council is also identical in the two chronicles. The Dipavamsa states that the heretical monks held a separate Council called the Mahāsāṃgiti, and prepared a different redaction of the Scriptures. The tradition is also noticed in the Mahāvamsa where it is related that they formed a separate sect under the name Mahāsāṃghika. The account of the Third Council is identical. It was held at Pāṭali-putta under the presidency of Tissa Moggaliputta and lasted for nine months.

The list of Indian Kings before Asoka and pieces of historical account connected with them, the traditional date of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, and the duration of reigns of individual Indian kings are always almost identical in both the chronicles. The story of the conversion of Ceylon, that the coming of Vijaya and his consecration, the list and account of Ceylonese Kings up to Devānampiyatissa and that of the latter's contemporaneity with king Dhammāsoka are for all practical purposes the same. But before the two chronicles take up the account of Mahinda's coming to Ceylon, the Mahāvamsa inserts a somewhat elaborate account of the conversion of different countries under the efficient missionary organisation of Moggaliputta Thera. The Mahāvamsa thus rightly stresses the fact that it was a part of the religious policy of the great Thera that Mahinda came to Ceylon. Here again the accounts of the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa are identical; then follow the identical accounts of Mahinda's entry into the capital, his acceptance of the Mahāvihāra and that of the Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra, the arrival of the relics, the receiving and coming of the Bodhi Tree, and the Nibbāna of the Thera Mahinda. From Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa the tradition and traditional chronology are almost identical; there is only a discrepancy about the date of Devānampiyatissa himself. The earlier chronicle states that king Devānampiyatissa was consecrated king in the 237th year after the Buddha's death, whereas the Mahāvamsa places it on the first day of the bright half of the ninth

month, Maggasira (Oct. -Nov.), showing a discrepancy involved probably in the chronological arrangement itself.¹

The account of the kings from the death of Devānaṃpiya-tissa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi is also identical in the two chronicles. But the Mahāvamsa is much more detailed and elaborate in its account of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi giving as it does in separate chapters the topics of the birth of prince Gāmaṇi, the levying of the warriors for the war of the two brothers Gāmaṇi and Tissa, the victory of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the consecrating of the Maricavatti vihāra, the consecrating of the Lohapāsāda, the obtaining of the wherewithal to build the Mahāthūpa, the beginning of the Mahāthūpa, the making of the relic-chamber for Mahāthūpa, the enshrining of the relics and finally his death : whereas the Dipavamsa touches and that also in brief, the two accounts only in their main outline.

The list and account of the later Kings from Duṭṭhagāmaṇi to Mahāsena in the Dipavamsa are very brief. In the Mahāvamsa, however, though the essential points and topics are the same, the accounts differ considerably in their detail which may be due to the more liberal use by the author of the original as well as of other historical and traditional sources than the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa. He might have also used those indigenous historical literature and tradition that might have grown up after the author of the Dipavamsa had laid aside his pen. This is apparent from a comparison of the respective accounts of any individual king, say, the last King Mahāsena. Thus the Dipavamsa relates that while he was in search of really good and modest Bhikkhus, he met some wicked Bhikkhus ; and knowing them not he asked them the sense of Buddhism and the true doctrine. Those Bhikkhus, for their own advantage, taught him that the true doctrine was a false doctrine. In consequence of his intercourse with those wicked persons, he performed evil as well as good deeds, and then died. The Mahāvamsa account is otherwise. It gives the story of his consecration by Saṅghamittā, the account of the vicissitudes of the Mahāvihāra, how it was left desolate for nine years, how a hostile party succeeded in obtaining the king's

1 See Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. pp. xxxi foll.

sanction for destroying the monastery, why for this fault of the king the minister became a rebel, how the Mahāvihāra was reconstructed and came to be again inhabited by Bhikkhus, how an offence of the gravest kind was made against Thera Tissa and how he was expelled, how the King built the Maṇihira-vihāra destroying the temples of some Brahmanical gods, and how he built many other ārāmas and vihāras, and a number of tanks and canals for the good of his subjects.

One such instance as just noticed is sufficient to explain the nature of the difference in the accounts of individual kings as given in the two chronicles. The duration of ruling years as given to individual kings is in most cases identical; there are only a few discrepancies, e. g., with regard to the reigns of Sena and Gutta, Lajjitissa (the Mahāvamsa gives the name as Lañjattissa), Niliya, Tissa Yasalāla, Abhaya and Tissa. In the case of Sena and Gutta, the Dipavamsa gives the duration of rule as 12 years, whereas the Mahāvamsa gives it as 22 years. The Dipavamsa gives 9 years 6 months to Lajjitissa, whereas the later chronicle gives 9 years 8 months. Niliya is given 3 months in the earlier chronicle, but in later chronicle he is given 6 months. Tissa Yasalāla is given 8 years 7 months and 7 years 8 months respectively; and the order of the rule of Abhaya and Tissa of the Dipavamsa is transposed in the Mahāvamsa as Tissa and Abhaya, and Abhaya is given only 8 years in place of 22 as given by the Dipavamsa.

In the early days of the study of the Ceylonese Chronicles, scholars were sceptical about their value as sources of authentic historical tradition and information. But now after lapse of years when the study of Indian and Ceylonese history has far advanced, it is now comparatively easy for us to estimate their real value.

Like all chronicles, the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa contain germs of historical truth buried deep under a mesh of absurd fables and marvellous tales. But if they do contain mainly myths and marvels and read more like fantasies, they are like other chronicles of their time. This, however, should not be used as any argument for completely rejecting the chronicles as positively

false and untrustworthy. It is, however, important that one should read them with a critical eye as all records of popular and ecclesiastical tradition deserve to be read. Buried in the illumination of myths, miracles and legends there are indeed germs which go to make up facts of history, but they can only be gleaned by a very careful elimination of all mythical and unessential details which the pious sentiment of the believer gathered round the nucleus. "If we pause," Geiger rightly says, "first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive hearers or readers."¹

The very fact that both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa* are based on the earlier *Aṭṭha-kathā-Mahāvāṃsa*, a sort of a chronicle which itself was based upon still earlier chronicles, ensures us in our belief that they contain real historical facts, for, with the *Aṭṭhakathā*, the tradition goes back several centuries, and becomes almost contemporary with the historical incidents narrated in the chronicle.

Even in the very introductory chapters, there are statements which agree with other canonical writings, and find confirmation in our already known facts of history. Such are the statements that Bimbisāra was a great friend of Buddha, and both Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu were contemporaries of the Master. There does not seem to be any ground for rejecting the tradition of the chronicles that Gotama was five years older than Bimbisāra, though the duration of the rule ascribed to each of them disagrees with that ascribed by the *Purāṇas*. But whatever that might be, there can hardly be any doubt as to the authenticity of the list of Indian kings from Bimbisāra to Asoka provided by the chronicles. The Jain tradition has, no doubt, other names; "this" as pointed out by Geiger, "does not affect the actual agreement. There can be no doubt that the nine Nandas as well as the two forerunners

1 *Mahāvāṃsa* (Geiger), Intro., p. xv.

of Asoka, Candagutta and Bindusāra, were altogether historical personages." But more than this is the complete agreement of the Ceylonese and Paurāṇic tradition in the duration of reign, namely 24, ascribed to Candagutta. The discrepancy of the two traditions in respect of regnal duration of Bindusāra and Asoka, namely 3 years and 1 year respectively, is almost negligible. Still more interesting is the name Canakka (Cāṇakya) the Brahman Minister of Candagutta, who was known to the authors of the *Dipavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsa*.

So much with regard to the historical value of the Ceylonese chronicles in respect of Indian history. But more valuable are the chronicles with regard to the history of Ceylon. As regards the oldest period from Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa the chronicles are certainly untrustworthy to the extent that the duration of years ascribed to each reign seems incredible in view of the fact that they appear to be calculated according to a set scheme, and present certain insuperable difficulties of chronology with regard to one or two reigns, e. g., of King Paṇḍukābhaya and Mutasiva. Moreover, the day of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon has been made to synchronise with the date of Buddha's death, which itself is liable to create a distrust in our mind. But even in the first and the earliest period of Ceylonese history, there are certain elements of truth which can hardly be questioned. Thus there is no ground for doubting the authenticity of the list of kings from Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa; nor is there any reason for rejecting the account of Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns, as well as the detailed account of the reign of Devānampiyatissa, which seem decidedly to be historical. We have also sufficient reason to believe the contemporaneity and friendship of Tissa and Asoka who exchanged greetings of gifts between themselves.

As for the period from Devānampiyatissa to Mahāsena, the chronicles may safely but intelligently be utilised as of value. There are no doubt gaps in the traditional chronology which have been carelessly filled in, notably in the period from Devānampiyatissa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi but after Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there is no such careless and fictitious filling in of gaps, nor any set up system of chronology, and on the whole the list of kings

and their duration of reigns are creditable. But even where the chronology is doubtful, there is no ground whatsoever for doubting the kernel of historical truth that lies mixed up with mythical tales in respect of the account of each individual reign, say, for example, of the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. It may, therefore, be safely asserted that the Ceylonese chronicles can be utilised, if not as an independent historical source, at least as a repository of historical tradition in which we can find important confirmatory evidence of our information with regard to early Indian and contemporary Ceylonese history.

But the Chronicles must be considered to be of more value for the ecclesiastical history not only of Ceylon but of India as well. With regard to this there are certain notices in the Chronicles that have helped us to start with almost definite chronological points which are equally important in respect of the political history of the continent and its island. One such fixed point is provided by the Chronicles where it has been stated that 218 years after the Sambuddha had passed into Nirvāṇa when Asoka was consecrated. This corner stone has helped us to ascertain one of the most knotty and at the same time most useful starting point of Indian history, namely, the year of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa and his birth, which, according to the calculation based on the date just cited are 483 B. C. and 563 B. C. respectively.¹

Next in point of importance with regard to the history of Buddhism is the conversion of the island by Mahinda, who is represented in the Chronicles as a son of Asoka. Historians have doubted the tradition in view of the fact that there is no mention of it in the numerous edicts and inscriptions of Asoka. Geiger has very ably shown that this argument is at least an *argumentum e silentio* and can hardly be conclusive. The tradition of the Chronicles is unanimously supported by the tradition of the country itself, and finds further confirmation in the account of Yuan Chwang who expressly states that the conversion of Ceylon was the work of Mahendra or Mahinda, who is, however, represented as a brother of Asoka. But it must not be understood that Ceylon was converted all on a sudden by Mahendra or Mahinda.

1 See Mahāvamsa (Geiger); Secs. 5 and 6. Introduction.

Similar mission must have been sent earlier; "a hint that Mahinda's mission was preceded by similar missions to Ceylon is to be found even in *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*, when they relate that Asoka, sending to Devānampiyatissa, with presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha." ¹

Geiger has also been able to find very striking confirmation of the history of the religious missions as related in the Chronicles in the relic inscriptions of the Sāñci stūpa No. 2.² He has thus pointed out that Majjhima who is named in the *Mahāvāṃsa* as the teacher who converted the Himalaya region and Kassapagotta who appears as his companion in the *Dīpavaṃsa* are also mentioned in one of the inscriptions just referred to as 'pious Majjhima' and 'pious Kassapagotta, the teacher of the Himalaya.' In another inscription also Kassapagotta is mentioned as the teacher of the Himalaya. Dundubhissara who is also mentioned in the Chronicles as one of the Theras who won the Himalaya countries to Buddhism, is mentioned in another inscription as Dadabhisāra along with Gotiputta (i. e., Kotiputta Kassapagotta). The Thera, i. e., Moggaliputta Tissa who is described in the Chronicles as having presided over the Third Buddhist Council is also mentioned in another inscription at Moggaliputta. These facts are guarantee enough for carefully utilising the Chronicles as an important source of information for the early history of Buddhism.

This would be far more evident when we would consider the accounts of the three Buddhist Councils as related in the two Chronicles. The authenticity of the accounts of these Councils had during the early days of the study of the two Chronicles often been doubted. But it is simply impossible to doubt that there must lie a kernel of historical truth at the bottom of these accounts. As to the First Council, both the northern and southern traditions agree as to the place and occasion and the President of the Council. As to the second Council, both traditions agree as to the occasion and cause of the first schism in the

1 *Mahāvāṃsa*, (tr.) p. XIX.

2 *Ibid*, pp. XIX - XX.

Church, namely, the relaxation of monastic discipline brought about by the Vajjian monks. As to the place of the Council, the northern tradition is uncertain, but the southern tradition is definite inasmuch as it states that it was held in Vesālī under King Kālāsoka in 383/2 B. C. and led to the separation of the Mahāsāṃghikas from Theravāda. The Ceylonese tradition speaks of a Third Council at Pāṭaliputra in the year 247 B. C. under King Dharmāsoka which led to the expulsion of certain disintegrating elements from the community. The Northern tradition has, however, no record of a Third Council, but that is no reason why we should doubt its authenticity. Geiger has successfully shown that the "distinction between two separate Councils is in fact correct. The Northern Buddhists have mistakenly fused the two into one as they confounded the Kings, Kālāsoka and Dharmāsoka, one with another. But traces of the right tradition are still preserved in the wavering uncertain statements as to the time and place of the Council." ¹

The succession of teachers from Upāli to Mahinda as provided by the Chronicles is also interesting from the view point of the history of early Buddhism. The succession list which includes Upāli, the great authority on Vinaya at the time of the Buddha, Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, Moggaliputta Tissa and Mahinda, may not represent the whole truth, they even might not all be Vinaya-pāṃokkhā, i. e., authorities on Vinaya; but the list presents at least an aspect of truth, and is interesting, presenting as it does, 'a continuous synchronological connexion between the history of Ceylon and India.' The list can thus be utilised for ascertaining the chronological arrangement of early Indian history as well as of the teachers of early Buddhism.

The Chronicles can still more profitably be utilised as a very faithful record of the origin and growth of the numerous religious establishments of Ceylon. They are so very elaborately described and the catalogue seems to be so complete that a careful study may enable us to frame out a history of the various kinds of religious monastic establishments, e. g., stūpas, vihāras, cetiyas, etc. of Ceylon. Thus the history of the Mahāvihāra, the Abhaya-

giri vihāra, the Thūpārāma, Mahāmeghavanārāma, and of the host of others is recorded in elaborate detail. Incidentally they refer to the social and religious life led by the monks of the Order as well as by the lay people. It is easy to gather from the chronicles that the great architectural activity of the island began as early as as the reign of Devānampiyatissa and continued unabated during each succeeding reign till the death of Mahāsena. The numerous edifices, tanks and canals whose ruins now cover the old capitals of the island were built during that period, and their history is unmistakably recorded in the Chronicles. Religious ceremonies and processions are often vividly described, and they give us glimpses of the life and conditions of the time. Not less interesting is the fact, often times related as a part of the account of these religious edifices, of very close intercourse with more or less important religious centres of India, namely Rājagaha, Kosambī, Vesālī, Ujjeni, Pupphapura, Pallava, Alasanda (Alexandria) and other countries. Every important function was attended by brother monks and teachers from the main land to which the Ceylonese Kings and people turned for inspiration whenever any question of bringing and enshrining a relic arose. There are also incidental and stray references which are no less valuable. The Māhāvamsa informs us that King Mahāsena built the Manihira-vihāra and founded three other vihāras, destroying temples of the (Brahmanical) gods. It shows that Brahmanical temples existed side by side, and religious toleration was not always the practice.

As for the internal political history and foreign political relations with India, especially with the Damilas, the Chronicles seem to preserve very faithful records. No less faithful is the geographical information of India and Ceylon as supported by them. But most of all, as we have hinted above, is the information contained in them, in respect of the history of Buddhism and Buddhist establishments of the island. There is hardly any reason to doubt the historicity of such information.

The Cūlavamsa¹ is not an uniform and homogeneous work. It

1 Edited by Dr. W. Geiger in two volumes for the P. T. S., London, translated into English by Geiger and Mrs. R. Rickmers, 1929 and 1930. The translation with copious notes and a learned introduction is very useful.

Cūlavamsa is a series of additions to, and continuations of the Mahāvamsa. The Mahāvamsa is the work of one man – Mahānāma, who compiled the work during the reign of Dhātusena in the 6th A. D. But the single parts of the Cūlavamsa are of different character, written by different authors at different times. The first who continued the chronicle was according to Sinhalese tradition the Thera Dhammakitti. He came from Burma to Ceylon during the reign of King Parakkamabāhu II in the 13th century A. D.

Between chapters 37 and 79 no trace is found of the commencement of a new section. This part of the chronicle seems to be the work of the same author. So it is clear, if the Sinhalese tradition is authentic, then about three quarters of what we call the Cūlavamsa (Pages 443 out of 532 pages of Geiger's edition of the Cūlavamsa) were composed by Dhammakitti.

The second section of the Cūlavamsa begins with the reign of Vijayabāhu II, the successor of Parakkamabāhu I, and ends with that of Parakkamabāhu IV. Hence it follows, the second part of the Cūlavamsa consists of the Chapters from 80 to 90 both inclusive.

The third portion begins with the chapter 91 and ends with the chapter 100.

The Mahāvamsa gives us a list of kings from Vijaya, the first crowned king of Ceylon to Mahāsena. Mahānāma simply followed here his chief source, the Dipavamsa, which also ends with King Mahāsena. The Cūlavamsa, however, begins with the reign of King Sirimeghavanna, son of King Mahāsena and ends with Sirivikkamarājasīha.

The first section of the Cūlavamsa begins with Sirimeghavanna and ends with Parakkamabāhu I. Evidently this portion gives a chronological account of 78 kings of Ceylon. Altogether eighteen paricchadas are devoted to the glorification of the great national hero of the Sinhalese people, Parakkamabāhu I. Revd.

R. S. Copleston has called this portion of the *Cūlavamsa* the 'epic of Parakkama'. This king was noted for his charity. He not only made gifts of alms to the needy, but also to the Bhikkhus. As a warrior this king also stands out pre-eminent. The Coḷas and Daṃiḷas came to Laṅkā from Southern India and occupied Anurādhapura. Parakkama fought many battles with them and drove them out of the country and became king of the united Laṅkā. He then espoused the cause of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He built many great vihāras and thūpas. He also constructed many vāpis and uyyānas.

The second portion of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with Vijayaḃāhu II and ends with Parakkamaḃāhu IV. Thus it refers to 23 kings of Ceylon.

The third section begins with Bhuvanekaḃāhu III, and ends with Kittisirirājasīha. Thus it refers to 24 kings.

The last chapter gives a brief account of the last two kings, e. g., Sirirājādhirājasīha and Sirivikkamarājasīha.

There are in both the *Chronicles*, the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, interesting references to Pali texts affording very useful material for the history of Pali literature as well as of early Buddhism in Ceylon.

List of Pali Texts in
the Ceylonese Chron-
icles.

In the *Dīpavamsa* references are not only made to Vinaya texts, the five collections of Sutta Piṭaka, the three Piṭakas, the five Nikāyas (they are not separately mentioned), and the nine-fold doctrine of the Teacher comprising the Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhuta and Vedalla but also to the seven sections of the Abhidhamma, the Patisambhidā, the Niddesa, the Piṭaka of the Āgamas and the different sections namely, Vaggas, Paññāsakas, Saṃyuttas and Nipātas into which the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas are respectively divided. Mention is also made separately of the two Vibhaṅgas of Vinaya, namely, Parivāra and Khandhaka, the Cariyā-Piṭaka, the Vinaya Piṭaka, the Pātimokkha and the Atthakathā. We find further mention of the Kathāvatthu of the

Abhidhamma, the Petavatthu and the Saccasamyutta of the Vimānavatthu. Of Suttas and Suttantas separate mention is made of the Devadūta Sutta, Bālapandita Suttanta, Aggikkhaṇḍa Suttanta, Āsivisa Suttanta, Āsivisūpama Suttanta, Anamataggiya Sutta, Gomayapiṇḍaovāda Suttanta, Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta and the Mahāsamaya Suttanta.

INDEX OF PALI TEXTS IN THE DĪPAVAṂSA

- Abhidhamma, 5, 37 ; 7, 56.
 Abbhuta, 4, 15.
 Aggikkhandha Suttanta, 14, 12.
 Ānamataggiya Suttanta, 14, 45.
 Aṭṭhakathā, 20, 20.
 Āgamas, 4, 12 ; 4, 16.
 Āsivisa Suttanta, 14, 18.
 Āsivisūpama Suttanta, 14, 45.
 Itivuttaka, 4, 15.
 Udāna, 4, 15.
 Kathāvatthu, 7, 41 ; 7, 56.
 Khandhaka, 7, 43.
 Geyya, 4, 15.
 Gāthā, 4, 15.
 Gomayapiṇḍaovāda Suttanta, 14, 46.
 Cariyā Piṭaka, 14, 45.
 Jātaka, 4, 15 ; 5, 37.
 Dhutaṅga, (precepts), 4, 3.
 Dhamma, 4, 4 ; 4, 6.
 Dhātuvāda precepts, 5, 7.
 Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta, 14, 46.
 Devadūta Sutta, 13, 7.
 Nipātas, 4, 16.
 Niddesa, 5, 37.
 Nikāyas, 7, 43.
 Piṭakas, 4, 32 ; 5, 71 ; 7, 30 ; 20, 20.
 Parivāra, 5, 37 ; 7, 43.
 Paññāsakas, 4, 16.

- Petavatthu, 12, 84.
 Pātimokkha, 13, 55.
 Paṭisambhidā, 5, 37.
 Vinaya, 4, 3 ; 4, 4 & 6 ; 7, 43.
 Veyyākaraṇa, 4, 15.
 Vedalla, 4, 15.
 Vaggas, 4, 16,
 Vimānavatthu, 12, 85.
 Bālapandita Suttanta, 13, 13.
 Vinaya Piṭaka. 18, 19 ; 18, 33 ; 18, 37.
 Vibhaṅgas, 7, 43.
 Mahāsamaya Suttanta, 14, 53.
 Sutta, 4, 15 ; 4, 16.
 Sutta Piṭaka (pañcanikāya) 18, 19 ; 18, 33.
 Saṃyuttas, 4, 16.

In the Mahāvamsa too we find numerous mentions of Pali texts. But, curiously enough, references to independent texts are much less comprehensive than that of the earlier chronicle ; though mention of Suttas and Suttantas mainly of the three Nikāyas, the Āṅguttara, the Majjhima and the Saṃyutta, as well as of the Sutta Nipāta and the Vinaya Piṭaka are much more numerous. There are also several references to Jātakas. The three Piṭakas are often mentioned as important texts, but only the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya are mentioned by name, and that too only once or twice in each case.

INDEX OF PALI TEXTS IN THE MAHĀVAMSA

- Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 5, 150.
 Āsivisūpamā (Āṅguttara Nikāya), 12, 26.
 Anamatagga Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 12, 31.
 Aggikkhandopama Sutta (Āṅguttara), 12, 34.
 Kapi Jātaka, 35, 31.
 Kālakārāma Suttanta, 12, 39.
 Khajjaniya Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.) 15, 195.
 Khandhakas (Sections of the Mahāvagga and
 Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka), 36, 68.

Gomayapīṇḍisutta (Saṃyutta N.), 15, 197.

Cūlahatthipadūpama Suttanta, (Majjhima N.), 14, 22.

Cittayamaka (Ref. Yamakappakarāṇa of the Abhidhamma),
5, 146.

Jāṭaka (tales), 27, 34 ; 30, 88.

Tipiṭaka, 4, 62 ; 5, 84 ; 5, 112 ; 5, 118 & 119 ; 5, 210 ; 27, 44.

Tittira Jāṭaka, 5, 264.

Devadūta Suttanta (Majjhima N.), 12,

Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta (Mahāvagga of the V. P.),
12, 41 ; 15, 199.

Bālapāṇḍita Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.), 15, 4.

Brahmajāla Suttanta, 12, 51.

Vessantara Jāṭaka, 30, 88.

Vinaya, 5, 151,

Mahā-Nārada-Kassapa Jāṭaka, 12, 37.

Mahāppamāda Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.), 16, 3.

Maṅgala Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), 32, 43.

Mahāmaṅgala Sutta (Sutta N.), 30, 83.

Mahāsamaya Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 30, 83.

Samacitta Sutta (Samacittavagga in the Duka Nipāta of the
Aṅguttara Nikāya), 14, 39,

Sutta Piṭaka, 5, 150.

The Buddhaghosuppatti deals with the life and career of

Buddhaghosuppatti Buddhaghosa, the famous commentator, less
authentic than the account contained in the
Cūlavamsa. It gives us an account of Bud-

dhghosa's boyhood, his admission to the priesthood, his father's
conversion, voyage to Ceylon, Buddhaghosa as a witness, permis-
sion to translate scriptures, his objects attained, return to India
and his passing away. The book is written in an easy language.
It is more or less a historical romance. As to the historical value
of this work readers are referred to my work, 'The Life and Work
of Buddhaghosa' (Ch. II, pp. 43-44). The Buddhaghosuppatti
has been edited by James Grey and published by Messrs. Luzac &
Co., London. Grey has also translated the book into English.

The stories in the *Milindapañha*, the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Buddhaghosuppatti* are so similar that one doubts it very much that the author of this work borrowed the incidents from the *Milindapañha* and the *Mahāvamsa* and grafted them on to his own.

A critical study of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* does not help us much in elucidating the history of Buddhaghosa. The author had little authentic knowledge of the great commentator. He only collected the legends which centred round the remarkable man by the time when his work was written. Those legends are mostly valuable from the strict historical point of view. Grey truly says in his introduction to the *Buddhaghosuppatti* that the work reads like an "Arthurian Romance". The accounts given by the *Buddhaghosuppatti* about the birth, early life, conversion etc., of Buddhaghosa bear a great similarity to those of Milinda and Moggaliputta Tissa. In the interview which took place between Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta, the latter is said to have told Buddhaghosa thus, "I went before you to compile Buddha's word. I am old, have not long to live and shall not therefore be able to accomplish my purpose. You carry out the work satisfactorily."

In Buddhadatta's *Vinayavinicchaya* we read that Buddhadatta requested Buddhaghosa to send him the commentaries when finished that he might summarise them. This request was complied with by Buddhaghosa. Buddhadatta summarised the commentary on the *Abhidhamma* in the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and the commentary on the *Vinaya* in the *Vinayavinicchaya*. The above statement in the *Vinayavinicchaya* which is more authoritative than the *Buddhaghosuppatti* is in direct contradiction to the statement in the latter book. The author has made a mistake in the 6th chapter of the *Buddhaghosuppatti* in which it is stated that Buddhaghosa rendered the Buddhist scriptures into Māgadhi. In the seventh chapter of the same book we read that after the lapse of three months when he completed his task, the works of Mahinda were piled up and burnt. Buddhaghosa translated Sinhalese commentaries into Māgadhi and not the texts themselves. Had it been so there would not have been any occasion for burning the works of Mahinda. On the other hand they would

have been carefully preserved as the only reliable and authentic interpretation of the sacred texts. It has been distinctly stated in the Mahāvamsa that the texts only existed in the Jambudīpa and Buddhaghosa was sent to Ceylon to translate the Sinhalese commentaries into Māghadhī. If the tradition recorded in the Mahāvamsa is to be believed, then only we can get an explanation for the destruction of Mahinda's works.

The Saddhammasaṅgaha is a collection of good sayings and teachings of the Master. There are prose and poetry portions in it. It consists of nine chapters. It was written by Dhammakityābhīdhānathera. It has been edited by Nedimāle Saddhānanda for the P. T. S. London. The Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara and Khuddaka Nikāyas are mentioned in it. The books of the Abhidhammapitaka are referred to in this work. There are references in it to the Vajjiputtakas of Vesālī and Yasā's stay in the Kūtāgārasālā in the Mahāvamsa. It is mentioned in this book that Moggalliputta Tissa recited the Kathāvatthu in order to refute the doctrines of others. This treatise contains an account of the missionaries sent to various places to establish the Buddha's religion. Thera Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhāra, Mahādeva Thera to Mahisamandala, Rakkhita Thera to Vanavāsī, Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita Thera to Aparāntaka, Mahādhammarakkhita Thera to Mahārattḥa, Mahārakkhita Thera to the Yonaka region, Majjhima Thera to the Himalayan region, Sonaka and Uttara to the Suvappabhūmi and Mahinda Thera to Lankā with four other Theras, Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla. Besides there is a reference to the Buddha preaching his dhamma to the inhabitants of the city of Campaka (Campakanagaravāsinaṃ),

The Sandesa Kathā has been edited by Minayeff in J. P. T. S. 1885. It is written mostly in prose. It dilates on many points, e. g. Mahinda, Mahāvijaya, Kittisirirājasīha, etc.

The Mahābodhivamsa has been edited by Mr. Strong for the P. T. S. London. The Sinhalese edition by Mahābodhivamsa Upatissa and revised by Sarandada, Colombo, 1891, deserves mention. There is a Sinhalese translation of this

work in twelve chapters. Prof. Geiger says that the date of the composition of the Mahābodhivaṃsa is the 10th century A. D. (Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, p. 79).

The Thūpavaṃsa contains an account of the thūpas or dagobas built over the relics of the Buddha. Readers' attention is invited to a paper on this book by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe (J. R. A. S. 1898). This work has not yet been edited by the P. T. S. London. A Sinhalese edition of this work is available (Ed. by Dhammaratana, Paeliyagoda, 1896).

The Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vaṃsa or the history of the temple of Attanagalla consists of eleven chapters written in simple Pali. Eight chapters deal with an account of King Siri-Saṅghabodhi and the last three chapters deal with the erection of various monumental and religious edifices on the spot where the king spent his last days. It reads like a historical novel. J. D'Alwis's English translation with notes and annotations deserves mention. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera has undertaken an edition and English translation of this work in the Indian Historical Quarterly. There is an edition of this work published in Colombo 1909 under the title, "Attanagalu-vihāra-vaṃsa".

The Dāṭhāvaṃsa or the Dantadhātuvāṃsa means an account of the tooth relic of the Buddha Gautama. Dāṭhāvaṃsa Vaṃsa means chronicle, history, tradition, etc. Literary it means lineage, dynasty, etc. The Dāṭhāvaṃsa is a quasi-religious historical record written with the intention of edifying and at the same time giving an interesting story of the past. This work is noteworthy because it shows us Pali as a medium of epic poetry.

The work was written by Mahāthera Dhammakitti of the city of Pulatti. He was a disciple of Sāriputta, the author of the Sāratthadīpanī ṭīkā, Sāratthamañjusā ṭīkā, Ratanapañcika ṭīkā on the Candravākarapaṇa and the Vinayasamgraha. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Māgadhibhāṣā, Tarkaśāstra (logic), Vyākaraṇa (grammar)

Kāvya (poetry), Āgama (religious literature), etc. He was fortunate enough to secure the post of a Rājaguru. Two Vamsas of the Pali Buddhist literature, the Sāsana-vamsa and the Gandhava-vamsa, tell us that it was he who composed the Dāthā-vamsa (P. T. S. Ed. p. 34 and J. P. T. S. 1886, p. 62). We know from the Dāthā-vamsa that originally it was written by the poets in the Sinhalese language and later on rendered into Māgadhibhāsā by Dhammakitti for the benefit of the people of the other countries at the request of Parakammo, the Commander-in-chief of Ceylon, who placed Līlāvati on the vacant throne of Ceylon. This Līlāvati, later on, became the queen of Parākramavāhu, the king of Ceylon (verses 4-10).

The Dāthā-vamsa was written in the Buddha era 845 during the reign of King Kittisirimeghavanna of Ceylon. Kern says that it is also known as Daḍadā-vamsa composed about 310 A. D. It was translated into Pali in A. D. 1200 under the name of the Dāthā-vamsa (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 89).

The Dāthā-vamsa is an important contribution to the history of Pali Buddhist literature. It is an historical record of the incidents connected with tooth-relic of the Buddha. It is as important as the Mahā-vamsa and the Dipavamsa. The history of Ceylon would be incomplete without it.

The Dāthā-vamsa is a specimen of fine poetry. It contains Pali and some debased Sinhalese words. Its vocabulary is rich. Kern rightly remarks that it belongs to the class of compendiums and contains repetitions of passages from more ancient works with more or less apocryphal additions. (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 9). In the first chapter, stanzas are written in Jagatī chanda. Sixty stanzas are written in Vamsastha vṛtta and the last two in Srag-dharāvṛtta; in the second chapter, stanzas are written in Anuṣṭupachanda in Pathyavaktra vṛtta and in Mandākranta vṛtta; in the third chapter, the stanzas are written in triṣṭhupa chanda in Upajāta, Indravajra, Upendravajra and Sikharāṇī vṛttas; in the fourth chapter, stanzas are written in Atisakvarichanda, in Mālinī, Sād-

dulavikridita vṛttas; and in the last chapter, stanzas are written in Sakvarichanda in Vasantatilaka and Sragdharā vṛttas.

The Dāthāvamsa gives an account of the tooth-relic of the Buddha which is said to have been brought to Ceylon by Dantakumāra, Prince of Kalinga from Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga. It consists of five chapters, a brief summary of which is given below.

Chapter I. While the Buddha Dipamkara was coming to the city of Rammavati at the invitation of the people of the city, a hermit named Sumedha showed his devotion by laying himself down on the muddy road which the Buddha was to cross. The Buddha walked over his body with his disciples. Sumedha prayed to the Buddha Dipamkara that he might be a Buddha himself in future. Dipamkara granted him the boon whereupon he set himself in all earnestness, to fulfil the ten pāramitās (perfections). The hermit was in heaven prior to his last birth, At the instance of the gods, he was reborn in Kapilavastu in the family of Suddhodana and in the womb of Mahāmāyā. As soon as he was reborn, he stood up and looked round and was worshipped by men and gods. He went seven steps northwards. He was named Siddhattakumāra. Three palaces suitable for the three seasons of the year, were built for him. While going to the garden, he saw an old man, a diseased man, a dead man and a hermit. He then made up his mind to renounce the worldly life. With the help of the gods he left the palace and reached the river Anomā and on the banks of the river, he cut off his hair and threw it upwards to the sky. Indra got the hair and built a caitya over it which is still known as Cūlamāṇi Caitya. A potter brought a yellow robe, a beggar's bowl, etc. for him. He put on the yellow robe and left the Rājagaha. Thence he went to Uruvelā and made strenuous efforts for six years to acquire bodhi (enlightenment). In the evening of the full-moon day of Vaisākha, he went to the foot of the Bodhi-tree and sat on a seat made of straw and defeated Māra's army. In the last watch of the night he acquired supreme knowledge. After the attainment of Bodhi, he spent a week, seated on the same seat at the foot of the Bo-tree, enjoying the bliss of emancipation. He spent another

week, looking at the Bodhi tree, with steadfast eyes. Another week was spent by him at a place called Ratanaghara near the Bodhi tree, meditating upon paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination). He then went to the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree where he spent a week in meditation. He went to Mucalinda-nāgabhavana where he was saved by the nāga from hailstorm. He then visited the Rājāyatana. Thence he started for Isipatana-migadāva to preach his first sermon known as Dhammacakkapavattana but on the way two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, offered him madhupiṇḍika (a kind of food prepared with honey and molasses). The Buddha placed them in two refuges. He then reached Isipatana on the full-moon day of the month of Āṣāḍha. He preached the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta to the first band of five disciples headed by Āññakondañña.

Chapter II. The Buddha was thinking of doing good to the world. Nine months after his attainment of Bodhi, the Buddha made an aerial voyage to Lankā to fulfil his mission and descended on the garden named Mahānāgavana. Then he went to the meeting of the Yakkhas and terrified them by creating storm, darkness and heavy rains. The Yakkhas having been greatly troubled by these, came to the Buddha and asked for protection. In the midst of the meeting he sat down on a seat of leather but by his miraculous power he made the seat very hot and owing to the excessive heat radiating from the seat, the Yakkhas became very much distressed and the leather expanded so as to cover the whole of the island Lankā and the Yakkhas gathered together on the coast, unable to bear the excessive heat. The Giridīpa which was full of shady trees, was brought close to the island of Lankā by the Buddha and the Yakkhas, to save themselves from the extreme heat, went to the Giridīpa which was again set on its former site and thus the island of Lankā was rid of the Yakkhas. As soon as the Yakkhas left the island of Lankā, he stopped his miracle and many gods came to the island and surrounded him. The Buddha preached to the Devas dhamma and gave one of his hairs to God Sumana who built a Caitya over it on the top of the Sumanakūṭa Hill and worshipped it. Then the Buddha returned to Jetavana. Again he went to Lankā five years after his enlightenment and pacified the contest between

Cūlodara and Mahodara for a jewelled throne. Again he came to the island of Lankā eight years after his enlightenment being invited by a Nāga named Maṇiakkhika. The Buddha with five hundred disciples went to the house of Maṇiakkhika in Kalyāṇī. A caitya built over the seat offered by Maṇiakkhika and used and left by the Buddha, was worshipped by the Nāgas there. This caitya was named Kalyāṇī Caitya. The Buddha then visited the Sumanakūta Hill and left his footprints there. Thence he went to Dīghavāpi where he sat in meditation for some time. Thence he visited the site of the Bodhi-tree at Anurādhapura where also he sat in meditation for sometime. Thence he visited the Thūpārāma and finished his work in Ceylon. He preached dhamma for forty-five years and obtained parinibbāna on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in the garden named Upavattana of the Malla Kings near Kusinārā. In the first watch of the night of his parinibbāna, he preached dhamma to the Mallas, in the middle watch, he made Subhadda an arahat and in the last watch he instructed the Bhikkhus to be ardent and strenuous. Early in the morning he rose up from meditation and passed away. Many miracles were seen after his parinibbāna, e. g., the earth quaked from end to end, celestial music was played, all trees became adorned with flowers, though it was not the time for flowers to bloom. The body of the Buddha was wrapped up in new clothes and cotton, five hundred times. It was put into a golden pot, full of oil. A funeral pyre was prepared with scented wood such as sandal, twenty cubits in height and the Mall chiefs put the oil-pot in the pyre. As Mahākassapa did not arrive, fire could not be kindled because it was desired by the gods that the Buddha's body must not be burnt before Mahākassapa had worshipped it. As soon as Mahākassapa came and worshipped the dead body of the Buddha, fire was kindled. The dead body was so completely burnt as to leave no ashes or charcoal. Only the bones of the Buddha of the colour of pearl and gold remained. On account of the Buddha's desire the bones became separated excepting the four bones of the head, two collar bones and teeth. Sarabhu, a disciple of Sāriputta, went to Mahiāṅgana in Ceylon taking with him one of the collar-bones of the Buddha and built a caitya. An arahat named Khema took a left tooth relic of the Buddha and over the remaining bone relics, kings of the eight countries began to quarrel. Dona

settled the dispute and divided the bones equally among the eight countries. The kings after having received the relic, took them to their respective kingdoms, built caityas over them and worshipped them. One tooth-relic taken by Khema was given to Brahmadata, king of Kalinga who built a caitya over it and worshipped it. Brahmadata's son, Kāsirāja, succeeded his father and worshipped, like his dead father, the caitya built over the tooth relic of the Buddha. Kāsirāja's son, Sunanda, succeeded him and did the same. Sunanda's son Guhasiva, succeeded him to the throne and did the same. Guhasiva's minister who was a false believer, asked the king whether there was anything supernatural in the tooth relic of the Buddha which the king worshipped and for which valuable offerings were given by him. The king then narrated the various qualities of the tooth relic which showed miracles when prayed for. The minister gave up his false belief and became a follower of the Buddha. The heretics seeing this became very much dissatisfied. Guhasiva ordered all the Niganthas to be driven out of the kingdom. The Niganthas went to King Paṇḍu of Pāṭaliputta, who was then a very powerful king of Jambudīpa. They complained to Paṇḍu that King Guhasiva being a king subordinate to him (Paṇḍu) worshipped the bone of a dead person (that is, Buddha's relic) without worshipping Brahmā, Siva and others whom he (Paṇḍu) worshipped and they further complained that Guhasiva ridiculed the deities worshipped by him (Paṇḍu). Hearing this King Paṇḍu grew angry and sent one of his subordinate kings called Cittayāna with a fourfold army to arrest and bring Guhasiva with the tooth relic. Cittayāna informed Guhasiva of his mission and Guhasiva welcomed him cordially, showed him the tooth relic of the Buddha and narrated to him the virtues possessed by it. Cittayāna became very much pleased with him and became a follower of the Buddha.

Chapter III. Cittayāna then informed Guhasiva of the order of King Paṇḍu. Guhasiva with the tooth relic on his head, followed by a large number of followers with valuable presents for King Paṇḍu, went to Pāṭaliputta. The Niganthas requested King Paṇḍu not to offer any seat to Guhasiva and they also

requested him to set fire to the tooth relic. A big pit of burning charcoal was dug by the king's command and the heretics after taking away the tooth relic, threw it into the fire. As soon as it came in contact with fire, fire became as cool as the winter breeze and a lotus blossomed in the fire and in the midst of the lotus, the tooth relic was placed. Seeing this wonder, many heretics gave up false beliefs but the king himself being a false believer for a long time, could not give up false belief and ordered the tooth relic to be destroyed by stone, which found its place in the sky. The Nigaṇṭhas asked the king not to attach great importance to the miracles as they were not unprecedented. The tooth-relic was put in a casket and the Nighaṇṭhas were asked to take it out and throw it away but none could do so. The king declared that he who would be able to take out the tooth relic, would be rewarded. Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson recollecting the virtues of the Buddha and the deeds done by his great grandfather for the Buddha, was very much pleased to know of the declaration and went to take the tooth relic out of the casket. He praised the tooth relic much and then the tooth relic rose up to the sky and then came down to rest on the head of the great grandson of Anāthapiṇḍika. The Nigaṇṭhas told King Paṇḍu that due to the influence of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson the tooth relic could rise up to the sky and come down to rest on the head of the great grandson. The Nigaṇṭhas denied the influence of the relic which displayed various miracles according to the desire of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson. The tooth relic was thrown into a moat. Cittayāna advised the king that he should follow dhamma of the Buddha because by worshipping the tooth-relic, Bimbisāra and other kings attained nirvāṇa. Thus advised he gave up false belief and brought the tooth relic with great pomp. King Guhasiva was cordially received by King Paṇḍu and both of them did many meritorious deeds.

Chapter IV. A King named Khiradhāra came to fight with King Paṇḍu who became victorious. Paṇḍu after re-establishing peace in his kingdom, sent back Guhasiva with Buddha's tooth relic to Kalinga. Dantakumāra, son of the king of Ujjain, came to Kalinga to worship the tooth relic. Guhasiva cordially wel-

came to him and became pleased to hear the qualities of Dantakumāra and afterwards gave his daughter in marriage to Dantakumāra. After the defeat of Dantakumāra his son and nephews came to Malayavana, a town near Dantapura, to take away the tooth relic by force. Fully realising the danger, Guhasiva asked his son-in-law and daughter to go to Ceylon with the tooth relic. As the king of Ceylon and his subjects were faithful to the Buddha, he thought Ceylon would be the best and safest place for the relic. At this time Mahāsena, a friend of Guhasiva, was the king of Ceylon. The son-in-law and the daughter with the relic sailed by a merchant ship from the port of Tāmrālipti. The ship reached Ceylon safely with the relic.

Chapter V. Dantakumāra and his wife with the relic went to a village near the eastern gate of Anurādhapura in the ninth year of the reign of Kittisirimegha, son of Mahādisena. Dantakumāra met an Arahāt and informed him of the tooth relic which he brought to Ceylon for its safety. The Arahāt after hearing this went to the king and informed him of the matter. Mahādisena, the preceding king of Ceylon was a friend of Guhasiva, king of Kalinga who did not know that Mahādisena had died and his son Kittisirimegha was on the throne of Ceylon. Dantakumāra and his wife became very much grieved to know that Mahādisena was no more and his son Kittisirimegha had succeeded him on the throne. The king of Ceylon after learning from the Arahāt that the tooth relic was brought to Ceylon for its safety by Dantakumāra and his wife, became very much pleased. The king and the queen of Ceylon went barefooted to Meghagirivihāra, residence of the Arahāt, to receive the relic. They brought the relic to the palace and placed it on the throne with great devotion. The citizens of Ceylon, the Bhikkhus well-versed in the Tripiṭakas and the Arahats came to worship it. The king knew that the colour of the relic was as white as the morning star. But finding it not to be so when it was taken out of the casket, suspicion arose in the mind of the king, but his suspicion was soon removed when the relic displayed several miracles. The king built a special temple and kept it there. All the Sinhalese monks and householders assembled at Anurādhapura to worship the tooth

relic. At this time a question arose as to the section of the monks to whom the tooth relic would be entrusted for its safety and management. The king decided that the tooth relic would select its own abode. The tooth relic placed on a fully decorated elephant was taken round the city and was brought to the place where the Thera Mahinda preached his first sermon after reaching Ceylon. The King of Ceylon ruled that the relic would be taken round the city once in a year in spring. The temple where it was kept, was extended at the cost of nine lacs. After the death of Kittisirimegha, his successors such as Buddhādāsa worshipped it with devotion and protected it.¹

The Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff of St. Petersburg in the Journal of the P. T. Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa S. 1885. It is a work by a modern Burmese author of unknown date. It is a mixture of prose and poetry. It contains an account of hair relics of the Buddha.

The Gandhavaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff in J. P. T. S., 1886. His edition is based on Burmese Gandhavaṃsa manuscripts. It is a small and interesting outline of the history of Pali books. It is written mostly in prose. Besides the books of the canon, there is contained in it a sketch of the history of more modern Pali works far more detailed than that in the Sāsanavaṃsa. A list of authors and their works as stated in the Gandhavaṃsa is given below :

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- 1 The Dāṭhāvaṃsa has been edited in Devanāgarī character and translated into English by Dr. B. C. Law and published by Messrs. Motilal Banarsidas, Proprietors of the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. Besides, there are two Sinhalese editions (by Terunnanse and Sīlālaṅkāra), and a P. T. S (London) edition published in 1884 in J. P. T. S. There is another English translation of this work by Mutu Coomaraswami published by Messrs. Trübner & Co., London in 1874. A French version of this work appeared in Paris in 1884 under the " Le Dāṭhāvaṃsa, ou, Histoire de la dent relique du Buddha Gotama ; poème épique Pali de Dhammakitti. " There is a commentary on the Dāṭhāvaṃsa known as the Dāṭhādhātuvaiṃsaṭṭikā mentioned in an inscription of the 15th century A. D. Vide also G. Turnour — Account of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon (J. A. S. B. vi).

Mahākaccāyana :— Kaccāyanagandho, Mahāniruttigandho, Cullāniruttigandho, Nettigandho, Petakopadesagandho, Vaṇṇanītigandho.

Buddhaghosa :— Visuddhimaggo, Sumaṅgalavilāsini, Papañcasūdanī, Sāratthapakāsini, Manorathapūraṇī, Samantapāsādikā, Paramatthakathā, Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī, Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Jātakatthakathā, Khuddakapāṭṭhakathā, Apadānaṭṭhakathā.

Buddhadatta :— Vinayavinicchayo, Uttaravinicchayo, Abhidhammāvatāro, Madhuratthavilāsini.

Ānanda :— Mūlatīkam,

Dhammapāla :— Nettipakaraṇaṭṭhakathā, Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā, Udānaṭṭhakathā, Cariyāpitaka-aṭṭhakathā, Theragāthāṭṭhakathā, Vimānavatthussa Vimalavilāsiniṇāma aṭṭhakathā, Petavatthussa Vimalavilāsiniṇāma aṭṭhakathā, Paramatthamañjūsā, Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathādīnaṃ Catunnaṃ aṭṭhakathānaṃ Līnatthapakāsiniṇāma tīkā, Jātakatthakathāya Līnatthapakāsiniṇāma tīkā, Paramatthadīpaṇī, Līnatthavapṇaṇā.

Mahāvajirabuddhi :— Vinayagaṇḍhi.

Vimalabuddhi :— Mukhamattadīpaṇī.

Cullavajiro :— Atthabyakkhyānaṃ,

Dīpaṅkaro :— Rūpasiddhipakaraṇaṃ, Rūpasiddhiṭīkam Summapaṇṇasuttam.

Culladhammapālo :— Saccasamkhepaṃ.

Kassapo :— Mohavicchedanī, Vimaticchedanī, Buddhavaṃso, Anāgatavaṃsa.

Mahānāma :— Saddhammapakāsani, Mahāvaṃsa, Cullavaṃsam.

Upasena :— Saddhammaṭṭhiṭīkam.

Moggallāna :— Moggallānabyākaraṇaṃ.

Samgharakkhita :— Subodhālaṅkāraṃ.

Vuttodayakāra :— Vuttodaya, Saṃbandhacintā, Navatīkam.

Dhammasirī :— Khuddasikkham.

Anuruddha :— Khuddasikkham.

Anuruddha :— Paramatthavinicchayaṃ, Nāmarūpaparicchedaṃ, Abhidhammatthasaṅgahapakaraṇaṃ.

Khema :— Khemaṃ.

Sāriputta :— Sāratthadīpaṇī, Vinayaṣaṅgahapakaraṇaṃ, Sāratthamañjusaṃ, Pañcakaṃ.

Buddhanāga :— Vinayatthamañjusaṃ.

Navo Moggallāna :— Abhidhānappadīpaṇi.

Vācissaro :— Sambandhacintāṭikā, Moggallānabyākaraṇassaṭṭikā, Nāmarūpaparicchedaṭṭikā, Padarūpavibhāvanāṃ, Khemapakaraṇassaṭṭikā, Mūlasikkhayaṭṭikā, Vuttodayavivaraṇaṃ Sumaṅgalopasādanī, Bālāvatāro, Yogavinicchayo, Simālaṃkāra, Rūpārūpavibhāga, Paccayaṣaṅgaho.

Sumaṅgala :— Abhidhammatthavikāsaṇī, Abhidhammatthavibhāvaṇī.

Dhammakitti :— Dantadhātupakaraṇaṃ.

Medhamkaro :— Jinacaritaṃ.

Saddhamasiri :— Saddatthabhedacintā.

Devo :— Sumanākūṭavannaṇā.

Cullabuddhaghoso :— Jātattagīnidānaṃ, Sotattagīnidānaṃ.

Ratthapāla :— Madhurasavāhini.

Aggavaṃsa :— Saddanītipakaraṇaṃ.

Vimalabuddhi :— Mahāṭikāṃ.

Uttama :— Bālāvatāraṭṭikāṃ, Līṅgatthavivaraṇaṭṭikāṃ.

Kyaovāraṇṇo :— Saddabindu, Paramatthabindupakaraṇaṃ.

Saddhammaguru :— Saddavuttipakāsaṇaṃ.

Aggapandita :— Lokuppatti.

Saddhammajotipāla :— Sīmālakārasaṭṭikā, Mātikatthadīpaṇī,
Vinayasamuttānadīpaṇī, Gandhasāro,
Paṭṭhānagāṇanāyā, Saṃkhepavaṇ-
ṇanā, Suttaniddeso, Pātimokkhaṇi-
dhanī.

Nava Vimalabuddhi :— Abhidhammapaṇṇarasatthānaṃ.

Vepullabuddhi :— Saddasāratthajālīniyāṭikā, Vuttodayāṭikā,
Paramatthamañjūsā, Dasagaṇḍhivaṇṇanā,
Magadhabhūtāvidaggaṃ, Vidadhimukkhama-
ṇḍanaṭṭikā.

Ariyavaṃso :— Maṇisāramañjusaṃ, Maṇidīpaṇī, Gaṇḍabhara-
ṇaṃ, Mahānissaraṃ, Jātakavīsodhanaṃ.

Ōvaro :— Jaṅghadāsassa ṭikaṃ.

Nava medhamkaro :— Lokadīpakasāraṃ.

Sāriputto :— Saddavuttiṭṭipakāsakaṣaṭṭikaṃ.

Saddhammaguru :— Saddavuttiṭṭipakāsanaṃ.

Dhammasenāpati :— Kārikaṃ, Etimāsamidīpakam, and Maṇi-
hāraṃ.

Nānasāgaro :— Liṅgatthavivaraṇapakāsanaṃ.

Abhaya :— Saddatthabhedacintāya mahāṭikaṃ.

Guṇasāgaro :— Mukhamattasāraṃ taṭṭikaṃ.

Subhūtaṇḍana :— Liṅgatthavivaraṇapakāraṇaṃ.

Udumbaraṇāmācariyo :— Peṭakopadesassa ṭikaṃ.

Upatissācariya :— Anāgatavaṃsaṇḍassa aṭṭhakathā.

Buddhapiya :— Sāratthasaṃgahanāmagandho.

Dhammānandācariya :— Kaccāyanasāro, Kaccāyanabhedaṃ,
and Kaccāyanasārasaṭṭikā.

Gandhācariyo :— Kurundigandho.

Nāgītācariya :— Saddhasāratthajālīni.

Works of unknown authors mentioned in the Gandhavaṃsa
are stated below :—

The author of the *Sāsana-vam̐sa* gives an outline of Buddha's life and briefly deals with the three Buddhist Councils held during the reigns of the three Indian kings, Ajātasattu, Kālāsoka and Asoka. After the third Council was over, Moggaliputta Tissa Thera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Paññāsāmi, the author of the *Sāsana-vam̐sa*, speaks of the nine regions visited by the missionaries. But of these nine, five are placed in Indo-China. Dr. Mabel Bode is of opinion that the author's horizon seems to be limited, first by an orthodox desire to claim most of the early teachers for the countries of the South (and hence to prove the purest possible sources for the Southern doctrines), and secondly by a certain feeling of national pride. According to this account, Mahā-Moggaliputta Tissa sent two separate missionaries to the neighbouring regions in the valley of the Irawaddy besides three others, who visited Laos and Pegu.

The Thera Mahinda went to Ceylon for the propagation of the faith during the reign of the Sinhalese King Devānampiyatissa who was a contemporary of the Indian King Asoka.

Sona and Uttara visited Suvannabhūmi (Sudhammapura. that is, Thaton at the mouth of Sittaung River). The author holds that even before the sending out of the missionaries to Suvannabhūmi by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the President of the Third Buddhist Council, Buddha came here personally with a number of Bhikkhus to preach his doctrines.

Mahārakkhita Thera spread Buddhism in Yona country (the country of the Shan tribes about Zimmé).

Yonarakkhita Thera visited the country of Vanavāsi (the region round Prome) and propagated Buddhism there.

Majjhantika visited Kasmīra and Gandhāra (the Gandhāra country) which lay on the right bank of the Indus, south of Kabul and the whole country became a strong Buddhist hold.

It was through Mahā-Revata Thera that Buddhism found its way into Mahimsakamaṇḍala (Andhra country).

Mahā-Dhammarakkhita Thera went to Mahāratt̥ha (Mahā-nagara-ratt̥ha or Siam) and spread Buddhism there.

Majjhima Thera spread the Buddhist faith in Cīnaratt̥ha (the Himavantapadesa of the Ceylon books).

Now we shall deal with the history of the spread of Buddhism in Aparantaratt̥ha which (placed by European scholars west of the Punjab) is no other than the Sunāparanta of the Burmese, i. e., the region lying west of the upper Irawaddy.

The Sāsana-vaiṃsa brings before us a picture of the relations of State and Saṃgha in Burma from the time of Anuruddha, with his constant adviser, Arahanta, to the time of Meng-Dun-Meng, with his Council of Mahātheras. Those relations were one of mutual dependence. The Order, though enriched by the gifts of pious laymen, yet depends, in the last resort, upon the king. The peaceful and easy life dear to the Burmese Bhikkhu, the necessary calm for study or the writing of books, the land or water to be set apart for ecclesiastical ceremonies, all these are only secured by the king's favour and protection. This accounts for the general loyalty of the Saṃgha to the head of the State. The king's despotism is also held in check. " At the lowest, the royal gifts of vihāras and the buildings of cetiyas are either the price paid down for desired prosperity and victory, or the atonement for bloodshed and plunder ; and the despot dares not risk the terrors, the degradation, that later births, in coming time, may hold in store for him, if he injures or neglects the Saṃgha." As a rule, the king was the recognised authority in ecclesiastical affairs. This is

evident from Anuruddha's vigorous reforms. The Saṅgharāja is not the elected Head of the Order. He is appointed by the king whose favourite and tutor he usually is. It appears from the Pārupana Ekamsika controversy that the king's power to settle a religious question by royal decree is fully recognised by the Saṅgha. But we also see the king himself under his ācariya's influence, so far as to ensure his favouring the orthodox or unorthodox school, according to the views of the Saṅgharāja.

The History of Religion in Mramma is nothing more than the history of the Buddhist Order in Sunāparanta and Tambadīpa. The history of the Burmese as a nation centres in a group of cities -- Pugān, Sagain, Ava, Panyā, Amarapura, Mandalay -- each, in its turn, the seat of kings.

The early Buddhist stronghold in Burma was at Sudhammapura, the capital of Manohari, King of Pegu. Anuruddha, King of Pugaṇ, at the instance of Arahanta, a great Thera who came from Sudhammapura to Pugān, made war with Manohari and brought the sacred relics and books to Pugān. All the members of the Saṅgha in Thaton (Sudhammapura) were also transferred to Pugān. Anuruddha further sent for copies from Ceylon, which Arahanta compared with those of Pegu, to settle the readings.

During the reign of Narapatissisa the celebrated teacher Uttarājīva came from Sudhammapura to Arimaddana and established religion there. His pupil Chapada who spent ten years studying in Ceylon, returned with four colleagues to the capital. After the death of Chapada separate schools came into existence, having their origin in certain differences that arose between the three surviving teachers -- Sivali, Tamalinda and Ānanda. The schools are together known as Pacchāgaṇa to distinguish them from the earlier school in Arimaddana (Purimagana) founded by Arahanta.

The reign of Kyocvā is highly important for the history of Buddhism. He was himself the author of two manuals -- Paramatthabindu and Saddabindu, for the use of his wives, and one of his daughters wrote the Vibhatyattha. We are told of the science and zeal of the women of Arimaddana, and anecdotes are told of their skill in grammar and the keenness of their wit.

In the reign of Bureng Naung religion thrived most. It is recorded of him that he even forced Buddhism on the Shāns and Muslims in the north of his kingdom.

In the reign of Siri Mahāsihasūrasudhammarāja begins a new chapter in the history of Burmese Buddhism — the Pārupana — Ekamsika controversy. The rise and many phases of the dispute are set forth at length by the author of the Sāsanavaṃsa. Two sects arose — the Ekamsika sect (it was so named for going about in the village with one shoulder uncovered by the upper garment, and the Pārupana sect (this school strictly observed the wearing of the upper garment on both shoulders, during the village rounds). During the reign of Bodoah Prā the question was settled for good. A royal decree established the Pārupana practices for the whole of the kingdom.

During the reign of Meng-dun-Meng we come to the last controversy, perhaps recorded because it points to the influence of the Burmese Saṃgha in Ceylon. An ancient Simā in the island (Ceylon) was the subject of dispute. The matter was brought for judgment to the Saṃgharāja at Mandalay, by deputations from both sides. The Saṃgharāja gave judgment after consulting various sacred texts. The members of both sides received presents from the king.

Thus the history of religion in Aparanta closes.

The edition of the Sāsanavaṃsa¹ is based on two palm-leaf Mss. in the British Museum. It is a non-canonical book and is text of Burmese authorship. It is a very interesting historical work. The author Paññaswāmi who dates his book 1223 of the Burmese Common Era 1861 A. D., was the tutor of the then reigning king of Burma and himself a pupil of the head of the Order at Mandalay. The table of contents promises a general history of Buddhism drawn from a few well-known Pali works, e. g., Atthakathā, Vinaya Piṭaka, Mahāvaṃsa and Dipavaṃsa. Events are brought up to the time of the third Council in the

1 Read Sāsanavaṃsadīpa edited by Jñānatilaka Nāyaka Punnāṇse and Sāsanavaṃsadīpaya by Vimalasāra Unnāṇse. Read also " The author of the Sāsanavaṃsa " by M. Bode, J. R., A., S., 1899.

time of Asoka and the sending forth of missionaries by the Thera Mahāmoggaliputta Tissa. The later history of religion consists of nine chapters, which falls into two parts. The first part consists of a few legends strung together with quotations from Buddhaghosa and Dīpavamsa. The accounts of Ceylon and Burma seem to be more careful and complete than those of the other matters of this group. The second part covers three-fifths of the book and treats solely of the history of Buddhism in Burma proper. In part one, the section dealing with the missions strikes the key-note of the Sīsanavamsa. A few geographical notes explained the nine regions visited by the first missionaries. A careful study of this work shows the author's intimate acquaintance with the commentaries. The style imitates that of Buddhaghosa and his successors. There are no points of philological interest. The book gives us an interesting record of the part played by the Buddha's religion in the social and intellectual life. Paññaswāmi's history is a purely ecclesiastical piece of work. This work has been edited by Mobil Bode. Ph. D. for the P. T. S. London.

THE DATE OF HARṢA - PULAKEŚIN WAR

BY

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It is well-known that the efforts of mighty Harṣa to reduce Pulakeśin II to submission did not come to fruition and that he had to return home discomfited from the Vindhya passes. But neither the foreign admirer of Harṣa, who admits the defeat of his imperial host, nor the courtly poet of Pulakeśin, who grows eloquent over this signal achievement of his patron, throws any light on the time of this war or the causes that led to it. We of course know that the war took place sometime before 634 A. D., the date of the Aihole inscription, but how many years prior to that date it was fought, is not yet definitely ascertained. As a consequence, we find divergent views held on this subject. The late Dr. Fleet had advanced the opinion that the war between Pulakeśin and Harṣa must have taken place before 612 A. D.¹ This view has been recently accepted by Dr. R. K. Mookerji in his book on Harṣa in the Rulers of India Series². Vincent Smith³, and following him, Mr. C. V. Vaidya⁴ are, on the other hand, disposed to hold that the contest has to be placed in c. 620 A. D. It will be shown in this paper on the strength of new epigraphical evidence that the war between the two aspirants for imperial power almost certainly took place sometime between 630 A. D. and 634 A. D.

The arguments in favour of the view that the battle took place before 612 A. D. are by no means very strong. It is no doubt true that later records of the successors of Pulakeśin II mention that

1 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 351.

2 Pp. 31 ff.

3 *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 353.

4 *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 13.

Pulakeśin won the title of Parameśvara as a result of the overthrow of Harṣa, the Imperial Sovereign of Northern India, and that the Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II, dated 612 A. D.¹, assign him that title. It will be, however, not safe to conclude from this circumstance that Pulakeśin had defeated Harṣa even earlier than 612 A. D. If such were the case, the glorious achievement being quite a recent one, the plates would have gone eloquent over its description. As it is, they do not even refer to the overthrow of Harṣa. The title Parameśvara is no doubt given to Pulakeśin, but every student of ancient Indian copper-plates knows that their writers were not usually accustomed to weigh their words very carefully when they were eulogising their patrons. That the title Parameśvara had no vital connection with the overthrow of Harṣa, as later day copper-plate-composers claim, will be further evident from the fact that Ravikirti, the author of the Aihole *prāśasti*, does not give it to his patron in his famous composition, although he therein describes the defeat of Harṣa in picturesque language.

Nor does the testimony of Yuan Chwang prove that the two sovereigns had measured swords with each other before 612 A. D. The Chinese pilgrim no doubt remarks that after conquering the 'five Indias' within six years after his accession, Harṣa 'reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon.'² But as Walters has pointed out³, the word *ch'ui* here employed simply means 'to don the imperial robe', i. e. to reign justly and happily. That any literal interpretation of the expression, which would of course exclude the possibility of the offensive against Pulakeśin after 612 A. D., is out of question will be clear from the fact that Harṣa was actually engaged in a war with the people of Ganjam at the time of his meeting with Yuan Chwang.

Fleet seems to be under the impression that all the exploits of Pulakeśin mentioned in the Aihole inscription in verses 17 to 24 were accomplished prior to his formal coronation in 610 A. D.,

1 I. A., VI, p. 73.

2 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 343.

3 *Ibid*, p. 346.

14 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

which is being described in v. 25. If such were the case, the defect of Harṣa will have to be placed prior to 610 A. D. The verse 25, however, does not at all refer to the coronation of Pulakeśin II. After describing how Pulakeśin foiled the efforts of his uncle to deprive him of his throne, how he broke up the confederacy of Govinda and Āppayika, defeated the rulers of Vana-vāsī and Konkana, overthrow Gaṅgas, Alūpas and Mauryas and reduced Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara rulers, Ravikīrti points out that as a consequence of these exploits, Pulakeśin became the Lord Paramount of the three Mahārāṣṭras. The verse describes Pulakeśin's attainment of the imperial position in the south and has nothing to do with his accession in 610 A. D.¹

A survey of the political situation at the commencement of the careers of both the sovereigns will show that they could not have fought with each other prior to 612 A. D. Each had to spend his first few years in consolidating his position and overcoming local and hereditary foes, who were neither few nor insignificant. If we read between the lines of Yuan Chwang, we shall find that Harṣa could have thought of challenging the position of Pulakeśin only after 612 A. D. Says the Pilgrim "Proceeding *eastwards*, he (i. e. Harṣa) invaded the states that had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the five Indias". The exact meaning of the expression 'Five Indias' is unfortunately uncertain, but the expression '*proceeding eastwards*' makes it quite clear, that these six years were spent by Harṣa in fighting with his opponents exclusively in Eastern India. The pilgrim goes on to observe, "then having enlarged his territory, he increased his army, bringing his elephant corps upto 60,000, and the cavalry to 1,00,000." It must have been only after his resources were thus increased and army strengthened in 612 A. D. that Harṣa could have thought of attacking his neighbours in the west or in the south.

1 Cf. विधिवदुपचिताभिः शक्तिभिः शक्रकल्य- ।

स्तिष्ठमिरपि गुणोवैः स्वैश्च माहाकुलाद्यैः ॥

अशमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां ।

नवनवतिसहस्रप्राममाजां व्रयाणाम् ॥

Nor was Pulakeśin powerful enough to accept the challenge of Harṣa before 612 A. D. The Hyderabad plates make it clear that he had ascended the throne in 610 A. D. Pious history, as manufactured by later chroniclers, no doubt asserts¹ that Maṅgalīśa voluntarily surrendered the crown to his nephew Pulakeśin II, when the latter came of age; 'for is it ever conceivable that a scion of Cālukya family would ever depart from the path of virtue?' Contemporary documents, however, tell a different tale, and we know that instead of handing over the kingdom to his nephew, Maṅgalīśa fought with him to the bitter end in order to secure the succession of his own son and perished in the effort.² The fratricidal war encouraged the feudatories to be rebellious, and Pulakeśin was threatened in the very heart of his kingdom by a confederacy of Govinda and Āppāyika, who advanced to fight with him on the banks of the Bhīmā. Pulakeśin could save the situation only by buying off one of his opponents in order to defeat the other.³ Then immediately to the south of his capital, he had to fight with the Gaṅgas and Alūpas. Nor had he easy time in Konkana, where he had to reduce to subjection the Mauryas. It will be thus seen that the first few years of Pulakeśin must have been spent in reconquering the home-provinces of his hereditary kingdom. Within three years of his accession, he could, therefore, hardly have been in a position to defeat Harṣa.

The cause of the war between Harṣa and Pulakeśin seems to be the conflict of their imperial plans in Gujarat and Malva. Students of Ancient Indian History know full well how these provinces used to profess allegiance sometimes to a northern and sometimes to a southern power. Both Harṣa and Pulakeśin, therefore, thought that these provinces ought to fall within their own spheres of influence. There is nothing to show that Ravikīrti follows any chronological order in narrating the events in the Aihole inscription; the mention, however, of the acceptance of Pulakeśin's sovereignty by Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara rulers in v. 22, immediately before the description of the war with Harṣa,

1 e. g. Yevoor tablets, *I. A.*, vol. VIII, p. 13,

2 Aihole Inscription, v. 15.

3 Ibid, v. 17.

may very probably show that the one was the cause of the other. It is well-known that several records of the Gurjars of Bharoach claim that Dadda II, a ruler of that line, had protected a king of Valabhi against Harṣa.¹ It would appear very probable that before attacking Valabhi, Harṣa must have compelled the ruler of Malva to recognise his suzerainty. This must have exasperated Pulakeśin, for that ruler was his own feudatory erstwhile. He seems to have planned retaliation by helping the Gurjara ruler Dadda II in affording protection to the Valabhi chief against Harṣa. Nay, it is quite probable that the credit claimed for Dadda II may have really belonged to Pulakeśin, whose feudatory he probably was. Cases are by no means few in Ancient Indian historical documents where feudatories entirely ignore their suzerains and take the full credit of the latter's achievements to themselves. Thus the defeat of Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahipāla is claimed entirely for Cālukya feudatory Nārasimha by his court poet Pampa, who completely ignores Indra III, his patron's feudal lord.² The Bharoach Gurjara kingdom was a petty principality, hardly equal to two or three modern districts: and it is very improbable, if not impossible, that Dadda II could have single-handedly afforded protection to the Valabhi ruler against the Lord Paramount of Northern India. It is almost certain that he was either supported by Pulakeśin's battalions, or that he was merely fighting in the latter's army. The latter hypothesis seems to be more probable, for the Aihole inscriptions claim in v. 22 that the Gurjara ruler was a feudatory of Pulakeśin.

It would appear that Harṣa eventually succeeded in winning over the Valabhi ruler by offering him his own daughter in marriage. Such a move was essential, for it was very useful in consolidating Harṣa's position in Central India by removing an enemy in the flank. The assumption sometimes made that Harṣa may have marched against Valabhi after the efforts to defeat Pulakeśin proved of no avail is very improbable. Northern powers are usually seen consolidating their position in the north, right up to Kathiawar before launching an attack on trans-

1 e. g. Naosari plates I. A. XIII, p. 77.

2 *Karṇāṭaka-bhāṣā-bhūṣana*, Introduction, p. XIV.

Vindhyan regions. The Mauryas had conquered Kathiawar before attacking the Deccan. The Muslims attacked Devagiri only after they had conquered Gujarat and Kathiawar. It would therefore seem almost certain that Harṣa's conquest or winning over of the Valabhi ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakeśin.

If such were the case, the latter event must be placed sometime about 630 A. D. We have already seen how later Gurjara grants claim that Dadda II had afforded protection to the Valabhi king against Harṣa. The known dates of Dadda II range from 629 to 640 A. D. It is not very probable that his accession took place much earlier than 629 A. D. We may therefore place the Gurjara-Cālukya alliance sometime about 628 or 629 A. D. This alliance did not last long, for Dhruvabhata the Valabhi king, was won over by Harṣa. Strengthened and encouraged by this defection, Harṣa must have planned his offensive against Pulakeśin sometime between 630 and 634 A. D.

634 A. D., the upper limit for the war is determined by the Aihole inscription. That the lower limit cannot go back beyond 630 A. D., as shown above by a discussion of the general political situation, is further rendered almost certain by the recently published Lohanera copper-plates of Pulakeśin II.¹ The wording of the date of this document is unfortunately slightly corrupt, it reads as '*dvipaṇcāśadadhike śakābdapaṇcake*'. If we take the expression literally, it would mean 'in the Śaka year 52'. But in Śaka 52, neither Pulakeśin nor the Cālukyas were in existence. It is quite obvious that the expression *śakābdapaṇcake* is a mistake for *śatābdapaṇcake*. The date of this record of Pulakeśin II is therefore 552 in Śaka Era i. e. 630 A. D., a year falling within the known reign of that ruler.

The Lohanera plates of Pulakeśin II issued in 630 A. D. describe his valour and exploits, but are altogether silent about the defeat of Harṣa. They describe Pulakeśin as *Vijayī sūhasaikaratiḥ, anekacaturdantasaṃgrāmajanilaprāṇa ... tayā ... svabhujabalalabdha-vikramākhyah, ... pūrvāparāmbunāthah, ... prasabhābhīmṛṣṭānyarāja-*

I Khare ; Sources of Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. I, pp. 1-8.

śrih, but are quite silent about the most notable achievement of Pulakeśin. Negative evidence is no doubt generally to be accepted with caution, but the composer was out to describe the valour of the donor ; and if the most significant achievement of the latter known to us did not occur to him, the almost certain reason seems to be that it was not yet an accomplished fact. We have seen already how the known facts of the Gurjara-Maitraka history support the view that the offensive against Pulakeśin could not have been launched before c. 630 A. D. The negative evidence of the Lohanera plates supports the same conclusion. It would be thus seen that we can locate the war between Harsa and Pulakeśin within the narrow limit of four years, 630-634 A. D.

THE AGE OF JANAKA AND OTHERS

BY

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA, M. A.

Two remarkable books were sometime ago published on Ancient Indian History by the Calcutta University. These deserve the special study and attention of all oriental scholars. The first of these is Dr. S. N. Pradhan's "Chronology of Ancient India" which deals with the political history of ancient India from the time of the R̥gvedic King Divodāsa down to the extinction of the Nandas, while the second, Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury's "Political History of Ancient India" deals with the period from the birth of Parikṣit to the extinction of the imperial Guptas. Thus the period ranging from the time of Parikṣit to the end of the Nandas has been dealt with by both Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury.

It is interesting to note that the results obtained by them diverge widely. Dr. Pradhan has worked on the well-known principle laid down in the Vāyu Purāṇa (I, 200-1) and the Mahābhārata (I. 2, 382; I, 1, 267-8) that the knowledge of the Veda should be reinforced with the knowledge of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, for 'Veda is afraid that the man ignorant of the Purāṇa and Itihāsa will do violence to Him' (i. e. Veda). There is some truth in this principle, for Vedic India can never be properly understood, unless one knows the Purāṇa (= ancient history) of India. Working on this principle Dr. Pradhan has checked and corrected Purāṇic genealogies and traditions with the information and evidence derived from Vedic literature in general, as well as from genuine Purāṇic synchronisms, and found that in the Purāṇas 'sometimes one dynasty is merged or interwoven into or tacked on to another dynasty, owing to the corrupt readings that have crept in', and this has resulted in 'a preposterously long line of kings' (*Chronology of Ancient India*, Preface, p. xi). Collateral successions have sometimes been described in the Purāṇas as lineal; sometimes orders of succession reversed, synchronisms misplaced, dynasties lengthened owing to corrupt

readings (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). For this reason Dr. Pradhan has thought it necessary to accept all Purāṇic accounts with caution, to compare and check them amongst themselves and 'to correct them in the light of Vedic, Buddhistic, Jain and other external evidences' (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). For according to him evidence derived from the Veda is very strong and generally carries more authority than the Purāṇas, for 'many of them are either directly contemporary records or are traditions founded on contemporary records' (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). Dr. Roy Choudhury's point of view, though somewhat similar, leans more towards Buddhistic literature, and looks on the Purāṇas with greater suspicion. It may be noted in this connection that Pargiter's view has been to place 'little trust in the Vedic literature regarding matters containing Brahmanical pretensions' (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 10), and to ascribe to the Veda 'a Brahmanical lack of historical sense' (*A. I. H. T.*, pp. 63-75), and generally to place 'implicit trust in the Purāṇas' and 'little trust in the Vedas'. We mean to compare here a few of the results obtained by Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury.

Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks that Janakas from Śiradhvaja Janaka to Kṛti Janaka, as described in the Purāṇas (i. e. the Vāyu and Viṣṇu etc.) were the later Videhas of Mithilā, and began to rule the kingdom of Videha 6 generations or 180 years after the time of Janamejaya Pārikṣita. He admits that he has failed to bring any of the Janakas into synchronistic connection with the members of other royal dynasties and identify any of the Purāṇic Janakas, with the Janakas mentioned in the Buddhistic Jātakas (*Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 31). He thinks that the great Janaka of the Vedic texts was Śiradhvaja Janaka, father of Sītā, of the Purāṇic list, because Āśvapati, king of the Kekayas, is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as the maternal grandfather of Bharata, and because Janaka of the Vedic texts, was contemporary with the Kekaya king named Āśvapati (*Political History of Ancient India*, 1st ed., p. 21). This is the view held by Dr. Roy Choudhury in the 1st edition of his book. In the 2nd edition of it, we find he has almost withdrawn his opinion, as we find him adding "as the name Āśvapati is also given to Bharata's maternal uncle (Rāmāyaṇa VII, 113, 4), it

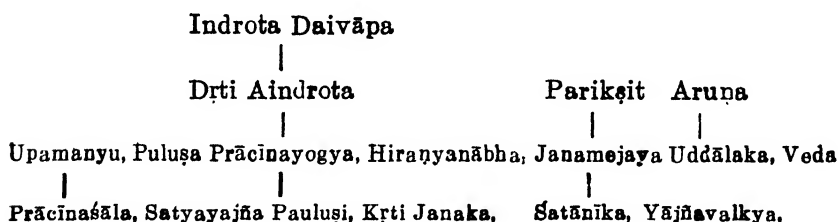
was possibly not a personal name but a family designation like 'Janaka'. In that case it is impossible to say how far the identification of the Vedic Janaka with the father of Sītā is correct" (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 31). Although 'the precise determination of the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka is', according to Dr. Roy Choudhury, 'impossible' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26), yet Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks, the fact that 'the great Janaka was later than the Pāriksitas' (i. e. Janamejaya, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena) 'admits of no doubt' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 25). Although the epic tradition that Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya (*Mahābhārata*, Beng. recension, I, 53, 7 ; IV, 21, 2) and the Purāṇic tradition (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* IV, 21, 2) that Janamejaya's son and successor Śatānika learnt the Vedas from Yājñavalkya, go towards proving the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Janaka, they are held by Dr. Roy Choudhury as unreliable (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26) because he thinks that they are incompatible with the evidence derived from Vedic literature (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26). The first line of Vedic evidence is, according to Dr. Roy Choudhury, derived from the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (III, 3. 1), where Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tests Yājñavalkya with the question "whither have the Pāriksitas gone?", the true answer to which had already been obtained by Bhujyu from a Gandharva who had possessed the daughter of Patañcala Kāpya in the Madra country before. Yājñavalkya answered "Thither where Ásvamedha sacrificers go". Dr. Roy Choudhury concludes from this that 'the Pāriksitas (sons of Parikṣit)' i. e. Janamejaya and his brothers 'must at that time have passed away, though their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 25-6).

A second line of evidence adduced by Dr. Roy Choudhury in support of his contention is as follows (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26) :—

Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* XIII, 5, 4, 1). Indrota's pupil was his son Dṛti Aindrota (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2 ; *Vaṁśa Bra.* 2). Dṛti's pupil was Puluṣa Prācīnayogya (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2).

Puluṣa's pupil was Satyayajña Pauluṣi (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2). Satyayajña Pauluṣi was a contemporary of Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi and of Uddālaka Āruṇi (*Chāndogya Up.* V, 11, 1-2) two prominent figures of Janaka's court (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* V, 14, 8 ; III, 7, 1). Satyayajña Pauluṣi therefore was a contemporary of Janaka Vaideha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśusma Sātyayajñi Prācinayogya met Janaka (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI, 6, 2, 1-3). As Satyayajña flourished long after Indrota Daivāpa, his contemporary Janaka was considerably later than Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota (*P. H. A. I.* 2nd ed., p. 26).

Turning to the view of Dr. Pradhan we find that the same evidence from Vedic literature and consequently the same line of argument has been used by him to show that Janamejaya Pāriksita was a contemporary of Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya and therefore was an older contemporary of Janaka and Yājñavalkya (*C. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 134). The small synchronistic tables furnished by him (*C. A. I.*, p. 160 ; p. 134), illustrate the chronological relation amongst the persons mentioned :—



Thus it will be found that the Vedic evidence used by Dr. Roy Choudhury in the hope of proving 'clearly' that 'Janaka was separated by six generations from Janamejaya's time' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 27) or by about '180 years' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-8) and thus to reject the Purāṇic and epic synchronisms considering them as 'unreliable' is exactly the very evidence which has already been employed by Dr. Pradhan to show that they furnish corroboration of the epic and Purāṇic synchronisms.

The third argument advanced by Dr. Roy Choudhury to prove that Janaka was six generations below Janamejaya is based upon the lists of teachers in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhadā-

raṇyaka Upaniṣad (*P. H. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 17 ; 2nd ed., p. 27). He says that because Tura Kāvaseya, the priest of Janamejaya, stands at the 10th step above Sāñjiviputra, and because Yājñavalkya, the friend of Janaka, stands at the 4th step above the same Sāñjiviputra, as in the list below :—

Tura Kāvaseya	Janamejaya
Yajñavacas Rājastambāyana	
Kuśri	
Śāṇḍilya	
Vātsya	
Vāmakāksāyana	
Māhitthi	Yājñavalkya, Janaka
Kautsa	Āsuri
Māṇḍavya	Āsurāyana
Māṇḍukāyani	Prāśniputra
Sāñjiviputra	Sāñjiviputra

therefore Janamejaya stands at the 6th step above Janaka.

Dr. Pradhan we find (*C. A. I.* p, 159) has used a slightly different list from the same book Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (*X*, 6, 5, 9 ; *XIV*, 3, 2, 32), but arriving at the same conclusion, namely that Tura Kāvaseya stands at the 6th step above Yājñavalkya in the following series of Vedic teachers :—

Tura Kāvaseya		
Yajñavacas Rājastambāyana		
Kuśri Vājaśravasa		
Upaveśi		
Aruṇa Aupaveśi		Parikṣita
Uddālaka Āruṇi		Janamejaya
Yājñavalkya	Janaka	Śātānika

Thus although Tura Kāvaseya stands at the 6th step in the series of teachers above Yājñavalkya and Janaka, Dr. Pradhan

has placed Janamejaya only a step above Janaka (*C. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 159) in conformity with the several epic, Purāṇic and Vedic synchronisms which will be mentioned in this paper presently, and has made the justifiable hypothesis that Tura Kāvaseya lived to a great age to officiate as the priest of Janamejaya, just as Vyāsa Pārāśarya lived to a great age to attend Janamejaya's court (*C. A. I.*, p. 160) when the latter instituted his Nāgasatra (*Beng. MBh.* I, 53, 7 ; I, 60, 7). Besides in a succession of teachers, the average age-difference is generally much less than that in a lineal descendance, unless the pupils are sons of their preceptors. The preceptors were in some cases younger than their pupils, just as Śaṁkarācārya was much younger than his pupil Sureśvarācārya. The subject of contemporaneity will be best understood when it is borne in mind that a man may generally be contemporary with five successive generations. In my childhood I was a contemporary of the grand-father of a friend of mine ; I am now a contemporary of his old father and of him ; I am a contemporary of his son, who is now a youth and has just married ; If I am spared a few years more, I shall be a contemporary of my friend's grand-child. If a man lives exceptionally long, he may be a contemporary of no less than six successive generations of men, younger or older. There is no reason to be surprised at the information that Tura Kāvaseya officiated as the priest of Janamejaya, although the latter was contemporary with Uddālaka Āruṇi who was the fifth in the series of teachers from Tura Kāvaseya. All doubts about this will be dispelled when one remembers the case of the Turkish bi-centenarian Zaro Aga who was 9 years old in 1784 at the time of the treaty of the American War of Independence.

It is interesting to note how Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury have differed as regards the time about which the famous king Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya flourished.

Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks that Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, and of Prasenajit, king of Kosala, and of Bimbisāra of Magadha (*P. H. A. I.*, 1st ed. p. 51 and p. 81 ; 2nd ed. p. 65 and p. 99). He has arrived at this result by the following steps :—

(1) 'Uddālaka' Āruṇi 'was separated by 6 generations from Janamejaya'.

(2) Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was separated by 2 generations from Uddālaka, (as in the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka).

(3) 'Therefore Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana flourished 7 or 8 generations from' (i. e. below) 'Janamejaya'.

(4) Kausalya Āśvalāyana, Kabandhin Kātyāyana, Pippalāda and Prince Hiranyanābha Kausalya were contemporaries as given in the Praśna Upaniṣad (VI, 1). Āśvalāyana here was an inhabitant of Kosala.

(5) The author of the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra was contemporary with the author of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, 'as they mention each other in their respective works'.

(6) Āssalāyana of Sāvatti is 'mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II, 147 et seq) as a famous Vedic scholar and a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and Kukuda or Pakudha Kaccāyana'.

'These facts' have enabled Dr. Roy Choudhury 'to identify Kausalya Āśvalāyana' of the Praśna Upaniṣad 'with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti' of 'the Majjhima Nikāya', and to conclude that he 'must have lived in the 6th century B. C.' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17), and secondly to conclude that Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana 'too must have lived in the 6th century B. C.', if Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was identical with the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17), and thirdly to conclude that the king Hiranyanābha Kausalya was contemporary with Prasenajit, king of Kosala, and of Gautama Buddha, and of Bimbisāra of Magadha.

On analysing the steps adopted here by Dr. Roy Choudhury it will be found that the 1st step is wrong, as we have already seen that his Vedic evidences rather tend to prove the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Uddālaka Āruṇi.

Combining the 4th and 6th steps together, Dr. Roy Choudhury concludes that Kausalya Āśvalāyana of the Praśna Upaniṣad was identical with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti of the Majjhima Nikāya. Because Āśvalāyana was an inhabitant of Kosala, therefore he

was identical with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti — this seems to be the reasoning adopted by Dr. Roy Choudhury. It is an assumption pure and simple. It is no proof.

In the 1st edition of his work (p. 10) Dr. Roy Choudhury stated " It is however possible that Guṇākya Śāṅkhāyana was not identical with the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra and referred us to *S. B. E.* XXIX, pp. 4-5. In the second edition (pp. 16-17), he states " If Guṇākya Śāṅkhāyana was the same as the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra, he too must have lived in the 6th century B. C." It appears that he entertains less doubt about Guṇākya Śāṅkhāyana having been the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra, for he accepts the contemporaneity of Guṇākya, Āsvalāyana and Gautama Buddha, and places Janaka in the 7th century B. C. (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-28). But we have got to say a few words about Guṇākya.

From the Br̥hadāraṇyaka Upanisad (VI, 3, 7 ; 5, 3) we learn that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi. Kahoda being the pupil of the same Uddālaka, was contemporary with Yājñavalkya. Guṇākya who was the pupil of Kahoda, therefore ranks only a step below Yājñavalkya. Now Yājñavalkya was the author of many Yajuses in, and the compiler of the White Yajurveda. Guṇākya who ranks only a step below Yājñavalkya therefore belonged to the very beginning of the Yajurvedic Period. Hence he could not evidently have been the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra, for the Gr̥hya Sūtras, as a class of literature, are of later date.

Another point need be noticed in this connection. The consequences of treating Guṇākya as contemporary with Āssalāyana Sāvatti and Gautama Buddha, and therefore with Prasenajit and Bimbisāra would be to bring down Kahoda, and Yājñavalkya -- the author of the White Yajurveda to only a step above Gautama Buddha, that is to suppose that Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra, etc. might have seen Yājñavalkya in their youth. This is absurd on the very face of it, for the White Yajurveda cannot belong to the time of Gautama Buddha. Guṇākya was far earlier than Gautama Buddha.

Again, consequent on Dr. Roy Choudhury's assumption of the identity of Āssalāyana of Sāvatti with Kausalya Āsvalāyana of

the *Prasna Upaniṣad*, Dr. Roy Choudhury has been compelled to make another wrong assumption, namely, of the identity of Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the *Prasna Upaniṣad* with Pakudha Kaccāyana of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17). In order to prove the identity of Kabandhin Kātyāyana with Pakudha Kaccāyana, he says that the word 'Kavandhin' means the same thing as the word 'Kakuda' giving us the equation 'Kavandhin = Kakuda' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed, p. 17 foot-note) and has asked us to refer to the *Atharvaveda* IX, 4, 3. We consult the *Atharvaveda* and find that W. D. Whitney has translated the word 'Kavandha' by 'trunk'. (*Translation of Atharvaveda*, p. 529). We consult the *Vācaspatya Abhidhāna*, Monier-William's Dictionary, Sanskrit Worterbuch, R. C. Childers' Dictionary of the Pali Language etc., and nowhere do we find any way of helping Dr. Roy Choudhury to obtain the equation "Kavandha = Kakuda". We give here all the meanings of these two words :--

- " Kav(b)andha " = (1) A barrel, cask, trunk, belly
 (2) A large-bellied vessel
 (3) A comet
 (4) Name of Rāhu
 (5) Name of the Rākṣasa Danu, son of Śrī
 (6) Name of certain Ketus 96 in number
 (7) Clouds which obscure the Sun at sun-set and sun-rise.

- " Kakuda " = (1) Chief
 (2) Any projecting corner
 (3) The hump of the shoulder of the Indian bullock
 (4) Name of a metre
 (5) An ensign of royalty
 (6) Name of a daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma.

Childers names 'the tree Terminalia Arjuna' as a synonym for Kakuda in addition to the 3rd and 5th in the above list.

- “Kav(b)andhin” means (1) a sage mentioned in the *Praśna Upaniṣad*
(2) laden with water.

Thus it will be realized that we have been misled with a wrong equation. But even admitting for the sake of argument that the word ‘Kavandha’ means the same as ‘Kakuda’, we cannot accept that Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the *Praśna Upaniṣad* was identical with Pakudha Kaccāyana of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, for it would then only mean that in the Kātyāyana gotra or family one was named Kabandhin and another Pakudha. Other very strong evidences must be brought forward to prove the identity of two persons having different names of the same meaning. But the question does not arise at all, because the equation itself Kavandhin = Kakuda, cannot stand. The fact is that Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Bhāradvāja etc. were gotra or family titles in those days, just as Mukherjee, Banerjee, Pradhan and Roy Choudhury are family-titles now-a-days.

From the conversations described in the *Praśna Upaniṣad* (III, 1-12) between the Atharvavedic Professor Pippalāda and Kausalya Āśvalāyana, it is clear that the latter was eager to know about the nature of Life and its relation to the Self, while from the conversations between Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Gautama Buddha it is clear that this Āssalāyana belonged to a degenerate age, puffed up with the vanity of caste, always anxious to preach the purity and superiority of Brahmans. How different is the mentality of Āśvalāyana of the *Praśna Upaniṣad*.

Similarly, it is evident from the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 198 ; I, p. 250 ; II, p. 2) that Pakudha Kaccāyana was a degenerate mediocrity or even worse in intellect, while the *Praśna Upaniṣad* (I, 3-15) informs us that Kavandhin Kātyāyana really belonged to the true Brahmanic type of the Vedic age, anxious to know about the Most Glorious, the Most Effulgent, the One Origin of this Universe, Manifested in this Universe. It is now easy to understand why Dr. Roy Choudhury has been led to assign Hiranya-nābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra. Kausalya Āśvalāyana and Kavandhin Kātyāyana were, according to the *Praśna Upaniṣad*, contemporary with the

King Hiranyanābha. Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Pakudha Kaccāyana were, according to the Majjhima Nikāya, contemporary with Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra. Now if Kausāya Āśvalāyana and Kavandhin Kātyāyana are identified with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Pakudha Kaccāyana respectively, as they have been by Dr. Roy Choudhury, then the king Hiranyanābha Kausalya could not but be regarded by him as belonging to the time of Gautama Buddha.

We have already seen that Dr. Roy Choudhury's identifications represented by the equations :

Kausalya Āśvalāyana = Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Kavandhin Kātyāyana = Pakudha Kaccāyana, are wrong, so that one may infer that his assigning Hiranyanābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha and Prasenajit is erroneous. Moreover we shall have to imagine that the Kosala King Hiranyanābha and the Kosala King Prasenajit ruled simultaneously if we believe in the above identifications. Had they ruled or existed simultaneously in Kosala, the eloquent Buddhist literature would have mentioned that.

According to Dr. Pradhan, the assignment of Hiranyanābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha is absolutely untenable, for the King Para, son of Atpāra and grandson of Hiranyanābha, as he has shown (*C. A. I.*, p. 135) is mentioned not only in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage in the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI, 9, 11-13), the Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (II, 6, 11), the Pañcaviṃśā Brāhmaṇa (XXV, 16, 3), and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5, 4, 4), but also in the Taittirīya Samhitā (V, 6, 5, 3) and the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā. No one should dare to bring the Taittirīya Samhitā, the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa etc. down to times of Prasenajit, Ajātaśatru and Gautama Buddha.

Dr. Pradhan has collected various other pieces of evidence for accepting that Janamejaya Pāriksita was a contemporary of Hiranyanābha Kausalya and an older contemporary of Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā :—

(1) The position of Yājñavalkya, and therefore of Janaka Vaideha, is absolutely fixed on the genealogical table because Śatānika, son of Janamejaya, read the three Vedas with Yājñavalkya (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

(2) The position of Yājñavalkya and therefore of his friend Janaka Vaideha, is unalterably fixed on the genealogical table, because Yājñavalkya was the nephew (=sister's son=Bhāgineya) and disciple of Vaiśampāyana who related the story of Mahābhārata at the court of Janamejaya Pāriksita (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

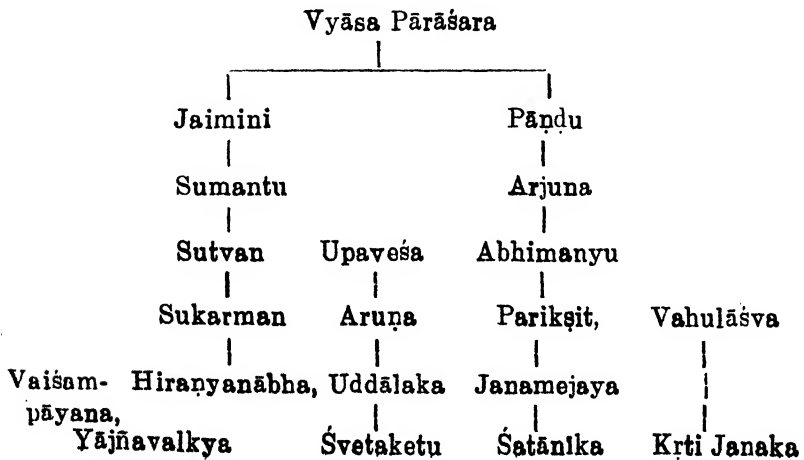
(3) This Vaiśampāyana's personal name was Caraka (*Kaśikā* on Pāṇini), so that his full name was Caraka Vaiśampāyana, so called because he was a descendant or son of Viśampa (*C. A. I.*, p. 124). As a result of a quarrel between Vaiśampāyana and his nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, the latter, the friend of Janaka, gave up learning and teaching the Black Yajurveda, and composed and compiled the White Yajurveda (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

This quarrel between the uncle and the nephew is attested not only by the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata but also by the Mahābhārata (both the Bengal and Madras recensions) (*C. A. I.* p. 124) and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (*M. Śat. Br.* III, 8, 2, 24), where it is mentioned that Yājñavalkya was cursed by Caraka Adhvaryu. This fact of the quarrel between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil and nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya fixes the position of Yājñavalkya and therefore of Janaka Vaideha, just a step below that of Janamejaya whose court-historian Vaiśampāyana was.

(4) Uddālaka Āruṇi who, according to the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad attended the court of Janaka Vaideha, and joined that famous debate, had two other class-friends, namely, Upamanyu and Baidā (or Veda); and these three were the pupils of Apoda Dhaumya as is evident from the Bengal and Madras recensions of the Mahābhārata (*C. A. I.*, p. 132). Now of these three pupils, the third, i. e. Veda or Baidā was approached by Janamejaya Pāriksita to become his priest (*C. A. I.*, 132). This also makes Uddālaka Āruṇi and consequently his pupil Yājñavalkya contemporary with Janamejaya.

(5) Uddālaka Āruṇi himself with his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya (*M.Bh.* I, 53, 7). This also makes Uddālaka Āruṇi and Janamejaya contemporaries.

(6) Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, as appears from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (VI, 5, 3), was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi (*C. A. I.*, p. 132). He was the pupil also of Hiranyanābha Kausalya, a descendant of Rāma Dāśarathi. This King Hiranyanābha Kausalya was, according to the unanimous testimony of the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇa, was the pupil of Sukarman, the great grandson of Jaimini, the disciple of Vyāsa Pārāśarya (*C. A. I.*, pp. 125-127). It is related in detail in all these works that Sumantu was the son and pupil of his father Jaimini — the pupil of Vyāsa Pārāśarya Sumanta's son and pupil was Sutvan; Sutvan's son and pupil was Sukarman; Sukarman got two very intelligent disciples, one,— the Brāhmaṇa Pausyañji, and the other, — the King Hiranyanābha Kausalya. Now Jaimini, having been the pupil of Vyāsa, was contemporary with Pāṇḍu; Jaimini's son Sumantu was contemporary with Pāṇḍu's son Arjuna; Sumantu's son Sutvan was contemporary with Arjuna's son Abhimanyu; Sutvan's son Sukarman was contemporary with Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit. Hence Sukarman's pupil Hiranyanābha Kausalya could not but be contemporary with Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit. The relation is best expressed in the following table :—



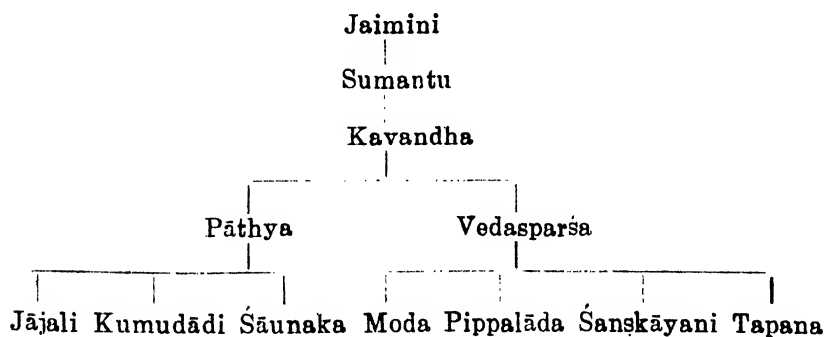
This establishes the contemporaneity between Janamejaya and Hiranyanābha Kausalya. According to all the authoritative Purāṇas, as Dr. Pradhan has shown, Yājñavalkya learnt the science of 'Yoga' from Hiranyanābha Kausalya (*C. A. I.* pp. 123-4). Dr. Pradhan has also shown that Hiranyanābha's pupil Kṛti was no other than Kṛti, the son of Vahulāśva of the Janaka dynasty (*C. A. I.* pp. 131-132). Kṛti Janaka and Yājñavalkya therefore belonged to the same time and the same step on the genealogical table, as both of them were the pupils of Hiranyanābha. Yājñavalkya thus was the friend and contemporary, not of Śradhvāja Janaka, the father of Sītā, as Dr. Roy Choudhury has supposed, but of Kṛti Janaka, a descendant of Śradhvāja in the 18th degree. Thus will be realized what a tremendous confusion has been made by Dr. Roy Choudhury by supposing that the Videhas in the Purāṇas from Śradhvāja Janaka downwards, were the later Videhas of Mithilā, who began to flourish six generations after Janamejaya Pāriksita, and by assuming necessarily that the events of the Rāmāyaṇa were long posterior to those of the Mahābhārata. This absurd supposition, which goes against the entire body of Indian tradition, could not have been thought of even if there were no uncritical scholars in support of it in the days of the infancy of Oriental research in Europe.

The above table makes it absolutely clear that the Pāriksitas could be dead when Janaka Vaideha (= Kṛti Janaka) held his Vahudakṣiṇa Sacrifice in his advanced years and thus Bhujyu Lāhyāyani could very well test Yājñavalkya with the question "Whither have the Pāriksitas gone ? ", after the passing away of the Pāriksitas.

(7) It seems that Dr. Roy Choudhury has not paid proper attention to the use of 'Lan' in the verb 'bhu' in the sentence "Kva Pāriksitā abhavan." More than two thousand and one hundred years ago, Patañjali illustrated the use of 'Lan' in the sentences "Arunad Yavanah Sāketam, arunad Yavano Mādhyamikān, " as pointed out by Goldstücker and R. G. Bhandarkar. Pātañjali, the speaker who illustrated the use of 'Lan' could have seen the Yavana King and his siege of Sāketa and Mādhyamikās, had he so liked and had he taken the trouble

of going to Sāketa etc.. Yājñavalkya and Bhujyu similarly might have seen the death of the Pāriksitas had they been present in Hastināpura at that time. It is clear from the use of 'Lañ' that the death of Janamejaya and his brothers happened during the life-time of Yājñavalkya, Bhujyu etc. In fact the use of 'Lañ' is another evidence for the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Yājñavalkya. The real fact is that Yājñavalkya was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya as we have already found.

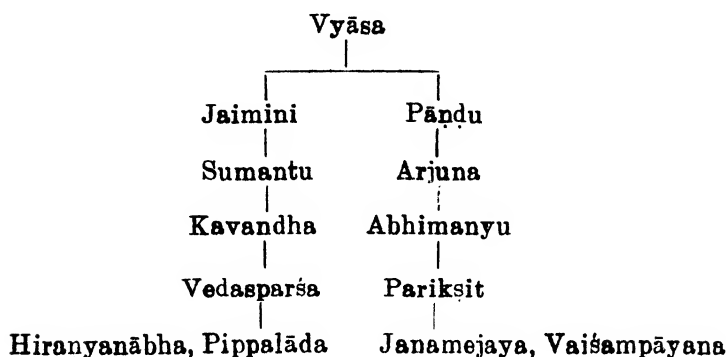
(8) From the Vāyu (61-49-52) Brahmāṇḍa (II, 65, 51-4) Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata we learn that Jaimini's son Sumantu to whom Vyāsa entrusted the teaching of Atharvaveda, had two pupils, one of whom was Kavandha; Kavandha again taught the Atharvaveda to two of his pupils, namely Pathya and Vedasparśa; Pathya's three pupils were Jājali, Kumudādi and Śaunaka, while Vedasparśa had four pupils, namely Moda, Pippalāda, Śaṅskāyani and Tapanā. The relations are best expressed in the following tree which has already been published in Dr. Pradhan's table genealogies of Vedic Kings and series of Vedic teachers, facing page 176 of 'Chronology of Ancient India.'



The reader can see it at a glance that here is Pippalāda who has been mentioned in the Praśna Upaniṣad.

Now Sumantu, son of Jaimini, was contemporary with Pāṇḍu's son Arjuna, for Pāṇḍu and Jaimini, as we have already seen, were contemporaries; Kavandha, pupil of Sumantu, was therefore contemporary with Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna; Vedasparśa was contemporary with Parikṣit, and Pippalāda, pupil

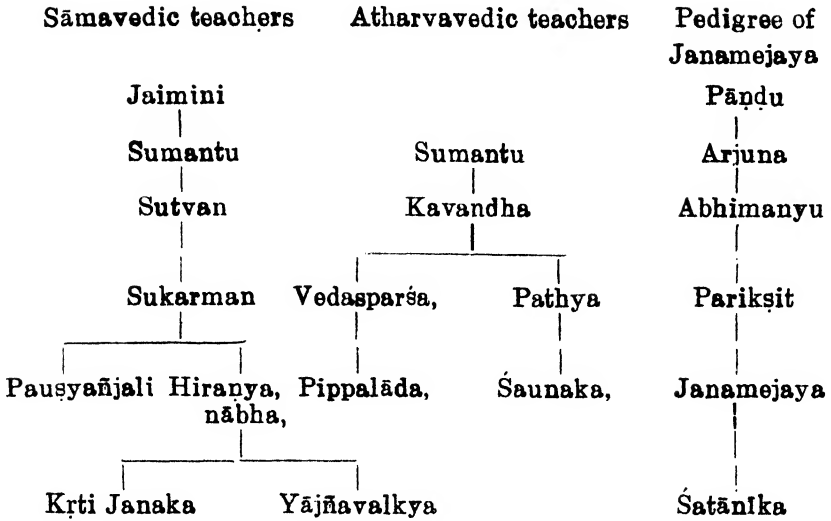
of Vedasparśa, was therefore contemporary with Janamejaya Pāriksita, as illustrated below :—



Kausalya Aśvalāyana, Sukeśan Bhāradvāja, Kavandhin Kātyāyana, Pippalāda, the Atharvavedic professor, must therefore have been contemporary with Janamejaya, as is clear from the table above. Now from the Praśna Upaniṣad we have already learnt that Hiranyanābha and Pippalāda were contemporaries. Hence Hiranyanābha must have been contemporary with Janamejaya.

It should be noticed in this connection that Pathya's pupil Jājali (lit. son of Jajala) seems to have been the same Jājali who learnt from the famous Tulādhāra (= shopkeeper) of Vārāṇasi, as related in the Mahābhārata, while Śaunaka, the other pupil of Pathya, seems to have been the author of the present recension of the Atharvaveda which we now possess, and to have taught Śatānīka, son of Janamejaya the science archery and rituals. The Praśna Upaniṣad now appears to be the Upaniṣad or supplement to the Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda, as it extols and praises the Professor Pippalāda. The Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda has also been obtained in Kāśmīra.

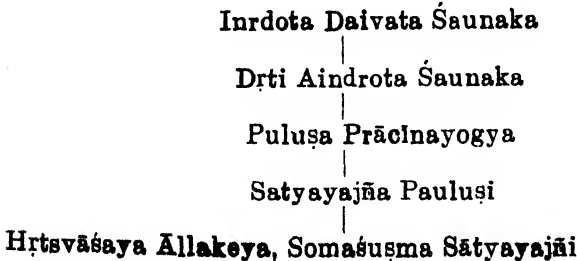
(9) The contemporaneity between Hiranyanābha and Janamejaya is also deducible from a comparison of the list of Sāmavedic teachers drawn up by Dr. Pradhan (*C. A. I.* p. 131) with the list of Atharvavedic teachers and the pedigree of Janamejaya as already shown on the table of genealogies facing page 176 of his *Chronology of Ancient India*.



Kṛti is explicitly stated to have been the pupil of Hiranya-nābha in the matter of spreading the knowledge of the Sāmaveda, and to have been a king (*C. A. I.* pp. 131-2; pp. 141-3.). Yājñavalkya also learnt Yoga from Hiranyanābha. Thus Kṛti Janaka was the Janaka Vaideha of the Vedic texts for whom Dr. Roy Choudhury is very anxious.

(10) That Janamejaya Pāriksita was, to a certain extent, contemporary with Janaka Vaideha of the Vedic texts, is further proved from the following Vedic evidences :—

In the Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (III, 40, 2) Hṛtsvāsaya Āllakeya, king of the Mahāvṛṣas, is mentioned as a pupil of Somaśusma Satyayajñi Prācīnayogya who, in his turn, was the fourth in the descending series of teachers from Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka as illustrated in the following table :



In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI, 6, 2, 1-3) it is stated that Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi Prācīnayogya saw Janaka Vaideha. From the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I, 2, 5) we learn that a Vedic teacher named ' Dantābala Dhaumra ' was courteously received by the King Janamejaya Pāriksita. The reading "Dantābala Dhaumra" in Dr. Rājendralal Mitra's edition of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is clearly the corrupt form of the correct name "Dantāla Dhaumya" of the famous Vedic teacher. Now the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (II, 55-56) informs us that Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakeya, the king of the Mahāvṛṣas, was the pupil of Dantāla Dhaumya and Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi Prācīnayogya. It follows then that Janamejaya Pāriksita who courteously received Dantāla Dhaumya, must have been contemporary with Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi and therefore with Janaka Vaideha. This Janaka, Vaideha who was no other than Kṛti Janaka, appears to have held his Vahudakṣiṇa sacrifice when he was quite advanced in years when Janamejaya was dead. The relation is illustrated in the following table :--

Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka

Dr̥ti Aindrota Śaunaka

Āpoda Dhaumya

Puluṣa Prācīnayogya,

Janamejaya

Dantāla Dhaumya

Satyayajña Pauluṣi

Janaka Vaideha

Somasuśma Sātyayajñi

Hṛtsvāśaya Āllakeya

Thus from evidences exclusively Vedic, we arrive at the conclusion that Janaka Vaideha of the Vedic texts was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya.

(11) There is yet another ground for holding that Janaka and Yājñavalkya were younger contemporaries of Janamejaya Pāriksita. The Vāyu Purāṇa clearly relates that the Vājasaneyins i. e. Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya and his followers and pupils were held in high esteem and established in honour by Janamejaya Pāriksita who circulated his royal proclamation for honouring the Vājasaneyins amongst his subjects. Vaiśampāyana, the leader of the opposite school, i. e. the Taittirīyas, became really sorry for this and once said angrily to Janame-

jaya : " You, ill-advised king, your proclamation will not be respected as long as I continue to live "

In spite of this, Janamejaya worshipped the Vedic deity Prajāpati on a full moon day with the offering of oblation of ghee and performed two *Āśvamedha* sacrifices according to the rules and formulas or mantras of *Vājasaneyi* (= *Yājñavalkya*) and thus after establishing the *Vājasaneyi* Veda (= Brahman), i. e. the White Yajurveda in practice, Janamejaya became dwarfed in three limbs. (Perhaps Janamejaya became attacked with gout or paralysis which crippled him). This detailed information given by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is extremely interesting and absolutely creditable. It removes all doubt about Janamejaya and *Yājñavalkya*. It is certain that these two *Āśvamedha* sacrifices performed according to rules and mantras given by *Yājñavalkya*, were the very *Āśvamedha* sacrifices to which *Yājñavalkya*, referred, during the debate held in Janaka's court. The story of Patañcala Kāpya's daughter having been possessed by a Gandharva, has been introduced by the later *Vājasaneyins*, i. e. the writers of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, to give an appearance of difficulty to the question put to *Yājñavalkya* by Bhujyu Lāhyāyana, at the court of Janaka.

Thus it will be found that Dr. Roy Choudhury's error about the chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka has plainly been due to his wrong assumption of the identity of *Āśvalāyana* of *Sāvātthi* with Kausalya *Āśvalāyana*; of Kabandhin *Kātyāyana* with Pakudha *Kaccāyana*. Consequent on these wrong assumptions, Dr. Roy Choudhury has made the more grievous assertion that *Hiranyanābha Kausalya* was contemporary with Gautama Buddha.

ARTHAŚĀSTRA RE-EXAMINED
OR
THE CULTURE AND DATE OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA
BY

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M. A.

“ Kautalya's *Arthaśāstra* advocates ideals and culture which are non-Indian. This may be due to the fact that the Malwa empire for a long time remained under the influence of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas”. In this strain a recent writer on the subject writes in the *Indian Antiquary*¹ and seems to propound three theories. First the *Arthaśāstra* was written somewhere between 480 and 510 A. D. Secondly it was a product of the Malwa Empire under the foreign domination of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas. Thirdly ideals and culture advocated in the *Arthaśāstra* are non-Indian.

This is then a re-examination of the whole *Arthaśāstra* problem. Though there has been a view that the date of the compilation of the Kautaliya *Arthaśāstra* may be brought down to the beginnings of the Christian era² still opinion was not divided as to the culture advocated by that treatise on ancient Indian Polity. The late V. A. Smith took the correct and sound view that the *Arthaśāstra* was an actual picture of the Mauryan Empire under its first emperor³. This finds corroboration from a more reliable quarter viz. : Aśokan inscriptions. Notwithstanding volumes of interpretation on these mute records on the rocks and pillars still the last word has not been said. A comparative study of the inscriptions and the *Arthaśāstra* texts has revealed to us the wonderful concordance between the two. The inference is irresistible that

1 See Pran Nath's article on the date of the compilation of Kautalya's *Arthaśāstra* 484-510 A. D., June, 1931, pp. 109-113, July, 1931, pp. 121-3.

2 See A. B. Keith in the *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Patna, pp. 8-22.

3 See *Early History of India*, p. 144.

Aśoka was an ardent student of the *Arthaśāstra*¹. Suffice it to say here that this coincidence is remarkable since it demonstrates beyond doubt the powerful hold which the *Arthaśāstra* had on the great Mauryan empire.

An interesting circumstance in this connection is that the ideals and culture advocated by the *Arthaśāstra* were known to the distinguished author of the sacred *Kural* whose compilation is assigned to the second century B. C. on various grounds.² If the *Arthaśāstra* be known in the Tamil land in the Second Century B. C. surely at least a century must have elapsed since the compilation to get authoritative recognition from the learned public. Further there is no trace of the ideas and ideals peculiar to the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas adumbrated. The institutions and the political theories inculcated are quite in consonance with the accepted standards of Ancient Hindu culture. Mere statement of a theory would not help us much unless substantiated by quotations from the *Arthaśāstra*. No case has been made out to prove that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* has imported alien ideas and culture into his memorable treatise.

Equally weak, unconvincing and inconclusive is the attempt to show that it was a product of the Malwa Empire. The following are some of the points raised in this connection. They may be categorically stated with summary answers.

1. Kauṭilya has selected a small territory called *Janapada* and that situated near a sea-coast approaching in area nearly to a modern *tasil*. This is quite contradictory with the other remark made in the very next page that the Kauṭīliya King possessed landed property in Aparānta, Aśmaka, Avanti, Jāngala, and Anupa Deśas. Certainly each of these countries must have been bigger than a modern *tasil* and these countries put together must be big enough for an Empire even granting that the Kauṭīliyan King possessed landed property only in the above mentioned Deśas. Thus at the outset it seems that the case made out rests on no substantial basis.

1 I have discussed this question in my *Maurya Polity*, (Madras University), 1932.

2 See Author's *Studies in Tamil Literature & History*, the chapter of Tiruvalluvar.

2. Much is made of the defence by the local wild tribes. Reference here is only to the outlying portions of the empire, specially those forest-belts which always separated the Capital from the country parts. In such places a statesman like Kauṭalya would have felt that it would be the right policy to get such forsaken places guarded by wild tribes who were real masters of the situation. The mention of Vāhurika and Pulinda may refer to Gujarat, Avanti and Central India. But Śābaras, Caṇḍālas and Ātavikas were not the monopoly of the Malwa Empire alone. These and similar tribes were scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Indian continent. The same condition is depicted in the ancient Tamil works. The Maravar or the Eyinar who were foresters were pressed into service by the Tamil kings for defence purposes. In the opening chapters of *Janapadasamuddeśa* Kauṭalya simply lays down means and methods for a conquering monarch with regard to colonisation of new lands, their distribution and protection. In the beginning of the Mauryan epoch there was a tendency on the part of the first two kings to enlarge their kingdoms as far as possible. This being the ruling passion of the monarch Kauṭalya lays down a prescription how to encroach on a new territory with a view to eventually occupy the same.

3. The theory that the Kauṭīliya *Janapada* was situated near a sea coast is inconclusive. For the empire under Candragupta Maurya, and his successors Bindusara and Aśoka, was bounded by the sea at least on two sides, and there is therefore every justification for Kauṭalya to refer to seaports and sailing vessels, either commercial or piratic. There need be no elaborate department of Nāvādhyakṣa or Superintendent of boats and navy for a *Janapada* of a modern *tasil*. An interesting circumstance in this connection is that among articles of import find mention oyster shells, conch shells, pearls etc., which are found in sea-shore¹. If the kingdom is really situated on a sea-coast, then, would it not be legitimate to expect that kingdom to export such articles and import inland articles which can not be obtained near a sea-coast? But the fact that the sea-growing articles were imported is proof

positive that the Capital was situated away from the sea and this necessitated importing of such articles of merchandise. Again if the kingdom is situated on a sea-coast then there would be no room for Kauṭilya to enunciate in such an elaborate manner the interstate or international policy by means of a *maṇḍala* theory known as 'the circle of states'. In fact if one takes it as Pran Nath does, there would be no place for a circle of states'.

In this connection a passage from the section entitled *Śītādhyakṣa* is quoted and the passage is as follows :

Śodaśadroṇam Jāṅgalānām varṣapra
māṇamadhyardhamanūpānām deśa
vāpānām ardhatrayodaśāśmakānām,
trayovimsatiravantīnām, amitamapa-
rāntānām haimanyānām ca kulyavāpānām ca kālataḥ ।

—Arthasāstra, Bk. II, Ch. 24.

Shama Śāstri translates it thus : "The quantity of rain that falls in the country of Jāṅgala is 16 droṇas half as much more in the moist countries (anūpānām); as to the countries which are fit for agriculture (deśavāpānām) 13½ droṇas in the country of Āśmakas; 23 droṇas in Avanti and an immense quantity in western countries (aparāntānām) the borders of the Himalayas and the countries where water channels are made use of in agriculture (*Kulyavāpānām*)¹. Pran Nath interprets thus : "The annual measure (of produce to be taken as the King's due) is 16 droṇas in the country of Jāṅgala; 34 droṇas in moist (marshy or low) countries fit for agriculture; 13½ droṇas in *Janopadas* of Āśmaka; 23 droṇas in Avanti; the quantity in Aparānta is not measured; the crop grown in winter and irrigated (by well, pond, tank, lake etc.) should be ascertained according to the time"². Both these translations are faulty in the sense that while one term is interpreted as the name of a kingdom, another is interpreted in its literal sense. For example, Shama Śāstri translates *anūpa* moist country and Pran Nath *Haimanya* winter. In the interpretation of any passage the prescription is :

arthāt-prakaraṇāt-liṅgāt-aucityāt-arthamścayāḥ ।

1 Trans. P. 139, II Ed.

2 Ind. Ant, 1931, P. 111.

This means that the interpretation suggested must follow the *prakaraṇa*. Either all the terms occurring in the passage are names of territories or connote different classification of soil. The latter cannot be. For Aśmaka and Avanti cannot come under any classification of soil. So the other possible alternative is that every term refers to a different kingdom. Further it is ingenious to interpret *Varṣapramāṇam* as annual measure of produce. Its ordinary meaning, 'the quantity of rainfall,' will quite fit in with the context.

If Kauṭalya had meant "actual measure of produce" he should have stated the quantity of the Aparānta and Haimaṇya. The expression *amitam* proves that the author means only the quantity of rainfall.

The suggested translation is as follows :—

"Amongst the countries fit for agriculture the quantity of rainfall in the kingdom of Jāṅgala (possibly Kurujāṅgala) is 16 droṇas, in that of Anūpa¹ 24 droṇas, in that of Aśmaka (Āraṭṭa) 13½ droṇas and in that of Avanti (Malwa) 23 droṇas the quantity of rainfall in the Aparānta and the Himalayan regions cannot be measured; and these are cultivated by irrigation channels in certain seasons".

The idea of the last two sentences is that such regions being mountaineous tracts and rainfall dependent on monsoons, sometimes there will be very heavy showers and sometimes monsoon failing there will be no shower with the consequence that they had to resort to irrigation. A geographical study of the territories mentioned shows that the empire contemplated by the *Arthaśāstra* is not Malwa empire of the 5th Century A. D. but is much bigger than that. Western India, Himālayas, Kurujāṅgala, Bengal, Malwa and the Dekhan constitute the empire and hence practically the whole of Hindustan with a portion of the Dekhan. In other words these were the territorial limits covered by the Mauryan empire under its first ruler Candragupta. Can it still be maintained that the *Arthaśāstra* was not the work of the Minister of Candragupta Maurya? We hope not.

1 The country inhabited by the Anūpa tribe and may be looked for in the Vindhya Hills,

MISCELLANEA

SUBSTANCE OF THE LECTURE ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF AHIMŚĀ

delivered at the
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
(25th February 1932)

BY

PROFESSOR DR. BETTY HEIMANN
of the University of Halle

Etymologically *ahimsā* connotes an absence of a desire to injure another in thought, word, or deed. In form it is negative, and is often interpreted in a specific narrow sense; but really it is wider and a very ancient conception. It can in fact be traced back to the Rgvedic conception of the "Rta" or the eternal cosmic Law or Order which governs all the facts and happenings in Nature. Rta compels every animate and inanimate being to follow the laws of its own existence so as not to thwart or obstruct all others from following the laws of their own individual existences. It may accordingly be said to be a sort of a "social contract" interpreted from the cosmic point of view. It is worth noting in this connection that Varuṇa, the champion of the Rgvedic Rta, is associated with Mitra, the god of friendship or social contract, from whom the Buddhistic conception of "Metā" is lineally descended. This conception is meant to inculcate the doctrine of "Samatā" or equality of all things in the sense of the well-known Bṛhadāraṇyaka passage I. iii. 22 which equates the Prāṇa Ātman simultaneously with the gnat, the fly, the elephant, or the universe, who are all — ignoring their differing evaluation from the human point of view — alike the equal partners of the cosmic social order that is based upon non-violence or Ahimsā. It follows that this doctrine, while in one of its workings-out it led the Jainas to object to even the cultivation of the soil lest it might involve the destruction of insect-life, in its

another and equally logical interpretation it enjoined upon the King of the country the duty to uproot all the "Kaptakas" thorns or mischief-mongers, that may harm his subjects and so disturb the social balance. This means that the "social contract" presupposes the acknowledgment of all existing orders and existing groups of beings as essential functional values in an estimation of the universe as a whole, no single component of which is permitted to follow the "Atimārga" and transgress the bounds of its own existence and purpose. This in fact is the true "Dharma" the eternal rule that teaches different "Dharmas" to tolerate each other.

Ahimsā in Ancient India was conceived as a duty and a privilege that regulated the relations not between man and man alone, but between man and the whole Nature. Thus man is enjoined to remember in his daily religious offerings the shares of all his fellow-creatures. As objects of religious veneration he chooses caves, causeways or confluences which seem to have been sanctified by Nature itself. He may not impair the holiness of Nature by his own man-built forms of religion. And even in those glorious temples (e. g. Mamalapuram and Ellora) where the art of man appears to have triumphed over Nature, his innate humility has led him to create animal-sculptures and place them as if freely walking about in the complex of the temple.

It is this doctrine of Ahimsā taken in its widest philosophical sense that has made the Ancient Indian Ethics a *cosmic* ethics and not a *personal* ethics. Man and the animate and inanimate creation in the midst of which he is placed constituted but one whole, the component parts of which had their own fixed and inalienable places and boundaries. Hence the system of the castes and their traditional code of conduct, wherein each individual is merely a representative of his order and becomes liable for ancestral or communal delinquencies. The individual has accordingly to preserve the balance of his order and be ready, by self-immolation if need be, to restore the balance if disturbed, and render *objective* satisfaction : Compare the story of Odipus in Greek Mythology. Hence the responsibility of the king for all the undetected sins amongst his subjects as illustrated in the glorious life-history of Rāma. The king no less than the commoner was

thus regarded not as a private individual but as the "function-holder" of the community. The conduct between men and men is in short governed by laws derived from cosmic facts. Ahimsā thus became tantamount to *unviolated* social contract.

In the domain of Dharmaśāstra or Civil and religious law the doctrine of Ahimsā has made itself felt in the recognition of the sanctity of possession, the appointed time for appropriation being purposely postponed as long as possible. Similarly the head of the family was not allowed to make a will cutting the property — especially landed and house-property — into pieces. The householder's duty to maintain the holy fire and the daily Karman or to continue the "prajā-tantu" may in this way be regarded as an injunction for Ahimsā in respect of things and persons that are to come. Man in fact is not an isolated individual: every creature is a fellow-creature. Hence the exemplary cultivation of hospitality in Ancient India. Hence too the three ethical duties enjoined by Prajāpati by the voice of thunder: *Damayata*, *Datta*, *Dayata* (Bṛhad. V. ii. 1). Belief in the dogma of transmigration or re-incarnation, by projecting or continuing the relations between man and his fellow-creation beyond the limits of just one span of life, must no doubt have eased the difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the ethical doctrine of Ahimsā as a social contract, and it must also have heartened many an Indian Yogin, Sādhu, or Tapasvin to cultivate self-denial and indifference to bodily suffering. Ahimsā in fact weaned men from self-conceit, wantonness or passion (*ὕβρις*) which has played such an important role with the Greek Dramatists.

In religious and political expressions Ahimsā, sows the seed of tolerance, one effect of which is the facility with which symbols got multiplied and at times even contradictory symbols were brought together in India in the sphere of one and the same religion. Symbols are not the reality: they merely represent it. And as the Real according to the "Ahimsā" philosophy is an all-comprehending unity, a variety of symbols to represent the divine variety of nature became a foregone conclusion.

aspect of the doctrine of Ahimsā. And not only the Syādvāda, but all Indian Logic endeavours to see things not subordinated but co-ordinated : not cut off from each other by dichotomic definitions, but brought together in a kind of summarizing, synthetic definitions. In politics Ahimsā has given us the idea of "Satyāgraha", which etymologically connotes "seizing the truth as it exists" — always conceding the right of all forms of existence as such to exist, including of course your own existence. This should infuse not only courage of convictions and a fearlessness of consequences but also the ever necessary readiness to compare, to measure and to discuss one's own point of view and that of the opponent, in order to realize and establish the balance between the opposing forces and ideas.

We can thus never do full justice to the high dignity of the doctrine of Ahimsā if we narrow it down to one single practical act.

A NOTE ON SIDDHIVINIŚCAYA AND ŚRĪSTIPARIKṢĀ

BY

H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

Out of the several important and unpublished works quoted by *Siddhasena Gaṇi* in his monumental commentary¹ to *Umāsvāli Vācaka's Tattvārthahiganasūtra* and its *bhāṣya*, I may mention *Siddhiviniścaya* and *Śrīstiparikṣā*.

As is well-known Jainism does not consider anybody as a Creator of the Universe, much less does it attribute the act of creation to *Paramātman*, the soul in its perfectly liberated condition. Since the learned commentator does not intend to dilate upon this open secret, he naturally refers the readers to standard works where their curiosity in this connection is likely to be easily gratified. He has selected for this purpose *Siddhiviniścaya*² and *Śrīstiparikṣā*³, the latter signifying the examination of creation. In my humble opinion, both these works are of *Jaina* authorship and most probably of the *Śvetāmbara* School. If one is tempted to identify this *Siddhiviniścaya* with one composed by *Akalaṅkadeva* and commented upon by *Anantavīrya*, pupil of *Rambhadra*, will it not be a very difficult problem for him to solve as to why this *Siddhasena* does not seem to have criticized or refuted any of the views of *Akalaṅka* expressed by him in his splendid work *Tattvārtharājavārṇika*, even when this *Śvetāmbara* commentator has not spared his own brethren, and, if rightly judged, *Siddhasena Divākara* too, the well-known logician, in his zeal to be quite faithful to the *Āgamas*?

It may be mentioned *en passant* that the exact date of *Siddhasena Gaṇi* is a desideratum. He has referred to *Dharmakīrti*⁴ and

1 This commentary together with the original text and the *bhāṣya* is published in two parts, in the "Sheth Devachand Lalbhai Jain Pustakodhar Fund Series", along with my introductions in Sanskrit and English.

2-3 Ibid. pt. I, p. 37.

4 Ibid. p. 397.

Jinabhadra Gaṇi kṣamāramāṇa, in his commentary. This practically settles his earlier limit. Pandit Sukhlal identifies him with *Gandhahastin* mentioned by *Śilāṅka Sūri* in his commentary to *Ācārāṅga*. This fact, if admitted, helps us in fixing the other limit.

Since not a single line is quoted in the commentary from *Siddhiviniścaya*, it remains to be verified, if there is any scholarly discussion as regards the theory of Creation in *Siddhiviniścaya* of *Akṣaṅka*, whose date is still a subject open to discussion amongst various scholars.

Srṣṭiparikṣā so far as I know, has not been mentioned in any of the catalogues of Mss. published. So will any scholar be inclined to furrow this virgin soil by attempting to find out, if there is any Ms. available, and if not, to see whether this is quoted in any work of not later than the 9th century ?

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XI

DATE OF *RĀGAMĀLĀ* OF *PUNḌARĪKA-VITṬHALA*

(ŚAKA 1498 = A. D. 1576) and identification of his patron

MĀDHAVASIMHARĀJA with MĀDHAVASIMHA,

patron of DALAPATIRĀYA

The *Rāgamālā* is a dissertation on the different rāgas, their forms, attributes and notes composed by Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala, a Kārṇāṭaka (Kārṇāṭaka-jātiya). The only two Mss. of the work now extant and available are the following :—

(1) Bikaner No. 1100. ¹

(2) No. 1026 of 1884-87 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

The description of the Bikaner Ms. as given in the Catalogue does not refer to the date of composition of the work which is given only in the B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 1026 of 1884-87 and is contained in the following verse :—

“ शाके वस्वंकवेदाब्ज कपरिगणिते धातुसंवत्सरेरिमन्

8 9 4 1

आषाढे कृष्णपक्षे शशधरसुदिने पंचमी रेवतीमे

नागांब (नागाम्बा) ² धर्मसुदुर्द्धिजवरतिलको विद्वलोस्तीह विद्वान्

तेनेयं रागमाला रसिकजनगलेभूषणार्थं कृता हि ”

The chronogram ‘वस्वंकवेदाब्ज’ comes to Śaka 1498 i. e. A. D. 1576. The age of the Ms. as recorded in the copy is Samvat 1671 i. e.

1. Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner, 1880- p. 515.

2. This is the reading of Bikaner Ms.

A. D. 1615. This means that the present copy was prepared 39 years after the date of composition of the work.

Aufrecht has the following information regarding the works of Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala in his Catalogue¹ :—

पुण्डरीकविट्ठल from Karnāṭaka, son of माधवसिंहराज lived under Akbar—नर्तननिर्णय Bik. 513, रागमञ्जरी Bik. 516, शीघ्रबोधिनी-नाममाला L. 1578, षड्रागचन्द्रोदय² Bik. 529.

The parentage of Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala as given in the verse from the रागमाला quoted above appears to be different from that mentioned by Aufrecht. The रागमाला verse tells us that he was the son of 'Nāgāmbā and Dharma' (नागांबाधर्मसुतः) while Aufrecht says presumably on the authority of the catalogue description of the Mss. of the works नर्तननिर्णय and others that he was the son of माधवसिंहराज and lived under Akbar (1556-1605).

Aufrecht's remarks about the parentage of *Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala* appear, however, to be incorrect. The Bikaner Durbar has furnished me with a copy of a Ms. of Rāgamañjarī mentioned by Aufrecht as "Bik. 516". The following verses in the beginning and end of the work show clearly the relation of *Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala* with *Mādhavasimharāja* :—

Folios 1 & 2 " श्रीमत्कृष्णवंशदीपकमहाराजाधिराजेश्वर ।
 स्तेजःपुञ्जमहाप्रतापनिकरो भानुः क्षितौ राजते ॥
 तस्यासीद्भगवंतद्वास्तनयो वीराधिबीरेश्वरः ।
 क्षोणीमंडलमंडनो विजयते भ्रमंडलाखंडलः ॥
 तस्य द्वौ तनयौ ह्यधुक्तधिनयौ क्षुरौ महाधार्मिकौ ।
 जातौ पंक्तिरथात्मजैस्त्वक्बरक्षोणीपतेः स्वौ भुजौ ॥
 सिंधो माधवमानपूर्वपदकौ संग्रामवक्ष्माबुधौ ।
 तेगत्यागसहस्रहस्तकलितौ श्रीसर्वभूमीश्वरौ ॥
 अक्बरचपधर्मी शक्रतश्चातिधर्मी ।
 धराणिगंगनमध्ये जंगमो मध्यमेरुः ॥
 सकलचपतिताराश्र्वं प्रसूराधिमौ द्वौ ।
 जगति जयनशीलौ माधवा मानसिंधौ ॥

1. Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p. 339a.

2. Mr. Fox-Strangways in his *Music of Hindostan*, p. 105, adds रागमाला and संगीतवृत्तरत्नाकर to this list of works ascribed to Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala and remarks that he belonged to the 2nd half of the 16th century.

तत्र माधवसिंघोयं राजा परमवैष्णवः

अगणितगणकचिकित्सकवेदांतन्यायशब्दशास्त्रज्ञाः ।
दृश्यते बहवः संगीतिनात्रदृश्यतेप्येकः । इत्युक्ते
माधवसिंघे विठ्ठलेन द्विजन्मना । नत्वा गणेश्वरं देवं
रच्यते रागमञ्जरी ॥ ” etc.

Last Folio—

“ देसकजननीनिजसुतविठ्ठललुतरागमञ्जरिकेयं ।
सुंदररतिविचिशवाग्देवीश्रवणमंडना भवतु ॥.२ ॥
संगीतार्णवमंदिरः प्रतिदिनं साहित्यपद्माकर-
प्रोद्भूतप्रबलप्रबोधजनको भासां निधिः सांप्रतं ॥
विद्यावाद्बिनोदिनामतितरामग्रेसरः केसरी ।
सोयं माधवसिंघराजातिलको जीयाच्चिरं भूतले ॥ ३ ॥ ”

It is clear from the foregoing extracts that Mādhvasimharāja was the patron of Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala. The two brothers Mādhvasimharāja and Mānasimha were great favourites of Emperor Akbar. They were sons of ‘Bhagavantadāsa’ of the ‘Kachapa’ family. Mādhvasimharāja was a Vaiṣṇava and was apparently fond of Music. Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala was inspired to write all his works on Music by the direct encouragement of Prince Mādhvasimha.

The present Mādhvasimharāja appears to have been the patron of another writer called दलपतिराय who wrote पत्रप्रशस्ति or यावन परिपाटी—अनुक्रम. There are two Mss. of this work in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute :—(1) No. 409 of 1882-83 and No. 517 of 1891-95. Dalapatirāya makes the following remarks about himself in this work :—

“ अथ प्रथमं यवनराज्याधिकारनियोगधृता, यथाशक्त्युपचरितनानाशास्त्र
विशारदविबुधवृन्देन पित्रा ग्राहितगीर्वाणयावनशास्त्राम्यासस्तदनु च हिंदुम्लेच्छ-
महीपालपरिचर्यापारतंत्र्येपि विद्याव्यसनव्यग्रचेता बहुषु जनपदेषु विविध
विद्वत्सपर्यापरिचयसंपादितसुरनागव्रजयवनभाषाकाव्यरसालंकाराद्यभिनिवेशः
कथमपि पूर्वपुण्यप्राग्भारसंदर्शितफलोदयो निखिलराजन्यराजिनीराजि-
तांघिराजीवभ्रीमन्माधवेन्द्राणां परिचारकपद्मासव गमि दलपतिरायः ”

This passage is found in both the Mss. Mss. No. 517 is incomplete, while No. 409 has the following colophon :—

“इति याचनपरी(पा)व्यानुक्त्या राजरीतिनिरूपणोनाम सप्तमोधिकारः ॥ इति श्रीमदखिलमहीमंडलाखंडल श्रीसवाईमाधवसिंह देवाज्ञा विलिखि”

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar' remarks on the basis of the last line of the above colophon that Mādhavasimha, the Sārvabhauma, appears to have been Savai Madhavarao or Madhavarao II of Peshawa dynasty of Poona.

I am inclined to take a different view of the above colophon. In the first instance the Ms. No. 409 has been acquired from Gujarat.² Secondly the “सवाई माधवसिंह” has a Gujarati tinge about it and presumably refers to a Prince in Rajputana. Thirdly the word ‘विलिखि’ is generally used by copyists in the sense that the “copy was made” or the “work was copied”. I am, therefore, inclined to take the last line as one added to by the scribe and the ‘सवाई माधवसिंह’ as some other Rajput Prince different from the माधवसिंह सार्वभौम, the patron of Dalapatirāya. It is possible that the present copy of the पत्रप्रशस्ति might have been made by a scribe under the instructions of a Rajput Prince called ‘सवाई माधवसिंह’. During the time of the Peshawa Madhavrao II, the Mogul rule was not so prominent as in the days of Akbar. Dalapatirāya in his remarks about himself and his father (vide extract quoted above) refers to circumstances such as ‘यवनराज्याधिकारनियोग’, ‘गीर्वाणयाचनशास्त्राभ्यास’, ‘हिंदुम्लेच्छमहीपालपरिचर्यापारतंत्र्य’ all of which fit in more with the times of Emperor Akbar than those of Madhavarao II of the Peshawa dynasty. I am, therefore, of opinion that the माधवसिंह सार्वभौम or माधवेन्द्र, the patron of दलपतिराय is identical with the माधवसिंह the patron of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala. The epithet ‘सार्वभौम’ need not mislead us because it is laudatory. It is similar to the epithet “श्रीसर्वभूमीश्वरी” applied to the two brothers माधवसिंह and मानसिंह the tributary princes in the extract from Rāgamañjarī quoted above.

1. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss. for 1882-83, p. 41.

2. Ibid, p. 2 — “The Gujarat Section comprises Nos. 1-486”

DATE OF SUMATIVIJAYA'S COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA — LATTER HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Mr. S. P. Pandit in his edition of the *Raghuvamśa* makes the following remarks about the commentary of *Sumativijaya* on the *Raghuvamśa*¹ :—

“ We have now to notice the last Jain commentary that we have secured. The author's name is Pandita Sumativijaya of Vikramapura (Bikaner?) and that of his work *Sugamārtha-prabodnikū* which he composed sometime between A. D. 1635 and 1643.”

The date given by Mr. Pandit in these remarks is based on the chronogram in the colophon of his Ms. viz. “निर्विघ्नहरसशशिसंवत्सरे”. About रस and शशि there is no difficulty of interpretation as their values viz. 6 and 1 are clear. There is difficulty as regards the value of the expression “निर्विघ्नहं”. Mr. Pandit observes in this connection : “whatever the figure of unit may be that is meant to be indicated by the letters preceding ग्रहं it is certain that ग्रहरसशशि mean one thousand six hundred and ninety, obviously of the Samvat as that is the era used in Rajputana where the commentary was composed and whence it has been obtained.”

Another scholar to deal with this date is Mr. Nandargikar² who describes a Ms. of the work viz. No. 46 of 1873-74 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Institute. His remarks about the date are as under :—

“ Date 1609 of the Samvat year corresponding with A. D. 1552. This Ms. of *Sugamānvayā* is bought for the Bombay Govt. by Dr. Bühler at Bikaner in Rajputana.” Mr. Nandargikar, like Mr. Pandit, also bases his date A. D. 1552 on the chronogram “निर्विघ्नहरसशशि”.

1. *Raghuvamśa*, edited by S. P. Pandit, 1872, Preface pp 11-12

2. *Raghuvamśa*, 1897, Critical Notice, pp. 24-25.

This divergence of interpretation of the chronogram by two different scholars results in the difference of more than 100 years (1643 and 1552) in fixing the date of composition as recorded in the work itself.

Instead of multiplying these interpretations it would prove a sort of corrective if we try to infer the probable date of the work on the basis of internal evidence. A cursory perusal of this commentary (Ms. No. 46 of 1873-74 referred to above) gives us the following list of authorities mentioned by Sumativijaya :—
अमरः, हैमकोषः, काव्यप्रकाशः (fol. 240); विश्वः or विश्वप्रकाशः (4, 56 etc.);
वैजयंती (fol. 5, 12 etc.); धराणिः (fol. 7); अनेकार्थः (fol. 9, 32 etc.);
अनेकार्थतिलक (fol. 14, 16, 19, 22, 31, 32 etc.); अभिधानचिंतामणिः (fol. 14, 16, 18 etc.); भारतशास्त्रं (fol. 23); शाश्वतः (fol. 33, 70); आगमः (fol. 36); किरातार्जुनीयकाव्यं (fol. 49); केशवः (fol. 82, 140, 152);
सज्जनः (fol. 97); वायुपुराण (fol. 114); लिंगानुशासन (fol. 139); भोज-
व्याकरणं (fol. 142); हलायुधः (fol. 142, 175, 217); कृष्णभट्टाः (fol. 192);
दक्षिणावर्तः (fol. 192); विष्णुपुराणं (fol. 219); यादवः (fol. 51, 78, 79, 198).

In the above list the reference to the अनेकार्थतिलक proves that the commentary was written after A. D. 1374¹ which is the date of this lexicon. More important than this reference is the reference to भोजव्याकरण on folio 142 which appears as under :—

“ दृढाचासौ भक्तिश्च दृढभक्तिः । पुंस्त्वकर्मधारयेत्यनेन पुंस्त्वद्भावः वा वादृढं भजन यस्य स दृढभक्तिः । अत्र केचिदाहुः कर्मसाधनेन भक्तिशब्दे पुंस्त्वनिषेधोऽयं भक्तौ तु कर्मसाधनायां इति भोजव्याकरणदर्शनात्² ”

Now as regards Bhojavyākaraṇa Dr. Belvalkar³ observes that it was “ written for the benefit of a King Bhoja, son of Bharamalla.” Mr. Harishankar Shastri in his edition⁴ of this work

1. Zacharie ; *Die Indischen Wörterbücher*, p. 35,

2. *Bhojavyākaraṇa* (N. S. Press—1919) Pothi edition—folios 25-26 — see verses 88, 89, 90, 2nd line of verse 90 — “ वा प्रहणात्प्रेषेबु पुंस्त्वद्भावो भवेन्नहि”.

3. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (1915), pp. 115-116.

4. Edition of *Bhojavyākaraṇa* (in Pothi form), 1919, (Published by Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay), Introduction p. 2.

states — “महोपाध्यायपदधारकेण विनयसागरेण मुनिना श्रीभारमल्लद्वयप्रतिप्रीत्ये तत्कुमारनामस्मरणार्थमितभोजव्याकरणं पद्यबंधरचनया व्यरचि । तेन भारमल्लद्वयप्रतिभ्वाति-प्रसन्नतरोबभूव”.

I wonder on what evidence Mr. Harishankar Shastri has based the above remarks for they are different from the following statement of the work itself as recorded on folios 29, 67 and 76 of the printed edition under reference :—

“श्रीभारमल्लतनयो भुवि भोजराजो
राज्यं प्रशस्तिरिषुवर्जितमिन्द्रवधः
तस्याज्ञया विनयसागरपाठकेन
संगुंकिताञ्च रुचिराष्टु तृतीयदृष्टिः”

It appears, therefore, that the work was written, as stated thrice in the work itself, under the orders of the King Bhoja, the son of Bhāramalla. Bhāramalla of the verse is none other than Bhāramalla I, Rao of Kacch who reigned from 1585-1631 A. D.¹ As the work was written under the orders of Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla and during his reign it must have been written some years after 1631 A. D., say about A. D. 1640 or so. As Sumativijaya belongs to Vikramapura i.e. Bikaner as stated in the colophon of his commentary and as he quotes भोजव्याकरण as authority he must have had a copy of the work before him. We shall, therefore, be not far wrong if we suppose that Sumativijaya wrote his commentary between 1640 and 1675 A. D. or in the latter half of the 17th century. This conclusion harmonizes with the dates of some of the Mss. of the commentaries of Sumativijaya in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute which are as under :—

Ms.		Number	Dated Samvat	A. D.	Remarks
रघुवंशटीका	...	No. 450 of 1887-91	1838	1782	
Do	..	No. 373 of 1892-95	1817	1761	
मेघदूतटीका	...	No. 315 of A 1882-83	1804	1748	

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, part II, p. 41.

XIII

A MANUSCRIPT OF A COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA CALLED PRAKĀŚIKĀ AND ITS PROBABLE DATE — MIDDLE OF THE 15TH CENTURY

There is a Ms. of a commentary on the Raghuvamśa called Raghukāvya prakāśikā in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. This is No. 471 of 1895-1902 and consists of 69 folios. The commentary is only for seven cantos of the text. The name of the author is not mentioned in any of the colophons of the seven cantos which appear on folios 19, 25, 35, 44, 54, 66 and 72. Among works and authors referred to in the commentary the following may be noted :-- कामंदकः (fol. 5); वैजयंती (fol. 5, 48, 65); मनुः (fol. 6, 14, 18); यादवः (fol. 8); रुद्रः (fol. 8); विश्वः (fol. 9, 11, 15, 19, 52); हेमाचार्यः (fol. 11); अमरः (fol. 13, 19, 37, 64); हलायुधः (fol. 15); हेमकोषः (fol. 15, 29, 31, 39, 40); पराशरः (fol. 17); अभिधान-चिंतामणि (fol. 26, 27); आगमः (fol. 28, 37); अनेकार्थतिलक (fol. 29); अनेकार्थः (fol. 30, 49); शाश्वतः (fol. 32, 64); किरातार्जुनीय (fol. 46).

As the list of the Mss. of the collection 1895-1902 was published by the B. O. R. Institute in 1925 this Ms. of the commentary Prakāśikā could not be recorded in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum.

From the list of references given above it will be clear that the commentary is not very old. The quotation from अनेकार्थतिलक on folio 29 gives us one terminus to the probable date of the commentary. This quotation appears as under :--

“ रथांगं चक्रवाकयोरित्यनेकार्थतिलके ”

Presumably this is a quotation from the work of Mahipā called अनेकार्थतिलक, which is a chapter of the larger work शब्दरत्नाकर. It deals with homonyms and bears the date 1374 A. D.¹ As the present commentary refers to a lexicon of 1374 A. D. it must have been composed many years after this date. Secondly, in the list of references given above the commentary mentions works which are all of them of earlier date. This would justify our conclusion that the present commentary Prakāśikā was written in the middle of the 15th century, say between 1425 and 1475 A. D.

1. Zacharie ; *Die Indischen Wörterbücher*, 1897, p. 36,

XIV

A MANUSCRIPT OF MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY DATED SĀMVAT 1837 (1781 A. D.) AND IDENTIFICATION OF GAJASIMHA IN WHOSE REIGN IT WAS WRITTEN

There is a Ms. (No. 332 of 1884-86) of Mallinātha's commentary on the Raghuvamśa dated Samvat 1837 (नग, अग्नि, वसु, सू) which corresponds to A. D. 1781. The scribe states that the Ms. was copied in the above year in the reign of *Gajasimha* of *Vikramapattana*. The name of scribe is व्यासनंदलाल of नाहट or नाहट family.

It appears that the Gajasimha mentioned in the colophon of this Ms. is identical with Gajasimha of Bikaner Raj¹ who ruled from A. D. 1746 to 1787. The date of the Ms. viz. A. D. 1781 harmonizes with the above period of Gajasimha's reign and *Vikramapattana* of the Ms. is identical with *Bikaner*.

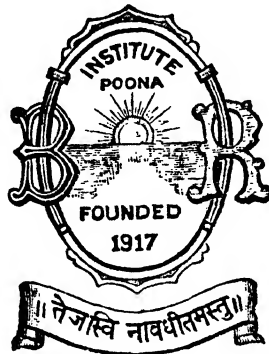
**Annals of the
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Research Institute, Poona
Volume XIII
1931-32**

EDITED BY

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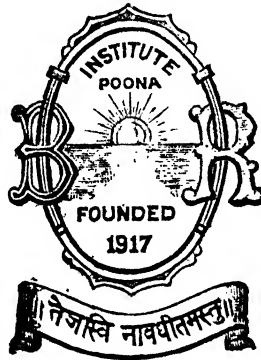
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APRIL - JULY 1932

[PARTS III-IV

GLEANINGS FROM THE UDAYASUNDARĪ-KATHĀ

BY

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, *Purātattva-vicakṣaṇa*; CALCUTTA

Udayasundarī-kathā is a *Campū-kāvya*, i. e. a work composed in prose interspersed with verses. It was written by a poet named Sodḍhala in the 11th century A. D. He was born in Lāṭa-deśa (South Gujarat) and was the court-poet of the three successive royal brothers of Konkana, named Cchittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummupirāja, whose capital was at Sthānaka, the modern Thānā. The ascertained date of Cchittarāja is 1026 A. D., and that of Mummupirāja is 1060 A. D.¹ For sometime he graced the court of Vatsarāja of Lāṭa also. He has given an account of his family in the first Ucchvāsaka or chapter of his book, which contains some very interesting historical information. As far as we know, this information has not hitherto been utilized by any scholar.

Sodḍhala writes that in the past there was a king named Silāditya, whose capital was at Valabhi. His only younger brother was named Kalāditya.² In the family of this Kalāditya was born Caṇḍapati, whose son was Sollapeya. Sollapeya's

1 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 542ff.

2 Pp. 3-4.

son was Sūra, from whom, by his wife Pampāvati was born our poet Sodḍhala.¹ Śilāditya had a long struggle with Dharmapāla of the Māndhātṛ-vaṃśa, king of Northern India (Uttarāpatha). Through the tact and prowess of Kalāditya, Dharmapāla was besieged in a fort and had to submit to the authority of Śilāditya but was restored to his kingdom.² Śilāditya, now well established in his vast kingdom, thought of appointing an able administrator for his extensive territory. One night before going to sleep he was thinking as to whom to appoint to this responsible post. But as he could not come to a decision, he resigned himself to the providence of that deity through whose grace he acquired his dominion, and fell asleep. In the third part of the night his Rāja-lakṣmī (royal prosperity) appeared before him and he was roused from his sleep. She told him that she had come to advise him about the question of the appointment of his chief minister, over which he was troubling himself. She gave him a seal of gold and directed him to entrust Kalāditya with this seal and also with the general superintendence (*sarvādhi-kārasvāmin*) of his kingdom. She also told him that this Kalāditya was an attendant (*gaṇa*) of Śiva who went by the name of Kāyastha. He was so named because he was in such close proximity that he was considered to be in the body of the god. (*sa ch= aṣṭāmūrtera= bhagavato jalamayīm mūrtim= adhiṣṭhitasy= ūsanna-sa-hācaratvena kāye sthitaivāt kāyastha iti*). This attendant of Śiva named Kāyastha, under the orders of this god incarnated himself as Kalāditya, his brother, to protect his Rāja-lakṣmī. This Kāyastha-Kalāditya, the ornament of the Kṣatriyas (*kṣatriya-vibhūṣaṇa*) was then entrusted with the protection of the kingdom.³

Kalāditya's descendants then multiplied and were divided into many branches. They spread themselves to metropolitan towns for the triumph of the Kṣatriyas and as supporters of the creeper of royal prosperity. They came to be known as Valabha Kāyasthas as they hailed from Valabhi.⁴

1 Pp. 11-12.

2 Pp. 4-7.

3 Pp. 9-11.

4 P. 11.

Sodḍhala's father died while he was a child. He was brought up by his maternal uncle Gaṅgādhara, who was a friend of Yogirāja, the king of Lāṭa. Sodḍhala himself was a class-mate of prince Simharāja, son of king Kīrtirāja, king of Lāṭa. Their preceptor was one Candra. Kīrtirāja was the father of king Vatsarāja who was the patron of Sodḍhala. Sodḍhala's forefathers for generations held the post of Dhruva Prabhuṣ (*dhruva-ṛtṭeḥ prabhuḥ*) of the districts of Sikkarahārīya seventy-two, Vāhrihāra seven hundred, Annāpallīya seven hundred and of other districts, of the Lāṭa country.¹ Dhruva denotes "a fixed or permanent hereditary officer in charge of records and accounts of a village," the Tālāṭi and Kuḷkarni of modern times. One of the chief duties of the Dhruvas was to see that revenue farmers did not take more than the royal share. The name is still in vogue in Cutch where the village accountants are called Dhru and Dhruva. Dhru is also a common surname among the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas and Modh and other Vanias in Cutch, Gujarāt and Kathiāvāra.²

Now, who could these Dharmapāla and Śilāditya be? Both are historical names and there is no difficulty in identifying them. There are more than one Dharmapāla, but this Dharmapāla king of Uttarāpatha, could be no other than the king of the same name of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. That Dharmapāla was the emperor of the Uttarāpatha finds support from his own charter i. e. the Khālimpur copper-plate grant.³ From lines 27 and 28 of this plate we find that many kings of the Jambu-dvīpa (India) assembled at Pāṭaliputra to do homage to him. These expressions are also found in the charters of his successors.

Sodḍhala described Dharmapāla to be of the 'Māndhātṛ vaṃśa.' There has been much speculation about the caste of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. But here is a positive and disinterested piece of evidence, which sets all doubts at rest. Besides, this evidence is contemporary, for in Sodḍhala's time, in the eleventh century,

1 Pp. 151-2.

2 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 81-82.

3 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, p. 243.

the Pāla dynasty was still reigning. All other accounts except that of Haribhadra about the caste of the Pālas are later than Soddhala's. This is not all. The fact finds corroboration from the same Khalimpur charter. In verse 11 it has been described that Mahendra having suddenly found the advancing army of Māndhātā in close quarters and being unable to form an opinion of their number, owing to the volume of dust raised by them, which whitened the ten quarters, became alarmed and distracted. Mr. A. K. Maitra in the *Gauḍalekhamālā* has rightly held that here Mahendra refers to Indrāyudha, king of Kanauj and has an allusion to his defeat at the hands of Dharmapāla. He did not, however, explain why Dharmapāla's army had been compared to the army of Māndhātā. Māndhātā is said to be a friend of Indra, but no explanation has been given by anybody why he has been introduced in this verse as an adversary. There must be some justification for the poet for going against the mythological tradition. The reason for this extraordinary action on the part of the poet, seems to us to be to indicate that Dharmapāla was a descendant of Māndhātā. This allusion to Māndhātā was quite intelligible in Dharmapāla's time though it now requires elucidation. From this we are not, however, to conclude that the Pālas were really the descendants of Māndhātā. But this much we can say with certainty that they passed for as such, otherwise Soddhala, a poet of a distant province like Gujarāt of the eleventh century, had no reason or interest to describe Dharmapāla as of the *Māndhātā-vamśa*.

Now Śilāditya mentioned by Soddhala can be no other than a Śilāditya of the Valabhi dynasty, for his capital was at Valabhi. This Śilāditya was a contemporary of Dharmapāla, who flourished in the eighth century. Now of the seven Śilādityas of the Valabhi dynasty, the last three reigned in the eighth century. Of these Śilāditya VII might be the person who came into conflict with Dharmapāla. The ascertained dates of the last three Śilādityas are :— Śilāditya V. - 722 A. D. ; Śilāditya VI. - 760 A. D. and Śilāditya VII. - 766 A. D.¹ We have no information of Dharmapāla's having met with any reverse at the hands of any king of the Valabhi

dynasty. But we have evidence to show from the Khālimpur charter that he granted villages for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas of the Lāṭa country. Besides from verse 5 of the Monghyr grant of his son Devapāla,¹ it appears that he (Dharmapāla) carried his conquering expedition as far as Kedāra-tīrtha in the north, Gangā-sāgara in the south and to Gokarna-tīrtha, probably in the west. There is a celebrated place of pilgrimage named Gokarna even now, resorted to by large number of pilgrims, in Konkana in the Bombay Presidency.

Soddhala calls himself a Kāyastha and at the same time claims to be a Kṣatriya. There can be no doubt as to his claim to the Kṣatriyahood, as his book containing the assertion was read before two well-known Rajput princes, viz. the Cālukya Vatsarāja of Lāṭa and the Śilāra Mummunirāja of Konkana. If his mythical story of the origin of the word Kāyastha and of the Kāyastha caste, is given credence to, we should admit that the Kāyastha caste originated in the eighth century with Kalāditya. And this Kalāditya was a scion of the Valabhi dynasty which was admittedly of the Kṣatriya caste. But this is more than what we are prepared to believe. As far as we have been able to trace, the word Kāyastha as the name of a post can be found in epigraphy in the fifth century, in the Damodarpur copper-plate grants.² It is distinctly stated in the Brahmapurāṇa that Kāyastha was an officer, as in ' *Mallā dulās=ca kāyasthā ye c=ānye karmakāriṇaḥ* ' (Chap. XLIV. V. 37). The word also occurs in *Mṛcchakaṭikam*, *Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā*, *Viṣṇu-saṁhitā* &c., in the same sense. That in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam* Kāyastha Dhanadatta was a Brāhmaṇa is apparent from the following address of Cārudatta to Śreṣṭhī and Kāyastha :—

' *Bhoḥ, adhikṛtebhyaḥ svasti haṁho niyuktāḥ, api kuśalaṁ bhavatām* ' (Act IX).

Here by the word ' *niyuktāḥ* ' (appointed) the Śreṣṭhī and the Kāyastha were meant. Now according to Manu, chap. II, verse 127 ' *kuśalaṁ* ' (happiness) should be asked of Brāhmaṇas only.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, Pp. 254-257.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, P. 130.

It may be argued, how can a Śreṣṭhī (merchant) be a Brāhmaṇa? There appears to be no bar. Cārudatta, although a Brāhmaṇa, was a Sārthavāha (merchant) for three generations and lived in *śreṣṭhī-catvara*.

The earliest mention of Kāyastha as a caste-name that we have hitherto been able to find, is in the Sañjān copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I, dated 871 A. D.¹ It was written by Dharmādhikaraṇa-senabhogika Guṇadhavaḷa of the Vālabha-Kāyastha-varṇśa, i. e. the very Kāyastha family to which our poet belonged. It does not appear from the statement of Soddhala that there were any other sections of Kāyasthas than his own in existence in his time in his part of the country. But the distinctive adjective Vālabha, signifying the locality of its origin, clearly shows that there were Kāyasthas other than the Vālabha, even in the ninth century. Although the word Kāyastha originally meant the name of a post, people following the occupation for generations came to be known as a distinct caste. This will be clear, if we look to the caste-names of India, which are mostly occupational names. It is not unlikely that Kāyastha as a caste commenced formation from the 8th century. It is difficult to say when the mythical stories about the origin of the different sections of the Kāyasthas came into existence. The story of the origin of the Vālabha-Kāyasthas is not of later date than the eleventh century. The Citragupta-origin of the Kāyasthas is, perhaps, still later. The earliest mention of Citragupta as one of the ten names of Yama is found in the Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra. He has not become a writer of Yama even then. The earliest epigraphic mention of Citragupta having any connection with the Kāyasthas is found in a charter of Govindacandradeva of Kanauj, dated 1115 A. D.² This plate was written by a Vāstavya-Kāyastha Thakkura named Jalhana, who has been described as 'Karaṇik = *odgato vidyānś* = *Citragupt-opamo guṇaiḥ*' i. e. born of a Karaṇika family, resembling Citragupta in qualities (as a writer). This was only a prelude. From this resemblance in occupation, the idea of descent from him was

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, Pp 235ff.

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, Pp. 152n & 153.

conceived. Poet Śrīharṣa of *Naiṣadhīya-carita* was a contemporary of king Jayacandra, grandson of king Govindacandradeva, king of Kanauj, mentioned above. He described Citragupta as 'Kāyastha' and makes him present at the *Svayaṁvara-sabhā* of Damayanti, along with Agni, Indra, Yama &c. Jayacandra flourished towards the latter part of the 12th century. It may, therefore, be surmised that the legend of the Citragupta descent of some sections of the Kāyasthas dates from the 12th century. It is very curious that although there are ample references to Kāyasthas in epigraphy, there is no mention of their Citragupta-descent, not even in their own family *prāśastis*.

We have seen that the Vālabha Kāyasthas are mentioned in epigraphy and in Sanskrit literature, but they are not heard of now-a-days. Where are they gone? Are they all extinct? It is hard to believe that such an influential section of the Kāyasthas died out altogether. Let us see if any clue can be found of their present whereabouts. There is a sect of Brāhmaṇas called Bālam Brāhmaṇas, who resided in Valā or Valabhī. They were the family priests of the Kāyasthas residing there. These Brāhmaṇas quarrelled with the Kāyasthas, their Yajamānas and left the place for Dhundhuka.¹ Now this sect name of the Brāhmaṇas no doubt, was derived from Valā or Vala-grāma. We may, therefore, expect that the Kāyasthas of Valā came similarly to be called Balam. In fact we find mention of a Vālamya Kāyastha donor in a pillar inscription of Bhinmal, dated 1206 A. D.² We have seen that the forefathers of Soddhala held for generations the post of *Dhruva-Prabhu* (*dhruva-vṛtteḥ prabhuḥ*). We have already shown that the Dhruvas were village accountants and their posts were hereditary. The Dhruva-Prabhus were district accountants, having under them village accountants. By holding the post for generations, they perhaps came to be known as Dhruva-Prabhus. We find in the Bhinmal inscriptions that in some cases the writers of them were Dhruvas, which is the legitimate duty of the Kāyasthas. So these Dhruvas were most probably of the Kāyastha caste. There is a section of

1 *Bom. Gazetr.* Kathiawar Population, p. 673.

2 *Bom. Gazetr.* Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 474.

writers in the Bombay Presidency, who are called Dhruva-Prabhus. They say that they are descended from Dhruva, the son of king Uttānapāda. We believe they are the Vālabha Kāyasthas, and have completely forgotten their old tradition. As they are called Dhruva-Prabhu, they are connecting themselves with Dhruva, the epic hero.

These Dhruva-Prabhus claim to be of the same stock as the Pattana-Prabhus, another writer caste of the Bombay Presidency. This is admitted by the Pattana-Prabhus also. Their epithet of Pattana is derived from their residence in Pattana or Pātan. They are also called Pātāre or Pāthārīya. In the *Sahyādri-khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* their descent has been traced from a king named Āsvapati of the solar race of Kṣatriyas. Under a curse from Bhṛgu Ṛṣi his descendants have been degraded from the kingly office to that of a writer. (Ch. 27 and 28). Details of these Prabhus will be found in the *Bom. Gaztr.* Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 185-235.

A stone inscription of the time of king Hammīr of Ranthāmbar, (1288 A. D.), found in the Kotāh State in Rājputānā, contains an eulogistic description of the minister of Hammīra. The family belonged to the Katāriya Kāyastha varṇsa, who went there from Mathurāpura. This Katāriya, apparently, is a scriptic mistake for Pāthārīya. We have not heard of any section of Kāyasthas going by the name of Katāriya.

Svāmi Vidyānanda in his *Comprehensive History of the Kāyasthas* has identified the Vālabha Kāyasthas with the Vālmika Kāyasthas, but he has not given his reasons for thinking so. The Vālmika Kāyasthas trace their descent from Citragupta, whereas the Vālabha Kāyasthas, we have seen, are descended from Kalāditya. Besides it is doubtful whether Vālmika can be derived from Vālabha. Not only this, he has in his concluding sentence asserted that 'the kings of Vālabhi were Kāyasthas of a Śree Citragupta descent.' Because a scion of the family and his descendants by pursuing the Kāyastha profession became Kāyasthas, therefore, the whole dynasty was Kāyastha. A fine argument indeed !

Pandit Gaṅgāśaṁkara Pañcoli, a Nāgar Brāhmaṇa, on the other hand thinks that the Valābhi kings were *Sipūhī Nāgars*¹, . e. the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, who took to fighting to defend their country.² He also says that a section of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas was called *Citragupta*. Another section again was called *Bhaṭṭa*.³ It is very strange that *Bhaṭṭa Nāgar* is a well-known division of the Kāyasthas.

1 *Nāgarotpatti*, p. 62n.

2 Ibid, pp. 61-62.

3 Ibid. p. 59.

KULĀRṆAVA TANTRA — ITS EXTENT AND CONTENTS

BY

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M. A.

According to the colophons of the published editions of the *Kulārṇava Tantra* the entire work consists of 125000 verses and the published portion (which covers only about 2000 verses) is stated to form only the fifth part of the whole thing. This is styled *Uṛddhvāmnāya Tantra*. The entire work of which the extent is referred to here is not known to have been found anywhere. Some manuscripts containing only a number of verses more than the published 2000 are however sometimes reported to exist. But we know of verses and topics stated to have been taken from the *Kulārṇava* which are not met with here. It is necessary, therefore, to take stock of all materials attributed to the *Kulārṇava* though some of the attributions may evidently be later and open to doubt.

The *Kulārṇava*, as it has been published by Arthur Avalon and others, consists of seventeen chapters or *ullāsas*. The Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta, however, has two manuscripts which contain an eighteenth chapter as well.¹

Topics not included in the published version of the *Kulārṇava* are found in several manuscripts² to have been ascribed to it. Of these mention may be made of *Kālikāsahasranāman* (one thousand names of the Goddess Kālī), *Gaṇopalipañcāṅga* (five essentials of the worship of Gaṇeśa), *Durgā-dakārādi-sahasranāmastotra* (one thousand names of Durgā the initial letter of each of which is *d*), *Devī-svarūpastuti* (the hymn of the exact nature of the Goddess), *Śāktakrama* (the order of worship of the Śāktas), *Śyāmākāvaca* (the talisman of Śyāmā or Kālī) etc. etc.

Some of the verses attributed to the *Kulārṇava* in works like the *Kaulāvālī* of Jñānānanda Paramahansa and *Tantrasāra* of

1. C. Chakravarti—*Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat* (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* — Vol. XXXVIII, p. 243).

2. Cf. *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Aufrecht under *Kulārṇava Tantra*.

Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa could not be traced either in the published editions of the work or in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat Manuscript of it, which we are going to describe below. Of these verses reference may be made to the long extract in the *Kaulāvali* (IX. 31ff) which appears to have been ascribed to the Kulārṇava as also the verses in the Tantrasāra pertaining to the determination of the *Pakṣa* for initiation and the denunciation of the uninitiated.

A purely Vaiṣṇava work — the *Īśānasamhitā*¹ dealing with the greatness of the well-known Vaiṣṇava reformer Caitanya — is also represented as forming part of the Kulārṇava.

It cannot be stated if all these detached materials formed part of the Kulārṇava Tantra, for such attributions are not infrequently imaginary and unreliable and they are occasionally different in different manuscripts.² But the fact that the Kulārṇava consisted of more materials than what are found in the published version may be correct in view of the definite statement that it is only the fifth part of the whole work. Thus these detached materials — or at least some of them — might not unlikely have formed part of the big work or belonged to different versions of the work if not to entirely separate works bearing same or similar names. That the existence of more than one version of the work or the denomination of different works by its name, was recognised seems to be evident from the introductory portion of the *Kaulāvali*. This refers to the Kulārṇava twice (not unlikely on account of the existence of two different versions³ of the work) in the course of enumerating the works on which it is based.

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1. A manuscript of this work is in the collection of the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat*. One manuscript of the work has been described by Rajendra-lala Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* I. 824.
 2. C. Chakravarti — *op. cit.* — p. 246f.
 3. Similar is the case not only with several other Tantra works but also with more than one Smṛti and Purāṇa works as well. Sometimes the same name is found to have been used in connection with similar or different works with qualifications like *laghu* (small) and *bṛhat* (big). Thus to mention only a few, we have *Hārītasamṛti* and *Laghu-Hārītasamṛti*, *Manu* and *Bṛhan-Manu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and *Bṛhan-Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Nilatantra* and *Bṛhan-nīlatantra*, *Nirvāṇa*, *Bṛhan nirvāṇa* and *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. In this connection see, Schrader — *Pañcarātra and Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā* — p. 13.

Besides there are several manuscripts of a work called *garbha-kulārṇava* in the Madras Oriental Library. The name of the book as given in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Oriental Library, Madras*¹ is *garbha-kulārṇava*; but a colophon of the twenty-fourth Paṭala (as quoted in the catalogue) gives the name as *garbha-kaulāgama*.

Several manuscripts of an entirely different work bearing the same name, *garbha-kaulāgama*, are also in the said Library. Two works of the name of *Kālī-kulārṇava* and *Lakṣmī-kulārṇava* have been referred to by Raghunātha in the bibliographical list given by him in the beginning of his extensive compilation — *Āgama-tattvavilāsa*.²

We have actually a complete work which styles itself as the *Kulārṇava* but has very little agreement with the published editions of the work. It is a unique thing in respect of contents which agree more with those of the *Yanī Tantra* than with what we have in the published *Kulārṇava*. A manuscript of the work is in the Library of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta.³ The work in the manuscript is complete in twelve chapters, while the published editions have, as has already been pointed out, seventeen chapters. But owing to its smaller extent it cannot be stated to have preserved a shorter version, as there exists marked difference between it and the published text. The latter work calls itself *Mahā ahaṃya* (the great secret) and *Sarvāgamottamottama* (the best of the best of *āgamas*) while the work in manuscript styles itself *Kulācāra-rahasya* (secret of kula rites).

The subjects treated of in the work are as follows :—

Chapter I — The excellence of Kula practices.

Chapter II — The utility of the five objects of worship — e. g. wine, meat, fish, meal (*mudrā*) and sexual union.

1. Vol. XII, Nos. 5599—3605.

2. R. L. Mitra — *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* — Vol. IX.

3. A short description of the Ms by the present writer has appeared in the Sanskrit organ of the Pariṣat — *Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat* (Vol. XIV, p. 269 ff.).

Chapter III — The details of the Kula form of worship and the sanctification of the materials for the worship. For further details of the subject reference has been made to the *Ānandapaṭāla* (fol. 15b).

Chapter IV — Worship of *cakra* or mystic circle.

Chapter V — Description of different *cakras* which are enumerated to be five in number e. g., *Rājacakra*, *Devacakra*, *Kulacakra*, *Rāsacakra* and *Śricakra*.

Chapter VI — Importance of the worship of the female organ of generation which is stated to be the abode of various deities. It is definitely asserted that the male organ is the symbol of the Supreme God — Śiva — and the female organ that of *Mahāmāyā* — the Supreme Goddess.¹

Chapter VII — Statement of the mantra for the worship (*mantroddhāra*).

Chapter VIII — Worship of *Yonipīṭha*.

Chapter IX — Secret worship. Every act in sexual enjoyment is here conceived of as a material for worship. Kissing is the sandal-paste, beating the breast the flower and so on.²

Chapter X — Utility of worship on particular days. The tenth chapter of the published *Kulārṇava* is also devoted to the same topic. But except for a few preliminary verses there is scarcely any agreement between the tenth chapters of the two works. The tenth chapter in our manuscript after re-

1. योनिरूपा महामाया लिङ्गरूपो महेश्वरः ।
या प्रोक्ता प्रकृतोर्निर्या जगद्धेतुः सनातनी ॥
सैव योनिरूपो च जगदुत्पत्तिकारिणी ॥ (fol. 26b)
2. पादस्पर्शं भवेत् पाद्यमर्घ्यं च मुक्तकेशके ।
प्रमामृते(?) महेशानि भवेदाचमनीयकम् ॥
चुम्बने च भवेद् गन्ध-पुष्पं च स्तनमर्दने ।
आलिङ्गने धूपदीपो नैवेद्यं ताम्बूलं प्रिये ॥
मैथुने च भवेज्जापं वीर्यपाते बिसर्जनम् ॥ (fol. 35b)

ferring to the importance of worship on particularly auspicious days goes on to describe the origin of wine. It is stated that the goddess Surā (wine) appeared at the time of the churning of the ocean in the guise of a beautiful maiden. When she was eagerly sought after by gods like Viṣṇu she assumed a liquid form, portions of which were taken by the gods each of whom was thus satisfied.

Chapter XI — Preparation of wine and description of the five objects of worship (wine etc.,).

Chapter XII — Hymn and talisman of the female organ of generation (योनिस्तोत्र and योनिकवच).

Some verses especially dealing with kula rites are found to be common to more than one Tantra. Some of the verses of the *Parīṣat Manuscript* under description also belong to this class. Of these :—

प्रवृत्ते मेरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णा द्विजातयः ।

निवृत्ते मेरवीचक्रे सर्वे वर्णाः पृथक् पृथक् ॥ (fol. 16a)

is a well known couplet.

नद्यां परलतां पश्यन्त्युतं यस्तु मानवः

प्रजपेत् स भवेत् सद्यो विद्यायाः बल्लभः स्वयम् ॥ (fol. 39a)

महास्त्रीनद्रुमलतावेष्टनेन च यत् फलम् ।

तस्यापि षोडशशिं फलां नार्हन्ति ते शवाः ॥

शवासनाधिकफलं लतानेहप्रवेशनम् ॥ (fol. 40a)

These two extracts are also found in *Kālī-Tantra*¹ as IV. 5-6 and IV. 18-19.

Now a word about the position to be assigned to the work in the domain of Kaula literature. Among the followers of the Kula form of worship two graduated types are recognised — e. g. the *Pūrvakaulas* and the *Uttarakaulas*. According to *Lakṣmīdhara*, who commented on the *Saundaryalahari* of Śaṅkarācārya, the *Pūrvakaulas* took recourse to a symbolical form of worship

1. Sanskrit Śāhitya Parīṣat edition,

whereas the Uttarakaulas offered their worship to the actual organ of a maiden.¹

From a comparison of the nature of contents of the published edition and the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat copy of the work it would appear that the published edition belongs to the Pūrva-kaulas. Like the followers of the Pūrvakaula system it gives a symbolic interpretation² of the five *tattvas* or objects of worship so essential to the Kaulas.

The Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat copy of the work, however, seems to be a work belonging to the Uttarakaulas who are represented as being engaged in the crudest form of Sex-worship.

1. श्रीचक्रस्थितनवयोनिसम्यग्गतां योनिं भूर्जहंसवस्त्रपीठादौ लिखितां पूर्वकौलाः पूजयन्ति ।
तरुण्याः प्रत्यक्षयोनिमुत्तरकौलाः पूजयन्ति— Lakṣmīdhara's Commentary on *Saundaryalaharī* (Mysore Government Oriental Library Series) — p. 130,
under verse 41.

2. V. 107—112.

SOME NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SENA KINGS OF BENGAL

BY

CHARU CHANDRA DASA GUPTA, M. A.

A storm of debate and discussion has centred round the problem of the chronology of the Sena kings of Bengal since the beginning of the early part of the nineteenth century. Writing about the date of Lakṣmaṇasena's accession, Smith observes, Ballāl Sena was succeeded in A. D. 1119 by his son Lakṣmaṇasena." (EHI. P. 419). He based his observation on the assumption that the first year of the Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat or La-Sam was the first year of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign, and which Dr. Kielhorn calculated to be October 7, A. D. 1119. (IAE. Vol. XIX, p. 1 ff). The late Dr. Kielhorn based his arguments on a statement in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nāmā which runs thus :- " In the country of Banga (Bengal) dates are calculated from the beginning of the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, and that from that period till now there have been 465 years." It is further stated therein that at the time to which the writer refers, there had elapsed 1506 years of the Śālibāhana or Śaka era and 1641 years of the era of Vikramāditya. (Ibid). A calculation of this date enabled Dr. Kielhorn to ascertain a date which he took at 1119 A. D. (Ibid). But there are difficulties in the ascertainment of the Lakṣmaṇa Saṁvat. The copper-plate grant of Śiva Singha which bears the date ' La-Sam 292 Śrāvaṇa vadi 7 Gurau, Śaka 1521, Saṁvat 1455 ' leads us to conclude that the Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat began in A. D. 1107, and not in 1119 A. D. as Dr. Kielhorn seems to have established. The question is thus not yet settled and the validity of Kielhorn's conclusion has also been questioned on astronomical grounds (JASB. 1926, p. 365-89). Moreover, it is very striking that the Sena kings of Bengal never use the era which they are said to have established. The Barrackpur copper-plate of Vijayasena is dated in 62nd regnal year, the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena in 11th regnal year, the Ānuliā, the Govindapur, the Tarpanadighi copper plates and the Dacca Image inscription of

Lakṣmanasena are dated in 3rd, 2nd, 2nd and 3rd regnal years respectively, the Edilpur copper-plate of Keśavasena in 3rd regnal year, the Madanpādā and the Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣat copper-plates of Viśvarūpasena in 14th regnal year. (Inscriptions of Bengal, By N. G. Mujumdar, Vol. III, pp. 57-149). This is a very remarkable fact which conclusively proves that the Senas never used the Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat. Even the records of Keśavasena and Viśvarūpasena, the two sons of Lakṣmanasena, form no exception to this rule. But it is all the more strange to see that the era was used in Behar and there came to be associated with a line of Sena kings who are described as lords of Piṭhi. The Jānibighā Inscription of king Jayasena of Piṭhi is dated in the year 83 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era and the two Bodh Gayā epigraphs of Buddhasena, the father of Jayasena bears the dates 51 and 74 of the Lakṣmanasena Era. Thus the Lakṣmanasena Era which was never used by the Sena kings of Bengal was frequently used by the lords of Piṭhi. It is therefore natural to conclude that the Senas of Bengal had scarcely to do anything with the Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat. (Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume, *Orientalia*, pt. 2, p. 5).

The problem, therefore, stands where it had originally been. Let us therefore try to see if anything can be made out from a study of the inscriptions, the Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara. Writing in JRAS, January 1930, Mr. P. C. Barat, B. A. has re-adjusted the chronology of the following Sena rulers basing his arguments mainly on the evidence furnished by the Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara :--

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of birth</i>	<i>Date of accession</i>	<i>Date of retirement or death</i>
Vijayasena	A. D. 1069	A. D. 1095	A. D. 1158
Ballālasena	A. D. 1094	A. D. 1158	A. D. 1168
Lakṣmanasena	A. D. 1119	A. D. 1168	A. D. 1182

(JRAS. January 1930)

The Dānasāgara and the Adbhutasāgara are two Sanskrit works attributed to Ballālasena. We know of 4 mss. of the Dānasāgara viz. those belonging to the India Office Library, the

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Rājā Vinaya Kṛṣṇa Deb Bahadur and Prācya-vidyāmahārṇava Nagendra Nāth Vasu. In the mss. in possession of the India Office Library and Mr. Nagendra Nāth Vasu we have the following verse :—

‘Nikhila-bhūpa-cakra-tilaka-Śrīmad-Ballālasena-devena ।
Pūrṇe Śāsi-nava-daśamita-śakavarṣe Dānasāgaro racitaḥ ॥’

The former ms. gives the date in the numerical figures also and the latter contains two more verses by way of elucidating the date. The passage may lead us to assume that Ballālasena was alive in S. 1091 = 1169 A. D. This assumption is confirmed by certain passages of the Adbhutasāgara which contain dates to show that he was alive in S. 1090 = 1168 A. D. This book was examined by many scholars including the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and the late Mm. H. P. Śāstrī. In 1905 Mm. Muralidhar Jha collected 7 mss. from different places and edited the book. The book contains ‘Atha Mithilā-mahī-mahendra-niḥsāṅkara-śāṅkara Śrīmad Vallālasenadeva-sampādito’yaṁ Adbhutasāgarah ।’ at the beginning and ‘iti Śrī Mahārājādhirāja-niḥsāṅkara-śāṅkara-Śrīmad Vallālasenadeva-viracito’dbhutasāgarah’ at the end of every chapter. In the extracts of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar there is the following verse :—

‘Śake kha-nava-khendva=bde ārebhe=dbhutasāgarah ।
Gaudendra-kuñjavālānstaṁ bhavāhur=mahipatiḥ ॥’

(Collected Works II. 346)

This passage is found in all the mss. of the Adbhutasāgara. This fact most probably shows that this work is genuine. Now we have more passages in this work which shows that S. 1090 is the date when the Adbhutasāgara was begun. They are :—

1. In the chapter on Rāhor=adbhūtāvartaḥ,

‘Kha-nava-daśo-1090-na śakābdā dviguṇaḥ kāryā=rava-rudggole’

2. In the chapter on Vṛhaspatya=dbhūtāvartaḥ,

‘Athā=dbhutasāgarā=rambha-śakābdāt ṣaṣṭya=bda-yuga-gaṇanaṁ.’

‘Kha-nava-daśo-1090-na śakābdāt’

3. In the chapter on Ravya=di-varsā=dbhutāvartah,
 'Atas=tan=matenaikad-granthā=rambha-śakābda-varsā
 =dhipa-gaṇanam'
 'Kha-nava-daśa-1090-śeṣa-śāke' ...
4. In the chapter on Samvatsarā=dbhutāvartah
 'Kha-nava-viya=dindu-1090-hina' ...

All these passages go to show that Ballālasena was most probably alive in Ś. 1090=1168 A. D.

But when did Ballālasena die? The Adbhutasāgara helps us little to ascertain this point; but there is the passage :—

“Granthesminnasamāpta eva tanaye sāmrajya-lakṣmīm mudā
 Dikṣāparvaṇi dakṣiṇe nijakṛter=niṣpattima=sthāpayat ।
 Nānā-dāna-tilam=vusaṁvalanabham sūryātma-jāsamgamam
 Gangāyam viracayya nirjarapuram bhāryānuvāto gataḥ ॥
 Śrīmad Lakṣmaṇasena-bhūpatiḥ ratistaghyo yadudyo gato ।
 Niṣpanno'dbhutasāgaraḥ kṛtirasau Vallālabhūmibhujah ॥”

We may on the strength of this passage accept the year S. 1090 as the date of his abdication. The Naihāti copper-plate grant of Vallālasena which is the only record uptill now found is dated in the 11th regnal year in the 16th day of Vaiśākha. Mr. Barat writes down “Only one copper-plate grant of Ballālasena Deva has been known till now, and it is dated in the eleventh year of his reign. Taking 1090 as the date when Ballālasena handed over the reins of kingship to his son, his accession to the throne falls in S. 1080 = A. D. 1158.” (JRAS. Jan. 1930). But there is one internal evidence in the Naihāti copper-plate of Ballālasena which has not been noticed by Barat or any other scholar but which makes our position regarding the date of Ballālasena more certain than ever. It is well-known that this grant was made by Ballālasena on behalf of his mother Vilāsadevi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The passage in question, runs thus :—

“Śrī Vardhamāna-bhuktya=ntaḥpātīnyuttaro=Rādhā-
 maṇḍale Svalpa-dakṣiṇa-vithyām ... Vallāhiṭhā-grāmo ...
 ācārya-śrīuvāsu-devaśarmmaṇe 'asmanmatri Śrī Vilasadevi-
 bhīḥ sura-sariti suryo=parāge datta-hemā=śva-mahādāna-

sya dakṣiṇātveno=tsrṣtah ... tāmra-śāsanīkṛtya pradatto'as mābhiḥ Sam 11 Vaiśākha-dine 16 Śrī ni mahasām karaṇa ni " -- (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 74).

i. e. The village of Vāllāhitṭhā ... situated within the Svalpa-Dakṣiṇa-vīthi belonging to the Uttara-Rādhā-maṇḍala of the noted Vardhāmana-bhukti ... is given by me, by a copper-plate, ... as a fee to the preceptor, the illustrious Ovāsudevaśarmman... for the performance of the Great-Gift in which a golden horse is given away, by our mother the illustrious Vilāsadevi on the occasion of a solar eclipse. ... The year 11, the 16th day of Vaiśākha. Endorsed by the illustrious (king). Endorsed by the Mahāsan(dhi-vigrahika), the Karaṇa.

Thus it is quite clear that a grant was made by Vallālasena in the year 11 i. e., 11th regnal year and 16th day of Vaiśākha on account of a solar eclipse. The Adbhutasāgara has given Ś. 1091 = 1169 A. D. as the date of Lakṣmapasena's accession. Now when did the solar eclipse take place in the month of Vaiśākha immediately before 1169 A. D. ? According to Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai one solar eclipse took place in 1167 A.D. (Ś. 1089) on Saturday 21st April, obviously referring to the month of Vaiśākha. (Indian Chronology, p. 88). There was no solar eclipse in the month of Vaiśākha for 19 years before that date. (Ibid, p. 86). Thus 1167 A. D. or Ś. 1089 must be the 11th regnal year of Ballālasena. Thus the date of his accession must be referred to 1157 A. D. or Ś. 1079, a date which has a remarkable support in the passage of the Adbhutasāgara quoted above, viz., ' Bhuja-vasu-daśa-mite Śāke Ballālasena-rājyāḍau ' i. e., ' in 1082 Ś. (1160 A. D.) at the beginning of Ballālasena's reign '. Ballālasena's reign may, therefore, be said to extend from Ś. 1079 = 1157 A. D. - Ś. 1091 = 1169 A. D.

Vallālasena's date being fixed, it is easy to find out the date of his father Vijayasena. We know as yet two inscriptions of Vijayasena viz., the Deopārā Inscription and the Barrackpur copper-plate dated in 62nd regnal year 7th Vaiśākha. There is an important passage in the latter inscription that throws a great deal of light on the point. The passage, in question, runs thus :—

“ Śrī Paundravardhana-bhuktya=ntahpātī-Khādī-visaye
Ghāsasambhoga .bhātṭabadā-grāme Samatatiya-nalena
pātaka-catustaya Śrī-Udayakaradevasarmmaṇe
ssomagrahe asman - mahā- mahādevī- Śrīmad- Vilāsa- de-
vyā datta-kanaka-tulā-puruṣa-mahādāne homa-karma-
dakṣiṇā tāmrāsasanikṛtya pradattā'smabhiḥ Sam
62 Vaiśākha-dina 7 Śrī ni (ma)hā ni.”

(Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 63-64).

i. e., 4 pātakas of land by the Nala of Samatata in the village of Ghāsasambhogabhātṭabadā belonging to the Khādī-visaya of the noted Paundravardhana-bhukti is given by me, by means of a copper-plate, to the illustrious Udayakaradevasarmman as fee for conducting Homa in the Great Gift of my Great Great Queen, the illustrious Vilāsadevī, in which the Golden Tulāpuruṣa was given away on the occasion of Lunar Eclipse. The year 62, the 7th day of Vaiśākha. (Endorsed by) the illustrious (king). (Endorsed by) the (Mahāsāmdhivigrahika or Mahāmātra).

Thus it is deducible from the passage quoted above that a grant was made by Vijayasena on behalf of his chief queen Vilāsadevī on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. In 1157 A. D. itself there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Vaiśākha i. e., on Thursday 11th April (Indian Chronology, p. 88). If 1157 A. D. is accepted as the date of Vallālasena's accession, then Vijayasena must have vacated the throne by that date. Taking the 62nd regnal year as the last year of Vijayasena's reign, we can easily have 1095 A. D. as the first year of his reign. He, therefore, may be said to have ruled from c. 1095 A. D. to 1157 A. D.

In conclusion I desire to thank Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for suggesting this problem to me and taking a great deal of interest in preparation of this note.

THE MĀLAVAS

BY

ADRISH CHANDRA BANERJI, M. A.

The earliest mention of the Mālavas whose history it is our intention to discuss here is in the writings of Alexander's historians where they are mentioned as the Mallois. In the first stage of Indological research scholars had failed to identify them with any Indian tribe. It was in 1872 that the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was able to identify the two tribes Malloi and Oxydrakoi with the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas of Sanskrit literature.¹

Neither the Mālavas nor the Kṣudrakas have been mentioned by Pāṇini. Nevertheless, there is a Sūtra in Pāṇini (V. 3. 114) which speaks of certain tribes living by the profession of arms (*āyudhajīvi saṁgha*) and included among the Vāhikas. The Kāśikā says that amongst these Saṁghas were the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas. According to Sylvain Levi the Vāhikas were in the Punjab,² for which he relies on the *Mahābhārata*. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, on the other hand, is inclined to extend the boundaries of the Vāhika country, and would make it co-extensive with the modern Punjab and Sindh minus the hill districts.³ Though the Mālavas are tacitly understood in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, there can be no doubt that they are actually mentioned as such by Patañjali (IV. 1. 68).

It was first pointed out, in my opinion, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar that there are three stages in their history. The first was in the Punjab, the second was in the Nāgar-chāl area of the Jaipur State, and finally in the north-west part of Central India.⁴ Let us now take the first stage of their history. In the time of Alexander they were settled in the Punjab. The Sanskrit name Kṣudraka-Mālava has been transliterated in Greek in various

1 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 23.

2 *Ibid*, 1906, p. 18.

3 Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 38.

4 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures 1921*, pp. 12-13.

ways. Thus Arrian calls them Mallai and Oxydrakai ; Curtius, Sudracae and Mallai ; Diodorus, Syrakusoi and Malli ; Strabo, Hydrakai and Malli ; and the Roman writer Pliny, Sydracae and Malli. As to the exact tribal territory opinion differs. The late V. A. Smith was of opinion that the Malloi occupied the country below the confluence of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab), that is, the country comprising the Jhang district and the whole or greater portion of modern Montgomery district.¹ But McCrindle thinks that the territory of the Mālavas was of great extent, comprehending a part of the modern doab formed by the Akesines and the Hydraotes and extending according to Arrian to the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus. That is the modern Multan district with portions of Montgomery district.² It was during his retreat from the banks of the Hyphasis (Rāvi) that Alexander came into conflict with the Mallois. They were on the Hydaspes (Jhelum after its unity with Chenab). The scattered passages in the Greek works are our only source of information regarding the life, political and social, of these tribes at this time. The two tribes Mālavas and Kṣudrakas of Sanskrit literature, and Malloi and Oxydrakoi of Greek writers seem to have formed a league at this time. But whether they were able to oppose Alexander unitedly, it is very difficult to determine. Curtius informs us that their combined army was led by a brave Kṣudraka warrior. But Diodorus informs us that the Syrakusoi and Malloi could not agree as to the choice of the leader and ceased in consequence to keep the field together.³ Arrian, too, definitely tells us that Malloi had certainly agreed to combine with the Oxydrakoi and give battle to the common enemy, but Alexander had thwarted this design by his sudden and rapid march whereby these tribes were prevented from giving each other mutual help.⁴ We are further told that most of their cities were on the Chenab but their capital which was the last to be captured by Alexander was on the Ravi. Diodorus and Curtius

1 *J. R. A. S.* 1903, p. 631.

2 McCrindle — *Invasion of India*, App. Note, PP. 351.

3 *Ibid.* p. 236, fn. 1.

4 *Ibid.* p. 150.

wrongly assign this city to Oxydrakoi, but Arrian makes it quite clear that the city belonged to the Malloi. General Cunningham identifies the city with Multan, but St. Martin takes Harappa to be the 'Mallian capital'.

While sailing along the Hydaspes Alexander received the news that the Mallois and Oxydrokois "had conveyed their children and wives for safety into their strongest cities, and they meant to give him hostile reception." He, therefore, accelerated his voyage and reached the confluence of Akesines and Hydaspes, and then by forced marches through waterless tract brought his troops to the territory of the Mallois. As the Mallois never imagined that Alexander would attack them so soon by crossing so difficult a tract of country, they were taken by surprise being engaged in their fields. In a skirmish some were killed and the rest took shelter in a nearby stronghold. But the defeat suffered by the tribe was neither final nor decisive. The surprised tribe in sullen anger took shelter in fortified cities determined to resist till the end. As he had no infantry with him, Alexander besieged the city with the help of the Cavalry. This city has been identified with the ruins of Kot-Kamalia, a small but ancient town on a mound on the northern bank of the Ravi.¹ When the infantry arrived, Alexander sent Predikkas to attack another Malloi city, while he himself led assault on the besieged city. The place was soon captured, the majority of the defenders being put to the sword. In the meantime, Predikkas, who was sent to attack another city, found it deserted and easily captured it. The Mālavas had decided to oppose the Greeks at a more strongly fortified place, identified by Cunningham with Tulumba, but that city was also easily captured by a detachment under Predikkas.² Alexander then attacked a city of a tribe called the Achmans, and then giving one day's rest to his worn out troops renewed his attack on the Mālavas. But this time he found most of their cities deserted, the men having preferred to make the desert and the jungle as their home, but not to submit to an alien yoke.

1 Cunningham — *Ancient Geography of India*, Ed. by S. N. Mazumdar Sastri, Pp. 238-241.

2 *Ibid.* Pp. 259-60.

Alexandar then sent Peithon and Demetrius against the largest city of the Mallois ; to which, he was informed, many men from other cities had fled for safety. For reasons unknown to us this city too was abandoned and the Mallois are said to have crossed the Ravi and arrayed themselves against the Greeks on its other bank. Alexander decided to reach the place with cavalry by forced marches, asking the infantry to follow. On seeing him crossing the river, the Mallois, at first attempted to retreat in good order but on noticing the small number of enemy, wheeled round to give battle. After some time perceiving that their heavy armed troops were in danger of being surrounded by the mobile Greek cavalry, they retired to a nearby city which was their capital where they made a last desperate effort to resist the foreign invader. On being forced off the city walls they took shelter in the citadel, but they could not hold it long, the bravery and leadership of Alexander overawed their every effort, and the citadel was captured, though he (Alexander) was seriously wounded in leading the attack. All the inhabitants including the men, women, and children were put to the sword. According to McCrindle, Diodorus and Curtius wrongly assign the city to the Oxydrakoi.¹ As a matter of fact if Arrian and Plutarch are to be believed the city belonged to Malloi and not to Oxydrakoi.

One who has gone through the works of Greek writers generally carries the impression that Alexander's conquest of the Mālavas and other small states of the Punjab was an easy affair. But quite contrary was the case. The resistance offered by this small tribe to the conqueror of nearly half of the ancient world, is truly amazing. This much must be conceded that the Macdonian soldiers, trained as they were under two foremost generals of ancient Greece, were no proper match for one or two small tribal states which played no important part in the political arena of India at any time.

The unguarded statements of the Greek writers confirm the above supposition. Curtius' statement as to the strength of the combined army of the Mallois and the Oxydrakois, has to be accepted with a grain of salt, because according to Arrian there

1 McCrindle — *Invasion of India by Alexander*. App. Note, Q. P. 351.

was no combination at all. The opposition of the small Punjab states seems to have disheartened the Greek soldiers very much. Because we are told by one authority that "When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war in which the most warlike nations of India were yet to take part, they began to chide the king in language of sedition".¹ The fear of the Macedonians was well justified. After the palpable resistance given by Darius III and meek submission of Ambhi, the Greeks thought that their conquest of India would be easy. After the battle of Hydaspes that dream of theirs was shaken. Henceforth every inch of the ground had to be fought for, every fortified place taken. It was this guerrilla warfare that had demoralised the Greek soldiers. No more they had to meet shaky armies of degenerated empire, ready to leave the field of battle at the first clash of arms. But they had now to meet men of different calibre, armed men who would stick to their post till hewn to death. Thus when they were first surprised while they were engaged in fields, the Mālavas did not tamely submit, but took shelter in a nearby stronghold. Then from city to city the carnage of war continued. On the fortified heights of Tulumba, and at Kot-Kamalia, they resisted the invader. They went so far as even to make the desert and jungle their homes rather than be slaves to the foreign conqueror, and it was when Alexander had exposed himself to gravest danger that the last Malloi city fell. The Greek writers in order to magnify Alexander convey the impression that Mālava tribe was practically annihilated, but that was far from the case. Both the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas are mentioned in Patañjali as we have seen above. Arrian too definitely tells us that the leading men from the Mallois and Oxydrakois came to conclude a treaty with Alexander, and a treaty was concluded. If there was practical annihilation, why then was there a treaty? Did Alexander conclude treaties with the people of Messaga, Aornos, Darius III, and others? A treaty is possible with a partially defeated people; it does not imply annihilation. What were the exact terms of the treaty we do not know, but these were probably some of the terms, namely,

1 *Ibid.* p. 234.

ontribution of chariots and horses or cavalry, and an annual tribute.¹

When they were attacked by Alexander, the Mālavas seem to have been in a fairly high state of civilization. They were mainly an agricultural community. Thus when Alexander made a surprise attack on them, they were engaged in their fields. They impressed the Greeks with their appearance, being men of tall stature and dignified bearing. "Their robes were of linen wrought with purple and gold." They also seem to have developed a currency of their own. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar draws our attention to a statement of Quintus Curtius referred to by General Cunningham: "that near the junction of the five rivers Alexander received from the Malli and Sudracae a present of 100 talents of white iron (*ferri candidi*). This white iron can be either nickel or tin. But tin was soft metal, therefore unsuitable for coinage; besides it was well known to the Greeks who would not have, therefore, called it white iron. Nickel, on the other hand, thinks Cunningham, is hard and magnetic, as well as white, and as it was not known to the Greeks they could call it white iron. Thus in his (Cunningham's) opinion Nickel was used for purpose of currency by the Indian tribes, Mālavas and Kṣudrakas, in the time of Alexander."²

With this ends the first stage of their history. We have no further information about their continuing to remain in this reign. Neither Kautilya nor Megasthenes mentions them. They seem to have migrated southwards and settled somewhere in Rajputana. Rāj Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, in his *Hindi History of Rajputana*, has devoted but one page to an account of them which, unfortunately is very scrappy and uncritical.³ We will, therefore, try to reconstruct their history so far as it relates to their settlement in Rajputana. Just sixty-one years ago Carlyle found no less than 600 coins belonging to the Mālavas at Nāgar, also called Karkkoṭaka-Nagar, lying in

1 *Ibid.* Pp. 154 and 249.

2 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, P. 144.

3 Ojha — *Rājputānāki Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 96.

the territory of Raja of Upiārā a feudatory of Jaipur.¹ Carllyle traced the names of forty kings, but Smith found only twenty. A large portion of this hoard appears to have been lost. These Mālava coins are remarkable for their small size, and one of them which is No. 106 in Smith's *Catalogue* is regarded by him as the smallest in the world.² He remarks: "It is difficult to understand how such a coinage could have been used, as it was used for centuries." The size of the coins, however, can suggest only one thing — the low economic condition of the tribe.

In 1923 Mr. R. O. Douglas wrote a paper called "On some Mālava Coins" which was published in J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XIX, (N. S.) P. 42 ff. That paper is important in some respect. His reading Mālāya instead of Mālava on some coins is noteworthy, but even he has not been able to throw light on the name of supposed kings of the tribe, which, as noted above, are about forty according to Carllyle, and twenty according to Smith. But are they really names of any kings at all? Some of them are *Magaja*, *Magojaya*, *Majupa*, *Mayojapa*, *Mapaya*, and so forth. It will be seen that most of them begin with "Ma" and consist of permutations and combinations of five letters *Ma*, *ga*, *ja*, *su*, *ya*. The probability is that these letters constitute not names so much, as abbreviations. In fact it was suggested to me long ago by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, that the three letters *Magaja* which occur for instance, on coins 82-84 of Smith's *Catalogue* and which had been taken to be the name of a king looked like an abbreviation of the legend: *Mālava-gaṇasya jayaḥ* which occurs for instance on coins Nos. 58-61. As stated above it is worthy of note that the Mālava coins are very small in size. To engrave the whole legend, therefore, on any one of its surfaces must have caused considerable difficulty. This seems to be the reason why the legend was abbreviated into these three letters. Similarly it is a habit with the coin manufacturers not to engrave each letter fully and entirely. Thus what looks like the letter *pa* in *Mapaya* may be *la*, and *Mapaya* might thus stand for *Mālāya* equal to *Mālava*.

1 Cunningham — *A. S. R.* vol. VI, 1871-3, pp. 72 ff.

2 V. A. Smith — *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 178,

Mr. Douglas has already shown that the tribal name is sometimes written Mālaya instead of Mālava. Similarly *Mapaja* may be explained as equivalent to *Māla-jayah* equal to *Mālava jayah*. Again *Magajasa* may be equivalent to *Mālava-gaṇasya yaśah*. It is thus not at all improbable to take these letters as the abbreviated forms of the legend. Otherwise we are compelled to weave the most fantastic names out of them.

I have already stated that the Mālavas were in south-western part of the Punjab before they migrated to the Nāgar-Chāl province of Jaipur State. If any proof is needed, it is furnished by the fact that the legend on some of the coins has to be read from right to left as in Kharoṣṭhī which is almost an unprecedented thing in Brāhmī; this is certainly due to their northern origin, where Kharoṣṭhī was the prevalent script since the Achaemenid conquest of North-west India. Kharoṣṭhī died a natural death in the 4th century A. D. It is thus evident that the Mālavas must have been settled in Jaipur area much earlier than this period. This is in keeping with the fact that the legend on the earliest coins as noted by Mr. Douglas are in Prakrit and not in Sanskrit. The Mālava occupation of this region is further confirmed by the Nasik Cave Inscription of Uṣāvadāta, a Śaka, son-in-law of Kṣatrapa Nahapāna.' It is inexplicable how Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha has lost sight of such an important fact in his *History of Rajputana*. The Nasik Inscription informs us that Uṣavadāta had gone at the command of his lord, who can be no other than Nahapāna, to relieve the Chief of Uttamabhadras who had been besieged by the Mālayas, who fled away at the mere sound of his approach, and were made the prisoners of the Uttamabhadras. Uṣavadāta is represented as afterwards having gone to Puṣkaras seven miles west of Ajmere. It is thus clear that the Mālayas were then settled in South-eastern part of Jaipur State. That the Mālayas were the same as Mālavas can not be doubted after the reading vouched for by Mr. Douglas on the coins examined by him. Thus we see that both on the first and second occasions the real cause of their migration was defeat at the hands of superior powers.

It has been noted above that on most of their coins the term *Gaṇa* is associated with Mālava. It further deserves to be noticed that the inscriptions also speak of the Mālava *gaṇa*. The question that arises now is : what does *Gaṇa* signify? Rai Bahadur Ojha blindly following in the foot-steps of Monier-Williams and Fleet has taken the word to mean 'jāti'. In his Sanskrit-English Dictionary Monier-Williams translated the word by 'tribe'. This meaning was adopted by Fleet in his translation of the phrase *Mālava-gaṇasthiti* occurring in the two Mandasor Inscriptions.¹ Following them the Rai Bahadur has translated the English word by the Hindi term *jāti*, which means not only a tribe, but also a caste. It was Mr. K. P. Jayaswal who first pointed out that *gaṇa* signified a republic,² and Prof. Bhandarkar afterwards pointed out that it denoted a tribal oligarchy, — a federation of clans.³ The latter view is now generally accepted, but it was Mr. Jayaswal who placed the scholars on the right track, and Dr. Thomas challenged the late Dr. Fleet fifteen years ago in regard to the correctness of his rendering of the word *gaṇa* by tribe.⁴ Rai Bahadur Ojha's book was published but six years ago, and it is, indeed, a matter of regret that he has failed to take note of the exact significance of the term *gaṇa*. It will be thus seen that the Mālavas were a *gaṇa* — a tribal oligarchy, — at any rate from circa. 150 B. C. to circa. 550 A. D.

It is well known that the celebrated Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta speaks of the Mālavas. In fact, they head the list of the tribes which were tributaries of the Gupta Emperor. The question arises : where are the Mālavas to be located in the Gupta period? It does not seem very difficult to find an answer. The scholars are fully aware that the years of the Vikrama Era were designated Kṛta in the Gupta epoch and earlier,

1 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp. 72ff & 79ff.

2 Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 29.

3 Bhandarkar — *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 165, and *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 110.

4 *J. R. A. S.* 1914, pp. 413 and 1010 ; 1916 p. 162.

and that the Mālavas were somehow associated with them. The typical verse is found in the Mandasor Inscription of Narvarman which runs thus :— “*Śri(r)-m Mālava-gaṇāmnūte praśaste kṛta-samjñite ...*” The second expression *Kṛta-samjñite* which qualifies the phrase expressing the date shows that “*Kṛta*” was the original name of the Vikrama Era. But what does the first expression, *Mālava-gaṇāmnūte*, signify? It must mean “traditionally handed down by the Mālava Gaṇa”, and indicates that the Mālavas had their own peculiar system of computing the Kṛta years. This point has already been dwelt upon by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and it is not, therefore, necessary to deal with it further.¹ Suffice it to say that the Mālavas were connected with the Kṛta Era so far as their system of reckoning went. Wherever the Kṛta years are specified in the inscriptions of the Gupta period, the name of the Mālavas occurs in most cases. We have, therefore, to see where these inscriptions have been found which associate the Mālavas with the Kṛta years. They are Mandasor in the Gwalior State, Kansuvām in the Kotah State, Nāgarī in Udaipur State, and so forth. These inscriptions are found within an area marked by longitude N. 23-26 and latitude E. 74-77. It will be thus seen that the Mālavas in the Gupta period were no longer confined to the Nāgar-chāl province of the Jaipur State, but had moved southwards and settled in a province comprising south-eastern part of Rajputana and north-west part of Central India. Shortly after Gupta period the Mālavas seem to have migrated still further southwards. In the *Gurvāvali-Sūtra* of Dharmasāgaragani, Śrī Devendrasūri is represented to have gone from Ujjayini in Mālavaka to Gurjaratrā (Gujarat).² It seems that Mālavaka touched Gujarat. Curiously enough this agrees with what the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chawang has stated.³ He makes *Po-lu-ka-che-po* (Bharoach) and *Mo-la-po* (Mālava) as two conterminous states about the middle of the 7th century A. D. He also tells us that Mālava was situated on the south-eastern side of the *Mo-ho* (v. l. *Mo-hi* = *Māhi*) river. This is also

1 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 187-94.

2 Weber — *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II, 990.

3 Watters — *Yuan Chawang*, Vol. II. p. 241.

confirmed by the copper-plate grants of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena II, dated G. E. 320-21.¹ The first inscription records that the king made a grant on the eastern boundary of Navagrāmaka in the *bhukti* of Mālavaka, whereas the second refers to his grant of land on the southern boundary of Candraputraka in the *bhukti* of Mālavaka. It is known that both these charters were found in the Rutlam State, and as a matter of fact Navagrāmaka mentioned in the copper-plate grant has been identified with Nogāwā in the same state. What is further noteworthy is that the Rutlam State is situated on the south-eastern side of the Mahi river at its source. This concurrent testimony points to the conclusion that in the post-Gupta period the Mālavas had occupied a province including the modern Rutlam State.

It must not however be supposed that the Mālavas migrated southward only. In the post-Gupta period they seem to have gone eastward also. All the copper-plates of Pāla kings excepting that of Dharmapāla refer to the Kulikas or cultivators as consisting not only of the Khasas and Hūnas but also of the Mālavas. The above account of the Mālavas refers to the pre-Muhammadan times. Before, however, we conclude this paper, it would be well to notice whether they survive in the modern period. It is well known that there is a province called Malwa in Central India. "It consists solely of the plateau lying between 23° 30' and 24° 20' N and 74° 30' and 78° 10' E. which is terminated on the south by the great Vindhyan range, on the east by the arm of the same range which strikes north from Bhopal to Chanderi (the Kulācala parvata of the Purāṇas), on the west by the branch which reaches from Amjheri to Chitor (in Rajputana), and on the north by the Mukundwara range which is from Chitor to Chanderi²."

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 188 ff.

2 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, pp. 95-100.

It is also worthy of note that the name Mālava has survived not only in that of a province as just noted, but also in those of two Brāhmaṇa castes. They are called the 'Mālavis' or 'Mālavikas'. They are the proper Brāhmaṇas of Mālava and the adjoining country. They are not only found in their special habitat, but also in Gujarat on one hand, and Central Provinces and United Provinces on the other. Perhaps the most noteworthy example of this caste is Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji. These 'Mālavi' Brāhmaṇas, however, are isolated from their main stock in Malwa.¹

1 Wilson — *Indian Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 114 and 189. Jayaswal — *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, P. 153.

5 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

ON THE DATE OF ŚRĪKAṆṬHA AND THE
BRHAT-SAMHITA

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA, B. A. (Hons.)

Writing in the maiden number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, on the knotty problem of " the date of Śrīkaṇṭha and his Brahma-Mīmāṃsā ",¹ Mr. T. R. Chintamani permits himself an unhappy digression in a foot-note wherein he bitterly complains against Śrī Madhvācārya having quoted the verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलम् ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्ग तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

from " an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Brhat-Samhitā* " ; and concludes with pretentious familiarity that " perhaps the source referred to by Śrī Madhvācārya in this connection is on a par with the Kātharāyaṇa — Mātharāyaṇa sources from which he is in the habit of citing certain *Śruti* texts ! "

The writer's anxiety to create for himself many opportunities and lose none to criticise Madhva though obvious is yet highly regrettable. For, I perceive no earthly connection, from the writer's treatment of the problem at any rate, between the problem of Śrīkaṇṭha's date and Madhva's citing a verse (albeit also cited by the former) from the *Brhat-Samhitā*. That the writer himself was only too plainly conscious of the blessed irrelevance of Madhva's quotation to his subject is betrayed by the fact that he himself has to resort to the luxury of a foot-note to censure Madhva.

Having come to the happy conclusion that " Śrīkaṇṭha should have flourished about the middle of the 13th century " (p. 67), Mr. Chintamani proceeds to give some corroborative evidence and it is here that he introduces the verse ' उपक्रमोपसंहारो ' etc. Says he

1 The date of Śrīkaṇṭha and his Brahmamīmāṃsā, by T. R. Chintamani, M. A., Research Student, University of Madras. *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. i, part 1 ; January 1927.

“ The date we have thus arrived at is confirmed by the following reference. Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासेऽपूर्वताफलम् ।

अथवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

“ My revered preceptor, Professor S. Kuppusvami Sastrigal, has been able to identify¹ this verse as Akhaṇḍānanda's. Akhaṇḍānanda in his *Tattvadīpana* refers to this verse with the following remarks :

अत्र संग्रहश्लोकः

‘ उपक्रमोपसंहारा..... ’

Edition of *Tattvadīpana* in the

Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 687.

“ It is a well-known fact that *Saṅgraha-śloka*s are the compositions of authors who refer to them as such² ” (Italics mine).

I am sure, Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppusvami Sastri would certainly disclaim any conspicuous or extra-ordinary ability in tracing the verse in question in a printed prose work such as the *Tattvadīpana* ; and I have no manner of doubt that he would be the last man to identify himself, sympathise with or lend his weighty support to the attacks and insinuations of his precocious pupil, Mr. Chintamani, against Madhva.

It would appear from the foregoing quotations that Mr. Chintamani would regard Śrīkaṇṭha as later than Akhaṇḍānanda for the very simple reason that the former quotes the verse ‘ उपक्रमो..... ’ in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, which has been -- in the writer's opinion -- shown to have been composed by Akhaṇḍānanda. Since Śrīkaṇṭha “ belongs ” to the middle of the 13th century, “ Akhaṇḍānanda belongs to the beginning of the 13th century. ”

In spite of assiduous attempts, Mr. Chintamani has not successfully demonstrated a clear case of borrowing on the part of Śrīkaṇṭha from Akhaṇḍānanda. On the contrary, the occurrence of the verse in Śrīkaṇṭha as well as in the other, would at

1 The opening verse of the leading article in this number of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, could similarly be identified as an unacknowledged adaptation with a change of the last quarter, of a well-known verse in the *Nilakaṇṭha Vijaya* of Nilakaṇṭha Diśita ; Madras 1924.

2 Op. cit., p. 68.

best only indicate that both have it from a common source. Nor is the verse indubitably Akhaṇḍānanda's own though quoted as a *Saṅgraha śloka*. Mr. Chintamani himself admits that "Akhaṇḍānanda is indebted to his teacher Prakāśātman for this verse" and that "with slight modifications, Akhaṇḍānanda adopted the verse and gave it as a *Saṅgraha śloka*" -- whatever one may think of the intellectual honesty involved in such a procedure. Anyhow it is amusing to note that Mr. Chintamani's dictum that "it is a well-known fact that *Saṅgraha ślokas* are the compositions of authors who refer to them as such" (p. 68) is miserably contradicted by himself at the very next page.

Nor does it appear very necessary that Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse in question from Akhaṇḍānanda. There is nothing to support such a very original notion in Śrīkaṇṭha's work. In the first place, Mr. Chintamani does not express the entire truth when he baldly observes, "Śrīkaṇṭha quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो.....'". Indeed, Śrīkaṇṭha quotes it with a significant remark: *तथा पठन्ति* which shows that the verse so quoted is of hoary antiquity -- being, in fact, the stock-in-trade of all Vedāntins. Śrīkaṇṭha is not likely to have borrowed it from Akhaṇḍānanda. There is no valid reason to support such a conjecture other than the flimsy one of *Saṅgraha ślokas* being the compositions of authors who refer to them as such which is so pathetically negated in the same breath by the writer himself. Nor is 'तथा पठन्ति' the usual or legitimate manner of acknowledging such a debt!

Lastly, Śrīkaṇṭha's priority to Madhva seems to be established by the repudiation of the pro-Śaiva interpretations of *śrūti*s in the former's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* by Madhva in his *Anu-Vyākhyāna*. The strong Vaiṣṇavite tenor of Madhva's commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and the strong plea which he puts forth on behalf of the supremacy of Viṣṇu throughout his commentary and notably in the commentary on the very first *Sūtra*² appear to be directed pointedly towards the repudiation of an

1 Loc. cit., p. 69.

2 ब्रह्मशब्दश्च विष्णोर्वैव । न चितरप्रत्यविरोधः । न च वैष्णवेण तथा । तत्रैव मोहमित्युक्तं ॥ अनुमानतोऽन्ये न कल्पनीयाः

equally vehement and passionate Śaivite interpretation¹ of the *Sūtras*. The plausibility of Śrīkaṇṭha's work having been the one which Madhva ought to have had in view, is established beyond doubt by an actual and elaborate refutation of the Śaivite interpretation of the Upaniṣadic text :

‘ कृतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलम् ।
ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं ’

sponsored by Śrīkaṇṭha, in Madhva's *Anu-ryūkyāna* :

स्यादेतत् । ब्रह्मशब्दबलेनान्नमयादीनां विष्णुत्वं न निश्चेतुं शक्यते । ‘ कृतं सत्यं परं ब्रह्म पुरुषं कृष्णपिङ्गलं । ऊर्ध्वरेतं विरूपाक्षं शंकरं नीललोहितम् ’ इति तापनीयवाक्ये रुद्रेऽपि परं ब्रह्मश्रवणात् इत्यतः पूर्वोत्तरार्धे भिन्नविषयत्वेन व्याख्याति² ॥

In the *Ānandamaya* adikarṇa Śrīkaṇṭha proclaims Śiva as the *ānandamaya* :

अतांयमानन्दमय आत्मा जीव एव न परमेश्वरः इति प्राप्तं ब्रूमः आनन्दमयोयमात्मा परमेश्वर इति । कुतः । अभ्यासात्³ ॥ and Madhva naturally, is eager to refute this view as can be seen from his inclusion of the contention that *ānandamaya* is रुद्र (परमेश्वर of Śrīkaṇṭha) in the *pūrvapakṣa* and from his *siddhānta* that *ānandamaya* is Viṣṇu : आनन्दमयो ब्रह्मादिः प्रकृतिर्विष्णुर्वा ? । ब्रह्मशब्दाद्विरण्यगर्भप्राप्तिः । शतानन्दनाम्ना च । अष्टमूर्तित्वात्सूर्यं प्रोक्तत्वाच्च रुद्रस्य । तथापि न ते आनन्दमय शब्देनोच्यन्ते किंतु विष्णुरेव⁴ ॥ These two instances would suffice to establish that Madhva is endeavouring to refute the Śaivite interpretation already current and established in his days. The probable identity of the Śaivite commentator responsible for those views with Śrīkaṇṭha deserves careful consideration especially when the views criticised by Madhva are directly traceable to Śrīkaṇṭha's *Bhāṣya*.

It is also significant to note Jayatīrtha echoing the term अभियुक्त used by Śrīkaṇṭha : तथा ह्यभियुक्तावदन्ति (p. 50) : न च तच्छब्दं विष्णुपरामिति वाच्यं । अभियुक्तेः शिवादिपरत्वं न व्याख्यातत्वात्⁵ ॥

1 शिव एको ध्येयः । अन्यथा कथं संसारनिवृत्तिः । शिव एको ध्येयः शिवंकरः सर्वमन्यत्परित्यज्येति शिवव्यापिनिरिक्तस्य मुमुक्षूणां ज्ञेयत्वं ध्येयत्वं च परिसंख्यायते । अतः शिव एव परं ब्रह्म ।

Śrīkaṇṭha : *Brahma Mīmāṃsā*, Mysore Oriental Library Series, p. 25.

2 *Nyāya Sūdhā* of Jayatīrtha, p. 128.

3 Śrīkaṇṭha, *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

4 Madhva : *Commentary on Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 12.

5 *Nyāya Sūdhā*, p. 112.

Literary tradition among the commentators of the Dvaita school also endorses the view that Madhva implied a criticism of Śrīkaṇṭha also. The author of the *Candrikāprakāśa*¹ in commenting on Vyāsātīrtha's *Candrikā* indicates the Śaiva-Viśiṣṭa-dvaita tenets refuted² by Madhva. Vādirāja Svāmin roundly asserts that Madhva's work was the last word on the Vedānta :

अन्ते सिद्धस्तु सिद्धान्तो मध्वस्यागम एव हि ।

an assertion which could not have been made if the Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya had come later than Madhva. Vādirāja Svāmin is not usually an ill-informed person in such matters.

It would thus appear that Śrīkaṇṭha must have been a predecessor of Madhva, who falls entirely within the 13th century (1199-1272 A. D.). Śrīkaṇṭha must therefore have flourished at least a century earlier and may therefore be placed in the 12th century. Śrīkaṇṭha's emphatic Śaivite interpretation could thus be shown to have been directed against Rāmānuja and it will then be clear how Madhva had a double task of reclaiming and reaffirming the Supremacy of Viṣṇu as well as of refuting the Śaivite interpretations of Śrīkaṇṭha.⁴

Mr. Chintamani places Akhaṇḍānanda in the beginning of the 13th century. It is therefore quite impossible that Śrīkaṇṭha ever borrowed from or was otherwise indebted to Akhaṇḍānanda who was later than himself ; nor even from Prakāśātman who must have been, at the worst, a contemporary of his. Madhva, too, was a contemporary of Akhaṇḍānanda and to begin his philosophical career by misappropriating a verse from Akhaṇḍānanda must have sounded hideous to him — Mr. Chintamani's verdict notwithstanding, — especially when he could have had access to it in the earlier works of Śrīkaṇṭha and Sudarśana Sūri.

1 *Tātparya Candrikā* of Vyāsātīrtha with Comm., *Prakāśa*, by Rāghavendra Tīrtha, Government Oriental Library Series, Mysore.

2 Op. cit., Vol. i, p. 72.

3 *Yukti-mallikā* of Vādirāja Svāmin.

4 Cf. यद्वा कश्चिदुपक्रमादिना शिव एव वेदान्ततात्पर्यविधारणमत्र प्रतिज्ञायत इत्याह, तत्तु पूर्वाधिकरणोदाहृतवचनेः प्रत्यधिकरणं भाष्योक्तश्रुत्यादिभिः विष्णुपरोपक्रमोदाहृततात्पर्यलिङ्गेः विष्णावेव तात्पर्यावधारणोपपादनेन मां विधत्तेऽभिधत्ते मामित्यादिरमृत्याच विरुद्धवाद्येषालं बोध्यम् ॥

Candrikā Prakāśa, p. 72.

Mr. Chintamani seems to have been blissfully innocent of the fact that Sudarśana Sūri, the illustrious commentator on the *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja shows clear traces of his acquaintance with the verse 'उपक्रमो...' of which he quotes more or less the first half :

प्रमाणान्तराविरोधश्च तात्पर्यलिङ्गं । उपक्रमोपसंहारादिषु अपूर्वत्वमपि तात्पर्य-
लिङ्गतया ह्युक्तं । अभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलमिति । अपूर्वत्वं च साधकबाधकप्रमाणानोचरत्वं¹ ।

Sudarśana, apart from the probability of his having been slightly earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda, is not likely to have borrowed the verse from him. Mr. Chintamani, had he known Sudarśana's familiarity with the verse, would certainly have convicted him also of misappropriation. Sudarśana, then, has entirely escaped scot-free, thanks to the writer's ignorance. Anyhow, there is no doubt that the verse goes back to some source far earlier than Sudarśana.

We are therefore constrained to observe that Mr. Chintamani has come out rather very badly in the first part of his self-imposed task of settling the date of Śrīkaṇṭha. He seems somehow to have missed the royal road to successful research which lies in a patient collection of all available and unimpeachable references in the works of Śrīkaṇṭha², Madhva and Akhaṇḍānanda (if the last has any thing at all to do with the vexed question of Śrīkaṇṭha's date) to the views of their predecessors and contemporaries and then proceed to examine how far any one of them presupposes, quotes or criticises the other. Mr. Chintamani however seems to have set about it in the wrong way by

1 *Śrī Bhāṣya* with the Comm. of Sudarśana, p. 328. Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889.

2 The phrase पूर्वचार्यैः कटुवित्तं at the outset of Śrīkaṇṭha's Bhāṣya is taken by some to pre-suppose a reference to Madhva also and thus is relied upon to establish Śrīkaṇṭha's posteriority to all the three famous Bhāṣyakāra's of S. India. But firstly too rigid a numerical significance need not be attached to the casual use of the plural which could be explained otherwise ; secondly, the required number of three Bhāṣyakāras can still be made up without including Madhva among predecessors of Śrīkaṇṭha ; and thirdly because of the surmise of Madhva's probable inclusion in the phrase being negated by traces of his having used Śrīkaṇṭha.

attempting to make the whole problem turn on a stray quotation by Madhva of a certain verse "from an anonymous but contemporary work."

II

THE BRĤAT SĀMĤITĀ

Worse is the fate that hath overtaken him in the other part of his self-imposed task of proving Madhva to have misappropriated the verse 'उपक्रमो' from the *Tattvadīpana*.

Mr. Chintamani remarks rather patronisingly, "This verse, in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*, seems to have become familiar to Śrī Madhvācārya through an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Brĥat Sāmhītā*". (Italics mine). To be sure, Madhva quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो' in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 4, from the *Brĥat Sāmhītā*; but there is nothing in this to occasion such a huge surprise. However, he manages to overcome his surprise and proffers a critical piece of advice to his readers that "this *Brĥat Sāmhītā* ought to be differentiated from the astronomical work of the same name." The advice is quite unwarranted since not even a tyro of Madhva's works would confound for a moment, the two *Brĥat Sāmhītās*. Perhaps, it is but the recrudescence of a subjective experience of the writer himself! Mr. Chintamani, however, finally declares for the supreme enlightenment of his readers "A *Brĥat Sāmhītā* has been published as No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series. I have carefully examined the work and the verse in question does not occur anywhere in that work. Perhaps the source referred to by Śrī Madhvācārya " (Italics mine). All the trouble and credit of this amazing process of research is grievously annulled when it is revealed that No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series is *not* a *Brĥat Sāmhītā* merely but a *Brĥad Brahma Sāmhītā*!! 'नहि त्रिपुत्रो द्विपुत्र इत्युच्यते' must certainly have escaped the notice of Mr. Chintamani! No wonder, therefore, that despite strenuous efforts Mr. Chintamani could not trace the verse quoted by Madhva from the *Brĥat Sāmhītā* in the *Brĥad Brahma Sāmhītā*. One cannot, therefore, but heartily pity him for having wasted his critical acumen in the wrong place!

Granting that the verse quoted by Madhva could not be found in the misleading No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series, it does not prove that the same must necessarily have been misappropriated from Akhaṇḍānanda's work or for the matter of that, even from Prakāśātman's *Śabdānirṇaya*.¹ The whole serio-comic is badly exposed when it is brought to light that Madhva has quoted not only the unfortunate verse 'उपक्रमा०' from the *Brhat Saṁhitā* (whatever it is), but also not less than twenty-five others in various places in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. Nor is this all. In his commentary on the *Śrī Bhāgavata* Madhva again quotes as many as eleven lines from the *Brhat Saṁhitā*. I may take this opportunity of recording all the verses quoted from the *Brhat Saṁhitā* for obvious reasons.

यत्रानवसरोऽन्यत्र पदं तत्र प्रतिष्ठितं ।
 वाक्यं वेति सतां नीतिः सावकाशो न तद्भवेत्¹ ॥
 उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।
 अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये² ॥
 शिरो नारायणः पक्षः दक्षिणः सन्ध एव च
 प्रद्युम्नश्चानिरुद्धश्च संदेहो वासुदेवकः
 नारायणोऽथ संदेहो वासुदेवः शिरोऽपि वा
 पुच्छं संकर्षणः प्रोक्त एक एव तु पञ्चधा
 अङ्गाङ्गित्वेन भगवान्क्रीडते पुरुषोत्तमः
 ऐश्वर्यान्नविरोधश्च चिन्त्यस्तास्मिन् जनार्दने
 अतर्क्यं हि कुतस्तर्कस्त्वप्रमेये कुतः प्रमा³ ॥
 यथाहि पौरुषं सूक्तं विष्णोरेवाभिधायकं
 न तथा सर्ववेदाश्च वेदाङ्गानि च नारद⁴ ॥
 आत्मान्तरात्मेति हरिरेक एव द्विधा स्थितः
 निविष्टो हृदये नित्यं रसं पिबति कर्मजम्⁵ ॥
 परस्परविरोधे तु वाक्यानां यत्र युक्ततः
 तत्रैवार्थः पारिज्ञेयः नावाक्या युक्तिरिष्यते
 विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मिथः
 तत्र दृष्टानुसारेण तेषामर्थोन्वयेष्यते⁶ ॥

1 I hope, Mr. Chintamani would not have us believe that Madhva's references to and citations from a *Śabdānirṇaya* are really from Prakāśātman's *Śabdānirṇaya* published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series!

2 Madhva on *Vedānta Sūtra* i, 1, 1. 3 Ibid., i, 1, 4, 4 Ibid., i, 1, 15.

5 Ibid., i, 2, 26. 6 Ibid., i, 2, 11. 7 Ibid., ii, 1, 18.

एकोऽविभक्तः परमः पुरुषो विष्णुरुच्यते
 प्रकृतिः पुरुषः कालस्त्रय एते विभागतः
 चतुर्भिस्तु महान्प्रोक्तः पञ्चमाहं कृतिर्मता
 तद्विभागेन जायन्ते आकाशाद्याः पृथक् पृथक् ।
 यो विभागी विकारः स सोऽविकारः परोहारिः
 अविभागात्परानन्दः नित्यो नित्यगुणात्मकः
 विभागो ह्यल्पशक्तित्वं न तदस्ति जनार्दन¹ ॥
 न युक्तियोगाद्वाक्यानि निराकार्याण्यपि क्वचित्
 विरोध एव वाक्यानां युक्तयो न तु युक्तयः² ॥
 श्रोत्रादीनां तु पञ्चैव तथा वागादि पञ्चकं
 मनोबुद्धिसहायानि द्वादशैवेन्द्रियाणि तु
 विषयब्रवणात्तेषामिन्द्रियत्वमुदाहृतं
 तेषां नियामकः प्राणः स्थित एवाखिलप्रभुः³ ॥
 पार्थिवानां शरीराणामर्थेन पृथिवी स्मृता
 इतरेषां त्रिभागिन्य आपस्तेजस्तु भागतः
 इति सामान्यतो ज्ञेयं भेदस्तु प्रतिपुरुषं
 स्वर्गस्थानां शरीराणामर्थं तेज उदाहृतं⁴ ॥
 न देवानभिकांक्षेत कुत एव हरेर्गुणान्
 प्राजापत्यान् चार्षे च गान्धर्वादीनपि क्वचित्
 कृष्यादिषु विशेषेण दोषो नैव विशेषतः⁵ ॥
 अनादि जन्मसंबन्धं निभेत्तुं पापपञ्जरम् ।
 यावत्पा सेवया शक्यं तावत्कार्यं न संशयः
 यावद्दूरे स्थितो गम्यात्तावद्गन्तव्यमेव हि
 इह जन्मान्तरे वापि तावत्यैव तु दर्शनं
 श्रवणं मननं चैव निदिध्यासनमेव च
 परे गुरौ च या भक्तिः परिचर्यादिकं हरेः
 एषा सेवेति संप्रोक्ता यया तद्दर्शनं भवेत्⁶ ॥
 विद्वेषिणोऽप्युदासीना भक्ता अपि न संशयः
 हरेर्हि सदनं यान्ति व्यक्तं भक्तैस्तु गम्यते
 आरभ्य तम आमुक्तेः कृष्णस्य सदनं यतः
 अव्यक्तहरिलोकत्वादन्येषामस्य लोकता⁷ ॥
 यथेष्टभावनाद्विष्णुरनुभूः परिकीर्तितः

1 Ibid., ii, 3, 7.

2 Ibid., ii, 1, 26.

3 Ibid., ii, 4, 18.

4 Ibid., ii, 4, 23.

5 Ibid., iii, 4, 42.

6 Ibid., iii, 4, 50.

7 Bhāgavata Tātparyā of Madhva, II, 7, 34.

उदधिः कर्मणामीशः सर्वः पूर्णगुणो यतः
 सत्यः केवलसारत्वात् नियमो नियते रजः¹ ॥
 तपः प्रियं सदा विष्णोस्तपसैवाप्यते हरिः
 स्वयं च तपसैवेदं बिभर्ति ज्ञानमेवाह
 तपःशब्दाभिधं प्रोक्तं ज्ञानरूपो हरिर्यतः
 ज्ञानवीर्यो ज्ञानबलो ज्ञानानन्द उदाहृतः² ॥

I have also "carefully examined" No. (8 of the Ānandāśrama Series and not one of the verses quoted by Madhva from the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* "occur in that work anywhere" which proves that apart from the obvious difference in their respective titles, the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* should not be 'confounded' with the *Br̥had Brahma Saṃhitā* as is most regrettably done by Mr. Chintamani. It will be news to him that Madhva himself makes a distinction between *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* and a *Brahma Saṃhitā* and actually quotes from the latter. The identity of the latter, however, with No. 68 of the Ānandāśrama Series is tho' probable yet unproven.

A patient and sympathetic attention to the large number of verses quoted by Madhva from the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* in his works, would show that they are on a variety of topics. A close scrutiny of their order and arrangement would also reveal many interesting facts. For instance, two or more verses are sometimes quoted consecutively dealing with a single topic. At other times, a half of a preceding or following verse is found together with a given complete verse. The interesting variety of topics with which they deal -- theology, psychism, devotion, the physical constitution of bodies, etymology, and rules of interpretation go a long way to indicate that they are genuine quotations from a work now lost to us.

It is also significant to note that besides 'उपक्रमो' there are four other verses quoted in different contexts but all dealing with the proper method of interpretation and reconciliation of texts which proves that the verse 'उपक्रमो.....' has a legitimate place in the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* and was not (and in fact could not have been) falsely ascribed to an imaginary *Br̥hat Saṃhitā*.

1 Op. cit., ii, 2, 7.

2 Op. cit., ii, 9, 24.

Another important fact to be noticed in this connection is that one of the verses concerning the canons of interpretation cited by Madhva from the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* and later on quoted by Vyāsarāja Svāmin in his *Nyāyāmṛta* is seen to be quoted and passed over in silence by Madhusūdana Sarasvati in the *Advaita Siddhi*.¹ Now, from what we know of Madhusūdana, we can safely say that he would certainly have denied the genuineness of the text from the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* rather than taken the trouble of quoting it and passing it over. Instances are not wanting² wherein Madhusūdana refuses to subscribe to the genuineness of texts cited by Madhva. Hence we may safely conclude that Madhusūdana had no difficulty in admitting the text 'विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मियः' as a genuine citation from a genuine work known as *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*.

The foregoing observations would establish the genuineness of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* once extant but no longer available. Instances are not rare of 'Saṁhitās' such as the present one which are known to have existed once through quotations in later works; but which to-day, have passed into the limbo of the forgotten and the irrecoverable. Rāmānuja and Madhva both quote from a *Parama Saṁhitā*; Sudarśana quotes from a *Śrīkālottara* and Madhva again quotes from a *Prakūṣa Saṁhitā* all of which are now completely lost. The present writer, however, has great pleasure in announcing to such as are interested that a small fragment of the *Prakūṣa Saṁhitā* is extant and that a transcription from an old manuscript copy of it (also extant) is still in his possession. There is no inherent impossibility in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* having been extant in the times of Madhva nor is there any reason to discredit the Ācārya's statement so far as we know.

Anent "the Kātharāyaṇa-Mātharāyaṇa sources from which he (Madhva) is in the habit of citing certain *Śruti* texts," time

1 विरुद्धवत्प्रतीयन्ते आगमा यत्र वै मियः ।

तत्र दृष्टानुसारेण तेषामर्थान्वयेक्ष्यते ॥ quoted in the *Pūrvapakṣa; Advaita Siddhi* p. 105, Śrī Vidyā Press, Kumbhakonam, 1893. The same text would be found quoted by Madhva under ii, 1, 18 (*Vedānta ṢṢūtra*) and extracted on p. 237 ante.

2 'सत्यंभिदे'ति तु न भेदाभ्यासः । एतद्वाक्यस्य अप्रामाणिकत्वात् । Op. cit., p. 286.

and patient research alone would bring to light most of the untraceable *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis* quoted by Madhva in his works; but the attitude of mind which posits in the name of Madhva *Śrutis* even he has not cared to 'fabricate' will neither farther research in that direction by one single step nor reflect credit on the maker of such wild accusations.

Now for the question whether Akhaṇḍānanda is to be regarded as the *de facto* author of the verse 'उपक्रमो०'; which, "in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*, seems to have become familiar to Śrī Madhvācārya." (Italics mine). The insinuation embodied in the italicised phrase needs no comment. On Mr. Chintamani's own showing, the verse goes back to an earlier source. I am really surprised at Mr. Chintamani's serious misrepresentation and deliberate misquotation from Akhaṇḍānanda. Says he "Akhaṇḍānanda refers to this verse with the following remarks :

अत्र संग्रहश्लोकः

‘उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।

अर्थवादोपपत्ति च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ’ ॥

Edition of the *Tattvadīpana* in

the Benares Sanskrit Series, p. 687."

But the real and undistorted fact is that Akhaṇḍānanda refers to the verse with the remark :

तथा च संग्रहश्लोकः

‘उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासो’ इति

Mr. Chintamani substitutes अत्र for तथाच in the original and altogether omits 'इति' of Akhaṇḍānanda and offers an emended

The fact is that Madhva has cited only Kāṣṭhāyaṇa and Māṭhara *Śrutis* in his works besides others but nowhere has he cited anything like Kāṭhārāyaṇa and Māṭhārāyaṇa *Śrutis*. Perhaps the *Śrutis* foisted on Madhva by Mr. Chintamani are the result of his original researches into the works of Madhva ! A learned critic of Madhva is said to have confounded the Tura *Śruti* of Madhva with Catura *Śruti*. Evidently Mr. Chintamani has tried to improve upon this prototype.

The presence of this इति coupled with तथाच... would seem to indicate that Akhaṇḍānanda himself was quoting it faithfully from some earlier source.

version. But this is playing tricks with evidence which cannot go undetected. I can only add how painful it is for me to expose the frantic attempts of Mr. Chintamani to foist the verse on Akhaṇḍānanda by such artificial means of questionable probity.

Far from emanating for the first time either from Akhaṇḍānanda or his preceptor, the *Tātparyā Liṅgas* (enumerated in the verse) have been the stock-in-trade of all Vedāntins from time immemorial. The six *Tātparyā Liṅgas* or principles of interpretation are as old as the *Vedānta Sūtras*. In fact, these enjoyed among the Vedāntins the same recognition and importance which the Mimāṃsakas gave to another set of six canons of interpretation: श्रुतिलिङ्गवाक्यप्रकरणस्थानसमाख्यानां समवाये पारदोर्बल्यमर्थविप्रकर्षात्¹। the order of authority here being in the ascending order from the last :

श्रुत्यादीनामतःषण्णामेकार्थोपनिपातिनां
पूर्वं पूर्वं बलीयः स्याद्बलं चोत्तरोत्तरम्²

There is a remarkable parallelism³ between the two sets of canons and it is not altogether rare to find even the Mimāṃsakas making use of the canons of their compeers, the Vedāntins. References to अपूर्वता, फलं and अर्थवाद are common enough in Mimāṃsā literature :--

प्रतीयते विधिश्चायं बलीयानर्थवादतः ।

प्रधान्यात्प्रक्रमस्थत्वाद्प्राप्तविषयत्वतः ॥

उपक्रमस्थत्वाच्चासंजातविरोधो विधिर्निर्विघ्नमेव स्वार्थं बोधयन्नुपसंहारस्थं स्व-
विरुद्धमर्थवादं लक्षणां नयति⁴ ॥

फलार्थेषु गुणेषु स्याद्वाक्यभेदोऽर्थभेदतः ।

उपक्रमोपसंहारसाम्याच्चात्रैकवाक्यता⁵ ॥

1 *Mimāṃsā Sūtra* iii, 3, 14.

2 *Sūtradīpikā*, p. 249, Bombay, 1915.

3 Cf. उपक्रमादिलिङ्गानां बलीयो ह्युत्तरोत्तरं ।
श्रुत्यादेः पूर्वपूर्वं तु ब्रह्मनर्कविनिर्णयात् ॥

4 *Sūtradīpikā* p. 91.

5 Op. cit., p. 83,

The speculative age of the Upaniṣads which had already given currency to a number of new technical terms in logic¹ could not possibly have failed to evolve canons of interpretation corresponding to 'उपक्रमो'. Bādarāyaṇa himself makes striking use of some of them : अभ्यास, फलं and उपपत्ति. In the *Samanvaya Sūtra* तत्तु समन्वयात्, he tacitly admits the application of all the *Tātparyā Līngas* in arriving at a satisfactory interpretation of the divergent testimony of the Upaniṣads in regard to the nature of Brahman. He himself makes significant use of *abhyāsa* : आनन्दमयोऽभ्यासात् ; *upapatti* : अन्तरउपपत्तेः अनुपपत्तेस्तु न शरीरः and of फल. Śaṅkara notes Auḍulomi's resort to *arthavāda* in his commentary.²

Prakāśātman himself in his *Śabdamanirṇaya* declares that the identity of the individual with the Supreme is established by the proper application of the *Līngas* उपक्रम etc., in the interpretation of texts. His own statement,

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वताफलं ।

अर्थवादोपपत्ती च यतो जीवस्ततः परः ॥

does not give the impression that the '*Līngas*' herein brought together originate for the first time from him. On the contrary, Prakāśātman is visibly anxious to find support for his thesis in the hoary interpretational traditions of the Vedānta as embodied in the verse 'उपक्रमो'. This is quite clear from his own commentary on the verse : यस्मिन्वाक्ये षड्विधं तात्पर्यलिङ्गं यस्मिन्नर्थे गम्यते तद्वाक्यं तत्परमित्यध्यवसीयते whereupon he cites the relevant texts embodying these *Līngas* and concludes : एवं यतः वेदान्तवाक्येषु जीवस्य ब्रह्मात्मतायां वाक्यतात्पर्यलिङ्गानां षण्णां समुच्चयो । वक्तव्यो वा यथायौगं गम्यते

1 Cf. "In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Kāthopaniṣad* etc., there occur such terms as *tarka* (debate), *yukti* (continuous argument), *jalpa* (wringling), *vitandā* (cavil), *chala* (quibble), *nirṇaya* (ascertainment), *prayojana* (purpose), *pramāṇa* (proof), *prameya* (object of knowledge)" etc. *History of Indian Logic*, Vidyabhushan, p. 23, Calcutta 1921.

2 'चितितन्मात्रेण तदात्मकत्वादित्यौडुलोमिः' * * * * अत एव जक्षणादिसंकीर्तनमपि दुःखाभाषमात्राभिप्रायं स्तुत्यर्थं ॥ इत्यौडुलोमिराचार्या मन्यते ।

ततः परमाःमेवायं जीवः¹ ॥ Attention must be drawn to his use of the terms तात्पर्यलिङ्गं etc. without any explanation and to his reference even to the exact number of them as six inspite of the fact that actually seven *Liṅgas* are embodied in the verse given by him. The point is that उपक्रम and उपसंहार came to be treated as one *Liṅga* and the assumption of this attitude by Prakāśātman (see comm., ante) without any explanation also shows that even by the time of Prakāśātman and necessarily long before him, the Vedāntins had effected the amalgamation which continued to pass muster. This again, presupposes the popularity of the seven *Liṅgas* from very early days and Prakāśātman could not certainly have invented² them. Neither was he the first person to codify them for reasons already detailed. On the contrary, Prakāśātman seems to have simply adopted the well-known verse *mutatis mutandis* in his *Śabdanirṇaya*,

The author of the *Pañcapādikā* has clearly anticipated the *Tātparyā Liṅgas* though he does not make out an elaborate inventory of them which is done by Prakāśātman in his *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa*. Padmapāda's several references,

पदानां परस्परानवाच्छिन्नार्थानां अनन्याकाङ्क्षाणां अत्यतिरिक्तैकसप्रतिपादक-
मात्रान्वयः (समन्वयः³) ।

तथासति, तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यानां निरुपचरितब्रह्मात्मैक्यावगमः पदसमन्वयः विना-
कारणेन स्वेच्छामात्रेण संपदादिपरः परिकल्प्येत । तदवगमनिमित्तं च मिथ्याज्ञाना-
पायपूर्विका विस्मृतहस्तगतसुवर्णावाप्तिवत् ब्रह्मप्राप्तिः फलमनुभवारूढमपहूयेत्⁴ ॥

तदेवं वृद्धव्यवहारानुसारेणैव समन्वयानुसरणे⁵ सति तद्रम्यं ब्रह्म ॥

1 *Śabdanirṇaya* pp. 69-70. The most significant and 'tell-tale' lacuna here being the absence of the finite verb which betrays the verse in its true colors as an excerpt *mutatis mutandis*, it is easy to see that the verse is not a self-sufficing composition of Prakāśātman.

2 Nor is Śaṅkara the inventor, much less the codifier of the *tātparyā liṅgas* for the first time as is fondly believed by some. In fact Śaṅkara has nowhere referred to all the six *tātparyā liṅgas* in a connected manner in one place, nor given the verse embodying them in his *Bhāṣya* beyond noting in one place : उपक्रमोपसंहाराभ्यामेकार्थतावगमात् ॥ (III, 3, 36),

3 *Pañcapādikā* of Padmapāda, p. 84, Vizlanagaram Sanskrit Series.

4 Op. cit., p. 91.

5 Op. cit., p. 98,

prove that he was fully aware of the six *Tātparya Liṅgas* and the use that Śaṁkara desires to be made of them.

The prevalence of these *Tātparya Liṅgas* long before Prakāśātman is established by Padmapāda's references to फल, अर्थवाद etc. and by Vācaspati Miśra's references to some of them :—

नचैतान्युपक्रमपरामर्शोपसंहारैः क्रियासमभिहारेणीदृगात्मतत्त्वं अभिदधति तत्पराणि सन्ति शक्यानि शक्रेणाण्युपचरितार्थानि कर्तुं ; अभ्यासेहि भूयस्त्वमर्थस्य भवति' ॥

येनवाक्यमुपक्रमयते येनचोपसंहियते तदेव वाक्यार्थ इति शाब्दाः² ॥

Reference has already been made to Sudarśana Sūri's familiarity with the verse.

Prakāśātman brings out clearly all the six *Tātparya Liṅgas* anticipated by Padmapāda :

तच्च तात्पर्यं यस्मिन्नर्थे वाक्यस्योपक्रमोपसंहारैकरूप्यं³ यस्याचार्यस्य पुनः पुनरभ्यासो यस्मिन्नर्थे फलविशेषसंकीर्तनं अपूर्वार्थप्रमेयताच्च यत्रचार्थवादोपादानमुपपत्तिभिरुपादानं चेत्यादीनि लिङ्गानि भवन्ति, तस्य वाक्यस्य तस्मिन्नर्थे तात्पर्यं⁴ ।

तस्मादुक्तानि तात्पर्यलिङ्गानि ब्रह्मणि दृश्यन्ते⁵ । and indicates at length the relevant Upaniṣadic texts embodying them.

It will be seen from the foregoing passage of the *Vivaraṇa* that its author has indicated at length the application of the six *Tātparya Liṅgas* embodied in the well-known verse 'उपक्रमो' without himself quoting it in the *Vivaraṇa* but which he gives *mutatis mutandis* in his *Śabdaniṣṇaya* where the last quarter यतो जीवस्ततः परः seems to have been specially introduced in place of the regular one : लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ।

1 *Bhāmātī* of Vācaspati Miśra, p. 8, (with Kalpataru and Parimala) Nirṇayasagar Press, 1917.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

3 Mark the reference to उपक्रम and उपसंहार as one *liṅga* here also without any attempt to explain the same.

4 *Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa* of Prakāśātman, p. 235, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, 1892.

5 *Ibid.*

7 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.].

Now, Akhaṇḍānanda, after making the necessary comments on the *Vivaraṇa* passage quoted above, cites the full verse too, which sums up the *Līngas* not with the remark अत्रसंग्रहश्लोकः which would mean that the *Śloka* is from his own pen but with the significant remark तथाच संग्रहश्लोकः 'उपक्रमो' इति¹ which implies that he is eager to bring the various texts quoted and correlated with their particular *Līngas* by Prakāśātman himself into line with the well-known verse giving the *Tālparyā Līngas*. तथाच तात्पर्यलिङ्गसंग्रहकः प्रसिद्धः उपक्रमोपसंहा निर्णय इत्ययं श्लोकोऽ-मिमन्त्र्यं जागर्तीत्यर्थः—such will be the most legitimate and reasonable conclusion we have to draw from the manner of Akhaṇḍānanda's introducing the verse. I am afraid, Mr. Chintamani has no right to evade this natural interpretation of Akhaṇḍānanda after having purposely distorted his statement and given a curiously perverted misquotation.

We have already demonstrated Śrīkaṇṭha's priority to Akhaṇḍānanda. Even if our reasonings may not convince everybody, it is admitted by Mr. Chintamani himself that Śrīkaṇṭha was not removed from Akhaṇḍānanda by more than a couple of decades. In any case, it is clearly demonstrable that the verse goes back for earlier than both Śrīkaṇṭha and Akhaṇḍānanda. Śrīkaṇṭha cites the verse with the remark "वेदान्तवाक्यानां ब्रह्मणि तात्पर्यनिर्णयकानि कानि लिङ्गानीति चेदुपक्रमादानि तथा पठन्ति² उपक्रमो...' इति³" which is coolly and completely omitted by Mr. Chintamani. The phrase तथापठन्ति attests the hoary antiquity of the verse in question. Śrīkaṇṭha, as a predecessor of both Madhva and Akhaṇḍānanda, could not have borrowed the verse from Akhaṇḍānanda unless Mr. Chintamani now revises the dates he has assigned to both Akhaṇḍānanda and Śrīkaṇṭha. Secondly, if Śrīkaṇṭha had been in any manner indebted to Akhaṇḍānanda for the verse, he would have made the fact clearer by some such acknowledg-

1 *Tattvādīpana* of Akhaṇḍānanda, p. 687, Benares Sanskrit Series.

2 Śrīkaṇṭha *Brahma Mīmāṃsā Bhāṣya*, p. 21, Mysore Oriental Library Series.

3 Attention has already been drawn to the significance of the term. See ante p. 241.

ment as तथोक्तं तत्त्वदीपने. The phrase तथा पठन्ति seems to smack more of indebtedness to some Purāṇic source.¹

This is happily confirmed by another quotation from some Śaiva Āgama work which Śrīkaṇṭha gives in which the *Tālparya* *Līngas* are clearly presupposed :—

य उपक्रमादिभिस्तात्पर्यनिर्णयः तदेव वेदान्तवाक्यानां भ्रवणमित्युच्यते । तथाह्युच्यते

अज्ञानप्रभवं दुःखं ज्ञानं तस्य निवर्तकं ।

सर्ववेदान्तवाक्यानां भ्रवणं तत्प्रवर्तकं ॥

भ्रवणं नाम वाक्यानां वैदिकानां परावरे ।

उपक्रमादिभिर्लिङ्गैः शिवे तात्पर्यनिर्णयः ॥ इति² ॥

This Āgama work must have been at least a century earlier than Śrīkaṇṭha and if the *Līngas* “उपक्रम etc.,” are to be found presupposed in it, it readily stands to reason that they were far earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda — whatever his date.

Rāmānuja, who was certainly earlier than Akhaṇḍānanda in one place remarks :

उपक्रमविरोधपुसंहारवाक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चयो न घटते³ ।

The probability of the verse ‘उपक्रमो...’ going back to some Purāṇic source (as supposed by Madhva), is endorsed by some quotations in Vidyāranya’s *Vivarana Prameya Saṃgraha* :

एतच्छ्रुतितात्पर्यस्यैव पुराणेषु प्रतिपादित्वात् ।

तथाहि

श्रुतव्यः श्रुतिवाक्येभ्यो मन्तव्यश्रोतृपत्तिभिः ।

मत्वाच सततं ध्येय एते दर्शनहेतवः ॥

तत्र तावन्मुनिश्रेष्ठाः भ्रवणं नाम केवलं ।

उपक्रमादिभिर्लिङ्गैः शक्तितात्पर्यनिर्णयः⁴ ॥

1 Cf. मनोमहान्मतिब्रह्मा पृथुद्धिः ख्यातिर्राश्वरः ।

प्रज्ञासंनिधिनिश्चैव स्थितिश्च परिपठ्यते ॥

Śaṅkara Bhāṣya i, 4, 1.

2 *Śrīkaṇṭha Bhāṣya* p. 21, Mysore Oriental Library Series.

3 Rāmānuja’s *Vedārtha Saṃgraha*, Pandit Reprints, p. 47.

4 *Vivarana Prameya Saṃgraha*, Bengali Edn., Basumati Sahitya Mandir, Calcutta, pp. 7-8.

The exact identity of the *Purāṇa* is not however clear. There seems, however, to be some distant parallelism in tone to these verses in some of the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* verses cited by Madhva :

श्रवणं मननं चैव निदिध्यासनमेव च ।

परे गुरौ च या भाक्तिः परिचर्यादिकं हरेः ॥

The reference to श्रवण, मनन and निदिध्यासन in both the sets of verses cannot simply be accidental. Nor is it without significance that "the *Līngas* such as उपक्रम etc.," should have been referred to in both the works — the one cited by Vidyāranya and the other by Madhva. Our quest for the parentage of the verse 'उपक्रमो...' leads us to unexpected quarters. Amalananda in his *Śāstradarpana*¹ seems to discern some of the *Tātparyā Līngas* in some *Śruti* texts ! Granted that the verse 'उपक्रमो' is a genuine *Purāṇic* text, it can readily be traced to some *Śruti* text in conformity with a well-known Mīmāṃsaka dictum. It may not be entirely idle to point out for the serious consideration of scholars that Nārāyaṇa² in his commentary on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *Siddhānta Bindu* actually quotes the verse 'उपक्रमो' "in the form in which it is found in the *Tattvadīpana*" as a *Śruti* text which whatever we may think of it, is much more startling and monstrous than Madhva's mere ascription of it to "an anonymous but contemporary work known as *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* !"

However that may be, the suggestion may not after all be out of place here that the '*Purāṇa*' cited by Vidyāranya may be identical with the source referred to by Madhva as *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. Not infrequently, the texts and sources referred to by Madhva are found to be corroborated by earlier and later Advaitins. I shall bring my article to a close by referring to only one such instance of the citation of the verse :

1 श्रुतिः सच्चिदानन्दैकसमकात्मभूतं ब्रह्मोपक्रमपरांशोपसंहारिकरूप्यानात्यर्थेणावगमयन्तः नोपचारमर्हन्ति ॥ Bengali Edn., p. 656, Lotus Library, Śaka 1839.

2 उपक्रमोपसंहारावध्यासोऽश्रुवताफलं ।

अर्थवादेोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

इति श्रुत्या प्रकृतलिङ्गप्रदर्शित एव श्रुतीनां तात्पर्याक्तः ।

Siddhānta Bindu with Comm. of Nārāyaṇa, p. 238, Benares Sanskrit Series, 65, 1928.

अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखं ।

अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

quoted by Madhva from the *Skānda* in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* among a number of other verses from the same source which is corroborated by Padmapāda in his *Pañcapādika*¹ :

तथा च पौराणिकाः “ अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं ”

The verse ‘ अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं ’ is as popular and authoritative among the Vedāntins as ‘ उवक्रमोपसंहारो ’ etc. Madhva’s ascription of it to the *Skānda* is fully confirmed by Sudarśana Sūri’s classical commentary on the *Śrī Bhāṣya*² while its Purāṇic genuineness is admitted by Padmapāda.

It is not improbable that in the absence of such an earlier admission of and cross reference to the Purāṇic authenticity of this verse, Madhva’s ascription of it to the *Skānda* would certainly have been questioned by born sceptics and Madhva-phobes like Mr. Chintamani. Providence alone has to be thanked for yet preserving — sometimes prominently and at other times completely hidden from the searching eyes of enthusiastic researchers — some traces of the numerous texts cited by Madhva ; and in the interests of historical and critical scholarship let us hope that many more texts and sources referred to by Madhva will in the near future be brought to light.

1 *Pañcapādika* p. 82,

2 *Śrūta Prakāśa* of Sudarśana, pp. 11-12, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889.

PALI CHRONICLES

BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, Ph. D., M. A., B. L.

The Dipavaṃsa or the Chronicle of the Island of Laṅkā is the earliest known work of its kind. It puts together certain well-known traditions handed down among the Buddhists of Ceylon, sometimes in a clumsy manner. Its diction is in places unintelligible, and its narrative is dull and interrupted by repetitions. Its authorship is unknown. The canonical model of this work is to be traced in a number of verses in the Parivārapāṭha of the Vinayapitaka. The Dipavaṃsa is an authoritative work well-known in Ceylon at the time of Buddhaghosa, and as a matter of fact the great Pali commentator has copiously quoted from it in the introductory portion of his commentary on the Kathāvatthu. Dr. Oldenberg has cited and translated the book into English. He says that the Dipavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa are in the main nothing but two versions of the same substance both being based on the historical introduction to the great commentary of the Mahāvihāra. The Dipavaṃsa follows step by step and almost word for word the traces of the original. According to Oldenberg the Dipavaṃsa cannot have been written before 302 A. D. because its narrative extends till that year. If we compare the language and the style in which the Dipavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa are written, it leaves no doubt as to the priority of the former. The Dipavaṃsa was so popular in Ceylon that King Dhātusena ordered it to be recited in public at an annual festival held in honour of an image of Mahinda in the 5th century A. D. (Vide the Dipavaṃsa edited by Oldenberg, Introduction, pp. 8-9). Dr. Geiger has published a valuable treatise known as the Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa (1904).¹ An idea of its contents can be gathered from the summary given below.

1 Dipavaṃsa und: Mahāvaṃsa und die geschichtliche überlieferung in Ceylon, Leipzig, 1905. Translated into English by E. M. Coomaraswamy, Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, Colombo, 1908.

The first chapter gives an account of Buddha's first visit to the island of Lāṅkā. Gotama obtained perfect enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree. He surveyed the whole world and perceived the island of Lāṅkā, a dwelling place fit for saints. He foresaw that Mahinda, the son of the Indian King Aśoka, would go to the island and propagate the Buddhist faith there. Accordingly he placed a divine guard over the island. He visited Lāṅkā and drove the Yakkhas, inhabitants of the place, out of the island.

Buddha visited the island for the second time when the island was on the verge of being destroyed by a terrific war which ensued between the mountain-serpents and the sea-serpents. The Lord exhorted them to live in peace and all the serpents took their refuge in him.

His third visit to the island was in connection with an invitation he got from the Nāga King Maṇiakkhika of Kalyāṇī.

The Dipavaṃsa then traces Buddha's descent from the Prince Mahāsammata, the first inaugurated king of the earth. Gotama Buddha was the son of Suddhodana, chief of Kapilavatthu and Rāhulabhadda was the son of Gotama. Mention is also made of many other kings who reigned before Suddhodana and after Mahāsammata.

A brief account of the first two Buddhist Councils and the different Buddhist schools that arose after the second council is also given. The first council was held under the presidency of Mahākassapa and under the patronage of Ajātasattu. The first collection of Dhamma and Vinaya was made with the assistance of Upāli and Ānanda. The second council was held during the reign of Kālāsoka. The Vajjiputtas proclaimed the ten indulgences which had been forbidden by the Tathāgata. The Vajjiputtas seceded from the orthodox party and were called the Mahāsāṃghikas. They were the first schismatics. In imitation of them many heretics arose, e. g., the Gokulikas, the Ekabbohari-kas, the Bahussutiyas, etc. In all there were eighteen sects—seventeen heretical and one orthodox. Besides these there were other minor schools.

The *Dīpavaṃsa* further deals with the reign of the great Indian King Asoka, the grandson of Candagutta and son of Bimbisāra, and the notable events that took place in his time. It was during his reign that Mahinda went to Ceylon and spread Buddhism there with the help of the Ceylonese King Devānampiyatissa who was a contemporary of Asoka the Great. It is said that this great king built 84,000 vihāras all over the Jambudvīpa. The third Buddhist Council was held under the presidency of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa and under the patronage of Asoka. After the council was over the Thera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries (Gandhāra, Mahisa, Aparantaka, Mahārāṭṭha, Yona, Himavata, Suvāṇṇabhūmi, and Lāṅkā) for the propagation of Buddha's religion.

The *Dīpavaṃsa* gives a brief account of the colonization of Ceylon by Vijaya, son of the King of Vaṅga, and also a systematic account of kings of Ceylon who ruled after Vijaya and their activities in promoting the cause of Buddhism. Sihabāhu, King of Vaṅga, enraged at the bad conduct of Vijaya, his eldest son, banished him from his kingdom. Vijaya with a number of followers went on board a ship and sailed away on the sea. They in course of their journey through the waters visited the sea-port towns of Suppāraka and Bharukaccha and later on came to Lāṅkā-dīpa. Vijaya and his followers set on colonising this country and built many cities. Vijaya became the first crowned king of the island. After Vijaya we find a long list of kings among whom Devānampiyatissa stands out pre-eminent.

It was during the reign of Devānampiyatissa that Buddhism was first introduced into Lāṅkā through Mahinda who at the instance of Thera Moggaliputta Tissa, the President of the Third Council, went to Ceylon for the propagation of the Buddhist faith there. It may be noted here that the great Indian King Asoka was a contemporary of Devānampiyatissa and that they were in friendly terms. Asoka sent a branch of the Bodhi-tree of the Tathāgata to Lāṅkā which was planted with great honour at Anurādhapura.

After the death of Devānampiyatissa Buddhism was not in a flourishing condition. The immediate successors of the king

were weak. The *Damīlas* came over to *Laṅkā* from Southern India and occupied the country. The people were tired of the foreign yoke. They found in *Dutthagāmaṇi*, a prince of the royal family, who could liberate the country from the foreign domination. *Dutthagāmaṇi* at the head of a huge army drove the *Damīlas* out of the country. He was the greatest of the Sinhalese kings. Whether as a warrior or a ruler, *Dutthagāmaṇi* appears equally great. He espoused the cause of Buddhism and built the *Lohapāsāda*, nine storeys in height, the *Mahāthūpa*, and many other *vihāras*. Indeed Buddhism was in its most flourishing condition during the reign of this great king.

Dutthagāmaṇi was followed by a number of kings, among them *Vatthagāmaṇi* was the greatest. His reign is highly important for the history of Buddhist literature. It was during his reign that the *bhikkhus* recorded in written books the text of the three *Pitakas* and also the *Aṭṭhakathā*. *Vatthagāmaṇi* was also succeeded by a number of important kings. The account of the kings of Ceylon is brought down to the reign of king *Mahāsena* who reigned for 27 years from circa 325 to 352 A. D.

At the close of the 4th century A. D. there existed in Ceylon, an older work, a sort of chronicle of the history of the island from very early times. The work was a part of the *Aṭṭhakathā* which was composed in old Sinhalese prose mingled with Pali verses. The work existed in the different monasteries of Ceylon and on it, the *Mahāvamsa* is based. The chronicle must have originally come down to the arrival of *Mahinda* in Ceylon; but it was later carried down to the reign of *Mahāsena* (4th century A. D.) with whose reign the *Mahāvamsa* comes to an end. Of this work, the *Dīpavamsa* presents the first clumsy redaction in Pali verses. The *Mahāvamsa* is thus a conscious and intentional rearrangement of the *Dīpavamsa* as a sort of commentary on the latter.

Author The author of the *Mahāvamsa* is known as *Mahānāman*.

A well-known passage of the *Cūlavamsa* alludes to the fact that King *Dhātusena* bestowed a thousand pieces of gold and gave orders to write a

dīpikā on the Dīpavaṃsa. This dīpikā has been identified by Fleet with the Mahāvamśa; and if this identification be correct, then the date of its origin is more precisely fixed. Dhātusena reigned at the beginning of the 6th century A. D., and about this time the Mahāvamśa was composed.

The historicity of the work is established by the following
Historicity of the work facts :—

(a) As to the list of kings before Asoka, namely the nine Nandas, Candagutta and Bimbisāra, the statements concerning Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu as contemporaries of the Buddha agrees with canonical writings, and in respect of the names, with those of the Brahmanic tradition. In the number of years of Candagutta's reign, the Ceylonese tradition agrees with the Indian. Candagutta's councillor Cānaka (Cānakya) is also known.

(b) The conversion of Ceylon, according to the Chronicles, was the work of Mahinda, son of Asoka, and this is confirmed to a considerable extent by the fact that Asoka twice in his inscriptions (Rock Edicts XIII & II) mentions Ceylon to be one of the countries where he sent his religious missionaries, and provided for distribution of medicines. It receives further support from Hiuen Tsang who mentions Mahendra, a brother of Asoka, expressly as the man by whom the true doctrine was preached in Sinhala. Even before Mahinda, relations existed between India and Ceylon, for the chronicles relate that Asoka sent to Devānampiyatissa presents for his sacred consecration as the king of Ceylon.

(c) An inscription from a relic-casket from Tope No. 2 of the Sāñci group gives us the name of Sapurisasa Mogaliputasa who, according to the tradition, presided over the third Council under Asoka's rule. There is no doubt that he is identical with Moggalliputta Tissa of the Ceylonese Chronicles.

(d) The narrative of the transplanting of a branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from Uruvelā to Ceylon finds interesting confirmation in a representation of the story on the reliefs of the lower and middle architrave of the East gate of the Sāñci stūpa.

(e) The contemporaneity of Devānampiyatissa with Asoka is established on the internal evidence of the Dipavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa, as well as by archæological evidence. Another contemporaneity of King Mahāvarman reigning from C. 352-379 A. D. with Samudragupta is established by the Chinese account of Wang Hientse.

(f) There is a general historical reminiscence underlying the stories of three Buddhist Councils recorded in the Chronicles.

But the historical statements are not always infallible; and the longer the interval between the time of the events and the time when they are related, the greater the possibility of an error, and the more will be the influence of legend noticeable. As regards the period from Vijaya to Devānampiyatissa, there is a considerable distrust of tradition and traditional chronology. Also during the period from Devānampiyatissa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there is matter for doubt. But in the later periods we encounter no such difficulties and impossibilities. The chronology is credible, the numbers appear less artificial, and the accounts more trustworthy.

In the ninth month after Buddhahood, when the Lord Buddha was dwelling at Uruvelā, he one day personally went to Laṅkā and converted a large assembly of Yakkhas as well as a large number of other living beings. After this, he came back to Uruvelā but, again in the fifth year of his Buddhahood when he was residing in the Jetavana, he, in an early morning out of compassion for the Nāgas went to the Nāgadīpa (apparently the north-western part of Ceylon) where he preached the five moral precepts and established the three refuges and converted many Nāgas. The Lord then came back to Jetavana, but, again, in the eighth year of his Buddhahood the Teacher, while dwelling in the Jetavana, went to Kalyāṇi and preached the Dhamma, and then came back to Jetavana.

Text — the visit of
the Tathāgata

The Chapter II gives a long list of kings beginning with Mahāsammata from whose race sprang the Great Sage, the Tathāgata. Descendants of this race of kings ruled in Kuśāvati, Rāja-

The Race of Mahā-
sammata

gaha and Mithilā, and they reigned in groups in their due order. One group whose chief was Okkāka ruled at Kapilavatthu and was known as the Śākyas. In this line was born Yasodharā, a daughter of king Jayasena, and she was married to Sakka Añjana. They had two daughters, Māyā and Pajāpatī, who were both married to Suddhodana, a grandson of Jayasena and son of Sihahanu. The son of Suddhodana and Māyā was the Lord Buddha whose consort was Bhaddakaccānā, son was Rāhula, great friend was Bimbisāra, and another contemporary was Bimbisāra's son, Ajātasattu.

The first Buddhist Council¹ was convened three months after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha (at Kuśinārā)
 The Three Buddhist Councils in the Sattapanni Cave at Rājagaha where his nearest disciples followed by seven hundred thousand Bhikkhus and a large number of lay men assembled to establish the most important rules of the Order as, according to their recollection, the Master himself had laid down. The work of the compilation was entrusted to Thera Ānanda and Thera Upāli. Thera Upāli spoke for the Vinaya, and Thera Ānanda for the rest of the dhamma; and Thera Mahākassapa seated on the Thera's chair asked questions touching the Vinaya. Both of them expounded them in detail and the Theras repeated what they had said. The work of the First Council took seven months to be completed, and the Council rose after it had finished compilation of the Dhamma, and the canon came to be known as Thera Tradition.

A century after the parinibbāna of the Buddha when Kālāsoka was the reigning king, there were at Vaiśālī many Bhikkhus of the Vajji clan who used to preach the ten points of Buddhism. But the Theras of Pāvā and Avanti with their leader, the great Thera Revata, declared that these ten points were unlawful, and wanted to bring the dispute to a peaceful end. All of them followed by a large number of Bhikkhus then went to Vaiśālī and there met the Bhikkhus of the Vajji clan. Kālāsoka too

1 Prof. Przyluski's *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pt. I, pp. 8, 30, 66 and 116 should be consulted. - Read also *Buddhist Councils* by Dr. P. C. Majumdar published in the *Buddhist Studies*, Edited by Dr. B. C. Law.

went there, and, hearing both sides, decided in favour of the true faith, held out by the Theras of Pāvā and Avantī. The brotherhood then came together finally to decide, and Revata resolved to settle the matter by an *Ubbāhikā* wherein four from each of the two parties were represented. Thera Revata, in order to hold a council, chose also seven hundred out of all that troop of Bhikkhus, and all of them met in the *Vālikārāma* and compiled the Dhamma in eight months. The heretical Bhikkhus who taught the wrong doctrine founded another school which came to bear the name *Mahāsāṅghika*.

The Third Council was held under better circumstances during the reign of King Asoka at the *Asokārāma* in *Pāṭaliputta* under the guidance and presidentship of Thera *Moggalliputta Tissa*. Within hundred years from the compilation of the doctrine in the Second Council, there arose eighteen different sects in the Buddhist Order with their respective schools and systems, and another schism in the Church was threatened. At this time, 218 years from the parinibbāna of the Buddha, Asoka came to the throne, and after a reign of four years, he consecrated himself as king *Pāṭaliputta*. And, not long after, *Sāmaṇera Nigrodha* preached the doctrine to the king, and confirmed him with many of his followers in the refuges and precepts of duty. Thereupon the King became bountiful to the Bhikkhus and eventually entered the doctrines. From that time the revenue of the brotherhood was on the increase but the heretics became envious, and they too, taking the yellow robe and dwelling along with the Bhikkhus, began to proclaim their own doctrines as the doctrine of the Buddha, and carry out their own practices even as they wished. They became so unruly that King Asoka was obliged to arrange an assembly of the community of Bhikkhus in its full numbers at the splendid *Asokārāma* under the presidency of Thera *Moggalliputta Tissa*. Then did the king question one by one on the teachings of the Buddha. The heretical Bhikkhus expounded their wrong doctrine, upon which the king caused to be expelled from the Order all such Bhikkhus and their followers. Only the rightly believing Bhikkhus answered that the Lord taught the *Vibhajja*-doctrine, and this was supported and confirmed by Thera *Moggalliputta Tissa*. Three thousand learned Bhikkhus were then

selected to make a compilation of the true doctrine under the guidance of the great Thera, and they completed their work at the Asokārāma in nine months.

The coming and consecration of Vijaya and others Vijaya of evil conduct was the son and prince regent of King Sihabāhu, ruler of the kingdom of Lāla; but he was banished from the kingdom by his father for his many intolerable deeds of violence. Boarded on a ship with his large number of followers with their wives and children, Vijaya first landed at Suppāraka, but afterwards, embarking again landed in Lankā in the region called Tambapaṇṇi, where he eventually married and consecrated himself as king and built cities. After his death, he was succeeded by his brother's son Paṇḍuvāsudeva who married Subhaddakaccāna and consecrated himself as king. He was in his turn succeeded by his son Abhaya who was followed by Paṇḍukābhaya. Between Paṇḍukābhaya and Abhaya, there was no king for 17 years.

Devānaṃpiyatissa Paṇḍukābhaya's son Mutasiva followed his father and was succeeded by his second son Devānaṃpiyatissa whose friend was Dhammāsoka whom he had never seen, but to whom he was pleased to send a princeless treasure as a gift. Dhammāsoka appreciated the gift, and sent as a return-gift another treasure to Devānaṃpiyatissa who was now consecrated as King of Lankā.

After the termination of the Third Council, Moggalliputtatissa Thera, in order to establish the religion in adjacent countries, sent out learned and renowned missionaries to Kāśmīr, Gandhāra, Mahisamaṇḍala, Varavāsa, Aparāntaka, Mahārattḥa, Suvannabhūmi (Burma), and to the Yona country. To the lovely island of Lankā, he sent there Mahinda, the Theras Itṭhiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla to preach the religion.

Mahinda Mahinda, then a monk, came out to Lankā with four Theras Saṅghamittā's son Sumana, the gifted Sāmapera. Even on their landing many devas, nāgas and supannas were converted to the doctrine, and he with his followers entered the capital city where people thronged to see him, and he preached the true faith

to them. The wise king Devānampiyatissa heard him explain some of the miracles and teachings and episodes of the life of the Buddha, and became one of his most devoted patrons. The king then built for the great Thera the Mahāvihāra, henceforth known as the Mahāmeghavanārāma which the Thera accepted. Next the king built for him and his followers, another vihāra on the Cetiya-pabbata, henceforth known as the Cetiya-pabbata-vihāra, which too the Thera accepted. The wise king then became eager to enshrine one of the relics of the Great Lord the Buddha in a stūpa, so that he and the followers of the faith might behold the Conqueror in his relics and worship him. Upon his request Mahinda sent Sumana to King Dhammāsoka with the instruction to bring from him the relics of the Sage and the alms-bowl of the Master, and then to go to Sakka in the fair city of the gods to bring the collar-bone of the Master from him. Sumana faithfully carried out the instruction, and when he landed down on the Missaka mountain with the relics, the king and the people were all filled with joy, and thirty thousand of them received the Pabbajjā of the Conqueror's doctrine. Later on the king sent his nephew and minister Aritṭha again to Dhammāsoka to bring the Bodhi-Tree, which at Dhammāsoka's approach, severed of itself and transplanted itself in the vase provided for the purpose. Aritṭha then came back on board a ship across the ocean to the capital with the holy tree and a gay rejoicing began. With the Bodhi-tree came also Therī Saṅghamittā with eleven followers. The Tree and its Saplings were planted with due ceremony at different places, and royal consecration was bestowed on them. Under the direction of the Thera Mahinda who converted the island, Devānampiyatissa continued to build vihāras and thūpas one after another, and thus ruled for 40 years, after which he died. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, prince Uttiya; but in the eighth year of his reign, the great Thera Mahinda, who had brought light to the island of Lankā died at the age of sixty; and the whole island was struck with sorrow at his death, and the funeral rites were observed with great ceremony.

After a reign of ten years Uttiya died, and was followed by Mahāsiva, Sūratissa, two Damiḷas, Senā and Guttaka, Asela and

Elāra, a Damiḷa from the Cola country, in succession. Elāra was killed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi who succeeded the former as King.

Gāmaṇi, for such was his original name, was born of prince Kākavaṇṇatissa, overlord of Mahāgāma, and Vihāradevī, daughter of the King of Kalyāṇi. Gāmaṇi was thus descended through the the dynasty of Mahānāga, second brother of Devānaṃpiyatiṣṣa. Kākavaṇṇatissa had another son by Vihāradevī named Tissa, and both Gāmaṇi and Tissa grew up together. Now when they were ten and twelve years old, Kākavaṇṇatissa who was a believing Buddhist, wanted his sons to make three promises : first, they would never turn away from the Bhikkhus, secondly, the two brothers would ever be friendly towards each other, and, thirdly, never would they fight the Damiḷas. The two brothers made the first two promises but turned back to make the third, upon which their father became sorry. Gāmaṇi gradually grew up to sixteen years, vigorous, renowned, intelligent, majestic and mighty. He gathered round him mighty and great warriors from far and near villages, as well as from the royal and noble families. Gāmaṇi developed a strong hatred towards the Damiḷas who had more than once usurped the throne of Laṅkā, and became determined to quell them down. Now he had gathered a strong army of brave and sturdy warriors round him, he approached his father for permission to make war on the Damiḷas. But the king, though repeatedly requested, declined to give any such permission. As a pious Buddhist devoted to the cult of ahimsā, he could not give permission for war that would result in bloodshed and cruelty. He also dissuaded the warriors to fight for his sons. Gāmaṇi, thereupon, became disgusted with his father, and went to Malaya; and because of his anger and disgust towards his father, he was named as Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. In the meantime King Kākavaṇṇatissa died, and there arose a deadly scramble for the throne between the two brothers, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Tissa. Two battles were fought with considerable loss of life, and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi eventually became victorious. Peace was then concluded and the two brothers began to live together again. He took some time to provide for his people who had suffered during the last wars and then went out to fight against the Damiḷas. He overpowered Damiḷa Chatta, conquered Damiḷa Tittthamba and many

other mighty *Damīla* princes and kings. Deadly were the wars that he fought with them, but eventually he came out victorious and united the whole of *Laṅkā* into one kingdom. *Gāmaṇi* was then consecrated with great pomp, and not long after he himself consecrated *Maricavaṭṭi vihāra* which he had built up. Next took place the consecration of the *Lohapāsāda*, but the building up of the Great *Thūpa* was now to be taken up. He took some time to the obtaining of the wherewithal, i. e., the materials of the *thūpa* from different quarters, and then began the work in which masons and workmen from far and near did take part and at the beginning of which a great assemblage of *Theras* from different countries took place. When the work of the building had considerably advanced, the king ordered the making of the Relic-chamber in which the relics were afterwards enshrined with due éclat, pomp, and ceremony. But ere yet the making of the *chatta* and the plaster work of the monument was finished, the king fell ill which later on proved fatal. He sent his younger brother *Tissa*, and asked him to complete the *thūpa*, which *Tissa* did. The ill king passed round the *Cetiya* on a palanquin and did homage to it, and left with *Tissa* the charge of doing all the work that still remained to be done towards it. He then enumerated some of the pious works he had done in his life to the *Theras* and *Bhikkhus* assembled round his bed, and one of the *Theras* spoke to him on the unconquerable foe of death. Then the king became silent, and he saw a golden chariot came down from the *Tusita* heaven. Then he breathed his last, and was immediately seen reborn and standing in celestial form in a car that had come down from the *Tusita* heaven.

Dutthagāmaṇi was succeeded by his brother *Saddhā Tissa* who ruled for 18 years, and built many *cetiya*s and *vihāra*s. He was followed by *Thūlathana*, *Laṇḍatissa*, *Khallāṭanāga* and *Vatthagāmaṇi*. The last named was a famous king during whose reign the *Damīlas* became powerful and again usurped the throne. *Vatthagāmaṇi* was thus followed by *Damīla Puḷahattha*, *Damīla Bāhiya*, *Damīla Panayamāraka*, *Damīla Pilayamāraka* and *Damīla Dāthika*. But the *Damīlas*

A Long Line of Kings—

Ten kings

were dispossessed of their power not long after by Vattagāmaṇi, who now ruled for a few more years.

After his death, his adopted son Mahācūḷi Mahātissa reigned
 Eleven kings for 14 years with piety and justice. He was followed by Coranāga, Tissa, Siva, Damiḷa Vaṭuka, Brahman Niliya, Queen Anulā, Kūṭakappa Tissa, Bhātikābhaya, and Mahādāthika Mahānāga¹. All of them had short reigns and were builders of vihāras and cetiyas. Anulā was a notorious queen and to her love intrigues at least four kings, Siva, Tissa, Damiḷa Vaṭuka and Brahman Niliya, lost their lives. Except Tissa, they were all upstarts and they rightly deserved the fate that had been theirs.

After Mahādāthika's death, Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya, his son,
 Twelve kings followed him on the throne. He was followed by Kanirajānutissa, Cūḷābhaya, Queen Sivali, Ilanāga, Candamukhasiva, Yasalālakatissa, Subharāja, Vaṅkanāsikatissaka, Gajabāhukagāmaṇi and Mahallaka Nāga in succession. Most of these kings were worthless, and their merit lay only in the building or extension of vihāras and other religious establishments and in court-intrigues. Two of them Ilanāga and Subharāja were however comparatively more noted for their acts of bravery and valour exhibited mostly in local wars.

After the death of Mahallanāga, his son Bhāṭikatissaka reigned
 Thirteen kings for 24 years. He was followed in succession by Kanitthatissaka, Kujjanāga, Kuñcanāga, Sirināga Tissa (I), Abhayanāga, Sirināga II, Vijayakumāraka Saṃghatissa, Sirisaṃghabodhi, Goṭhābhaya and Jetthatissa who are grouped together in a chapter entitled "Thirteen Kings" in the Mahāvamsa. Scarcely there is anything important enough to be recorded about these kings, besides the fact that most of them ruled as pious Buddhists always trying to further the cause of the religion by the foundation and extension of religious

In the list of ancient kings of Ceylon the name of Dērubhatikātissa appears after Damiḷa Vaṭuka (Vide Geiger, *Mahāvamsa*, Introduction, p. XXXVII).

The Jetṭhatissa was succeeded by his younger brother, Mahāsena, who ruled for 27 years and during whose reign, most probably, the Mahāvamsa was given its present form. Originally it ended with the death of King Dutthagāmaṇi, but now it was probably brought up-to-date.

Dr. Kern says in his *Manual of Indian Buddhism* that the *Mahāvamsa* deserves a special notice on account of its being so highly important for the religious history of Ceylon. Dr. Geiger who has made a thorough study of the Pali chronicles, has edited the text of the *Mahāvamsa* for the P. T. S. London and has ably translated it into English for the same society, with the assistance of the late Dr. M. H. Bode. G. Turnour's edition and translation of this text are now out of date. Prof. Geiger has translated it into German. Mrs. Bode has retranslated it into English and Dr. Geiger himself has revised the English translation. There is a commentary on the *Mahāvamsa* known as the *Mahāvamsaṭīkā* (*Wamsatthapakāsini* revised and edited by *Batuwantudawe* and *Nāṇissara*, Colombo, 1895) written by *Mahā-*

nāma of Anurādhapura. This commentary is helpful in reading the text. It contains many additional data not found in the text. Readers are referred to the Mahāwanse, ed. by Turnour, Ceylon, 1837, Mahāvamsa revised and edited by H. Sumaṅgala Baṭu-wantudawe, Colombo, 1883, and Cambodian Mahāvamsa by E. Hardy, J. R. A. S. 1902. There is a Sinhalese translation by Wijesinha, Colombo, 1889 (chapter & verse).

It has long been ascertained that both the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa owe their origin to a common source – the Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa of the Mahāvihāra monastery, which, evidently was a sort of chronicle of the history of the island from very early times, and must have formed an introductory part of the old theological commentary (Atthakathā) on the canonical writings of the Buddhists. Both Oldenberg and Geiger, the celebrated editors of the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa respectively, are of opinion that this Atthakathā-Mahāvamsa was composed in Sinhalese prose, interspersed, no doubt with verse in the Pali language. This book (Mahāvamsa-Atthakathā) existed in various recensions in the different monasteries of the island, and the author of both the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa borrowed the materials of their works from one or other of the various recensions of that Atthakathā. This borrowing presumably was independent, and quite in their own way; but even then, in the main, they are nothing but two different versions of the same thing. But as the Dīpavamsa had been composed at least one century and a half earlier than the Mahāvamsa, it shows perhaps more faithfulness to the original, i. e., to the Atthakathā, for, as Oldenberg points out, that the “author of the Dīpavamsa borrowed not only the materials of his own work, but also the mode of expression, and even whole lines, word for word, from the Atthakathā. In fact, a great part of the Dīpavamsa has the appearance not of an independent, continual work, but of a composition of such single stanzas extracted from a work or works like the Atthakathā”.¹ But the author of the Mahāvamsa is not so fettered in his style or execution. Coming as he did at least one

1 Dīpavamsa (Oldenberg), Introduction, p. 6.

century and a half later (i. e., the beginning of the 6th century A. D.) than the author of the *Dīpavaṃsa* when the islanders had attained much more freedom in their learning and writing of the Pali language, he evidently showed greater ease and skill in his use of the language, as well as in his style and composition, and finally, a more free and liberal use of the material of his original.

It is well-known that Mahānāma was the author of the *Mahāvamsa*, whereas we are completely in the dark as to the authorship of the *Dīpavaṃsa*. A further proof of the fact that both the authors were indebted to a common source is provided by a very striking coincidence of the two narratives, namely, that both the chronicles finish their accounts with the death of King Mahāsena who flourished about the beginning of the 4th century A. D. It was not much later that the *Dīpavaṃsa* was composed, but as the *Mahāvamsa* was composed still later, we might as well expect the bringing down of the narrative to a later date. But this was not the case, apparently for the fact that their common source, the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa* of the Mahāvihāra monastery, as shown by Oldenberg, was very intimately connected with King Mahāsena with whose reign the glorious destinies of the monastery came practically to an end, and there the *Aṭṭhakathā* could only logically stop its account¹.

But the historical writers of the Mahāvihāra fraternity did not at once bring down their account to the reign of Mahāsena. The *Aṭṭhakathā Mahāvamsa* seems to have originally brought down its account only to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon; but it was later on continued and brought down to the reign of Mahāsena, where both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* as already noticed came to an end.

That the *Dīpavaṃsa* was well-known to the author of the *Mahāvamsa* is evident from the very arrangement of the chapters and events of the narrative, so much so that the *Mahāvamsa* seems to be more an explanatory commentary on the earlier chronicle. The account in the *Dīpavaṃsa* is condensed, and the sequence of events and characters presents the form more of a list and cata-

¹ *Dīpavaṃsa* (Oldenberg), Introduction, p. 8.

logue than of any connected account. The Mahāvamsa, on the other hand, is elaborate, more embellished, and seems rather to explain the catalogue of events and characters of the earlier chronicle so as to give it the form of a connected narrative. Geiger rightly thinks in this connection that "the quotation of the Mahāvamsa refers precisely to the Dipavamsa."¹ The well-known passage of the Cūlavamsa (38.59), ' Datvā sahaṣṣaṃ dīpetum Dīpavamsaṃ samādisi ' which Fleet translates as ' he (King Dhātusena) bestowed a thousand (pieces of gold) and gave orders to write a *dīpikā* on the Dīpavamsa ', also lends support to this view², for this *dīpikā*, Fleet says, is identical with Mahāvamsa.

It is interesting to compare the more important chapters of the two chronicles to see how their subject matters agree or differ. We have already indicated that their contents are almost identical ; in the Dīpavamsa they are condensed, and in the Mahāvamsa elaborate. After an identical account of the race of Mahāsammata, both the earlier and later chronicles proceed to give a more or less detailed account of the three Buddhist Councils. The account of the First Council is almost the same. Five hundred chosen Bhikkhus assembled under the leadership of Mahākassapa in the Sattapanna cave at Rājagaha and composed the collection of the Dhamma and the Vinaya. The Dīpavamsa mentions the fourth month after the Master's death as the time at which the first council was held. This was the second Vassa-month, i e., Sāvāṇa. This date is substantially confirmed by that provided by the Mahāvamsa which mentions the bright half of Āsāḍa, the fourth month of the year as the beginning of the Council. But as the first month was spent in preparations, the actual proceedings did not begin till the month of Sāvāṇa. The account of the Second Council too is substantially the same. It was brought about by the *dasavattḥūni* of the Vajjians of Vesālī, a relaxation of monastic discipline ; and 700 Bhikkhus took part in the discussion of the Council. It was held in the 11th year of the reign of Kālāsoka ; there is, however, a slight discrepancy about the

1 Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. p. XI.

2 Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. p. XI — where Geiger quotes Fleet.

locality where the Council was held. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions *Vālikārāma*, whereas the *Dīpavamsa* mentions the *Kūṭāgārasālā* of the *Mahāvana* monastery as the place of the Council. The tradition of the schism in the second Council is also identical in the two chronicles. The *Dīpavamsa* states that the heretical monks held a separate Council called the *Mahāsāṃgīti*, and prepared a different redaction of the Scriptures. The tradition is also noticed in the *Mahāvamsa* where it is related that they formed a separate sect under the name *Mahāsāṃghika*. The account of the Third Council is identical. It was held at *Pāṭaliputta* under the presidency of *Tissa Moggaliputta* and lasted for nine months.

The list of Indian Kings before Asoka and pieces of historical account connected with them, the traditional date of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa, and the duration of reigns of individual Indian kings are always almost identical in both the chronicles. The story of the conversion of Ceylon, that the coming of *Vijaya* and his consecration, the list and account of Ceylonese Kings up to *Devānampiyatissa* and that of the latter's contemporaneity with king *Dhammāsoka* are for all practical purposes the same. But before the two chronicles take up the account of *Mahinda's* coming to Ceylon, the *Mahāvamsa* inserts a somewhat elaborate account of the conversion of different countries under the efficient missionary organisation of *Moggaliputta Thera*. The *Mahāvamsa* thus rightly stresses the fact that it was a part of the religious policy of the great Thera that *Mahinda* came to Ceylon. Here again the accounts of the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* are identical; then follow the identical accounts of *Mahinda's* entry into the capital, his acceptance of the *Mahāvihāra* and that of the *Cetiyaṭṭhapaṭṭha-vihāra*, the arrival of the relics, the receiving and coming of the Bodhi Tree, and the *Nibbāna* of the Thera *Mahinda*. From *Vijaya* to *Devānampiyatissa* the tradition and traditional chronology are almost identical; there is only a discrepancy about the date of *Devānampiyatissa* himself. The earlier chronicle states that king *Devānampiyatissa* was consecrated king in the 237th year after the Buddha's death, whereas the *Mahāvamsa* places it on the first day of the bright half of the ninth

month, Maggasira (Oct.-Nov.), showing a discrepancy involved probably in the chronological arrangement itself.¹

The account of the kings from the death of Devānampiyatissa to Dutthagāmaṇi is also identical in the two chronicles. But the Mahāvamsa is much more detailed and elaborate in its account of King Dutthagāmaṇi giving as it does in separate chapters the topics of the birth of prince Gāmaṇi, the levying of the warriors for the war of the two brothers Gāmaṇi and Tissa, the victory of Dutthagāmaṇi, the consecrating of the Maricavattī vihāra, the consecrating of the Lohapāsāda, the obtaining of the wherewithal to build the Mahāthūpa, the beginning of the Mahāthūpa, the making of the relic-chamber for Mahāthūpa, the enshrining of the relics and finally his death : whereas the Dipavamsa touches and that also in brief, the two accounts only in their main outline.

The list and account of the later Kings from Dutthagāmaṇi to Mahāsena in the Dipavamsa are very brief. In the Mahāvamsa, however, though the essential points and topics are the same, the accounts differ considerably in their detail which may be due to the more liberal use by the author of the original as well as of other historical and traditional sources than the Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamsa. He might have also used those indigenous historical literature and tradition that might have grown up after the author of the Dipavamsa had laid aside his pen. This is apparent from a comparison of the respective accounts of any individual king, say, the last King Mahāsena. Thus the Dipavamsa relates that while he was in search of really good and modest Bhikkhus, he met some wicked Bhikkhus ; and knowing them not he asked them the sense of Buddhism and the true doctrine. Those Bhikkhus, for their own advantage, taught him that the true doctrine was a false doctrine. In consequence of his intercourse with those wicked persons, he performed evil as well as good deeds, and then died. The Mahāvamsa account is otherwise. It gives the story of his consecration by Saṅghamittā, the account of the vicissitudes of the Mahāvihāra, how it was left desolate for nine years, how a hostile party succeeded in obtaining the king's

1 See Mahāvamsa, (Geiger), Intro. pp. xxxi foll.

sanction for destroying the monastery, why for this fault of the king the minister became a rebel, how the Mahāvihāra was reconstructed and came to be again inhabited by Bhikkhus, how an offence of the gravest kind was made against Thera Tissa and how he was expelled, how the King built the Maṇihira-vihāra destroying the temples of some Brahmanical gods, and how he built many other ārāmas and vihāras, and a number of tanks and canals for the good of his subjects.

One such instance as just noticed is sufficient to explain the nature of the difference in the accounts of individual kings as given in the two chronicles. The duration of ruling years as given to individual kings is in most cases identical; there are only a few discrepancies, e. g., with regard to the reigns of Sena and Gutta, Lajjitissa (the Mahāvamsa gives the name as Lañjattissa), Niliya, Tissa Yasalāla, Abhaya and Tissa. In the case of Sena and Gutta, the Dipavamsa gives the duration of rule as 12 years, whereas the Mahāvamsa gives it as 22 years. The Dipavamsa gives 9 years 6 months to Lajjitissa, whereas the later chronicle gives 9 years 8 months. Niliya is given 3 months in the earlier chronicle, but in later chronicle he is given 6 months. Tissa Yasalāla is given 8 years 7 months and 7 years 8 months respectively; and the order of the rule of Abhaya and Tissa of the Dipavamsa is transposed in the Mahāvamsa as Tissa and Abhaya, and Abhaya is given only 8 years in place of 22 as given by the Dipavamsa.

In the early days of the study of the Ceylonese Chronicles, scholars were sceptical about their value as sources of authentic historical tradition and information. But now after lapse of years when the study of Indian and Ceylonese history has far advanced, it is now comparatively easy for us to estimate their real value.

Like all chronicles, the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa contain germs of historical truth buried deep under a mesh of absurd fables and marvellous tales. But if they do contain mainly myths and marvels and read more like fantasies, they are like other chronicles of their time. This, however, should not be used as any argument for completely rejecting the chronicles as positively

false and untrustworthy. It is, however, important that one should read them with a critical eye as all records of popular and ecclesiastical tradition deserve to be read. Buried in the illumination of myths, miracles and legends there are indeed germs which go to make up facts of history, but they can only be gleaned by a very careful elimination of all mythical and unessential details which the pious sentiment of the believer gathered round the nucleus. "If we pause," Geiger rightly says, "first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive hearers or readers."¹

The very fact that both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa* are based on the earlier *Aṭṭha-kathā-Mahāvāṃsa*, a sort of a chronicle which itself was based upon still earlier chronicles, ensures us in our belief that they contain real historical facts, for, with the *Aṭṭhakathā*, the tradition goes back several centuries, and becomes almost contemporary with the historical incidents narrated in the chronicle.

Even in the very introductory chapters, there are statements which agree with other canonical writings, and find confirmation in our already known facts of history. Such are the statements that Bimbisāra was a great friend of Buddha, and both Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu were contemporaries of the Master. There does not seem to be any ground for rejecting the tradition of the chronicles that Gotama was five years older than Bimbisāra, though the duration of the rule ascribed to each of them disagrees with that ascribed by the *Purāṇas*. But whatever that might be, there can hardly be any doubt as to the authenticity of the list of Indian kings from Bimbisāra to Asoka provided by the chronicles. The Jain tradition has, no doubt, other names; "this" as pointed out by Geiger, "does not affect the actual agreement. There can be no doubt that the nine Nandas as well as the two forerunners

1 *Mahāvāṃsa* (Geiger), Intro., p. xv.

of Asoka, Candagutta and Bindusāra, were altogether historical personages." But more than this is the complete agreement of the Ceylonese and Paurāṇic tradition in the duration of reign, namely 24, ascribed to Candagutta. The discrepancy of the two traditions in respect of regnal duration of Bindusāra and Asoka, namely 3 years and 1 year respectively, is almost negligible. Still more interesting is the name Canakka (Cāṇakya) the Brahman Minister of Candagutta, who was known to the authors of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvamsa*.

So much with regard to the historical value of the Ceylonese chronicles in respect of Indian history. But more valuable are the chronicles with regard to the history of Ceylon. As regards the oldest period from Vijaya to Devānaṃpiyatissa the chronicles are certainly untrustworthy to the extent that the duration of years ascribed to each reign seems incredible in view of the fact that they appear to be calculated according to a set scheme, and present certain insuperable difficulties of chronology with regard to one or two reigns, e. g., of King Paṇḍukābhaya and Muṭasiva. Moreover, the day of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon has been made to synchronise with the date of Buddha's death, which itself is liable to create a distrust in our mind. But even in the first and the earliest period of Ceylonese history, there are certain elements of truth which can hardly be questioned. Thus there is no ground for doubting the authenticity of the list of kings from Vijaya to Devānaṃpiyatissa; nor is there any reason for rejecting the account of Paṇḍukābhaya's campaigns, as well as the detailed account of the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa, which seem decidedly to be historical. We have also sufficient reason to believe the contemporaneity and friendship of Tissa and Asoka who exchanged greetings of gifts between themselves.

As for the period from Devānaṃpiyatissa to Mahāsena, the chronicles may safely but intelligently be utilised as of value. There are no doubt gaps in the traditional chronology which have been carelessly filled in, notably in the period from Devānaṃpiyatissa to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi but after Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there is no such careless and fictitious filling in of gaps, nor any set up system of chronology, and on the whole the list of kings

and their duration of reigns are creditable. But even where the chronology is doubtful, there is no ground whatsoever for doubting the kernel of historical truth that lies mixed up with mythical tales in respect of the account of each individual reign, say, for example, of the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. It may, therefore, be safely asserted that the Ceylonese chronicles can be utilised, if not as an independent historical source, at least as a repository of historical tradition in which we can find important confirmatory evidence of our information with regard to early Indian and contemporary Ceylonese history.

But the Chronicles must be considered to be of more value for the ecclesiastical history not only of Ceylon but of India as well. With regard to this there are certain notices in the Chronicles that have helped us to start with almost definite chronological points which are equally important in respect of the political history of the continent and its island. One such fixed point is provided by the Chronicles where it has been stated that 218 years after the Sambuddha had passed into Nirvāṇa when Asoka was consecrated. This corner stone has helped us to ascertain one of the most knotty and at the same time most useful starting point of Indian history, namely, the year of the Buddha's parinirvāṇa and his birth, which, according to the calculation based on the date just cited are 483 B. C. and 563 B. C. respectively.¹

Next in point of importance with regard to the history of Buddhism is the conversion of the island by Mahinda, who is represented in the Chronicles as a son of Asoka. Historians have doubted the tradition in view of the fact that there is no mention of it in the numerous edicts and inscriptions of Asoka. Geiger has very ably shown that this argument is at least an *argumentum e silentio* and can hardly be conclusive. The tradition of the Chronicles is unanimously supported by the tradition of the country itself, and finds further confirmation in the account of Yuan Chwang who expressly states that the conversion of Ceylon was the work of Mahendra or Mahinda, who is, however, represented as a brother of Asoka. But it must not be understood that Ceylon was converted all on a sudden by Mahendra or Mahinda.

¹ See Mahāvamsa (Geiger); Secs. 5 and 6. Introduction.

Similar mission must have been sent earlier; "a hint that Mahinda's mission was preceded by similar missions to Ceylon is to be found even in *Dipavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, when they relate that Asoka, sending to *Devānampiyatissa*, with presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha." ¹

Geiger has also been able to find very striking confirmation of the history of the religious missions as related in the *Chronicles* in the relic inscriptions of the *Sāñci stūpa* No. 2.² He has thus pointed out that *Majjhima* who is named in the *Mahāvamsa* as the teacher who converted the Himalaya region and *Kassapagotta* who appears as his companion in the *Dipavamsa* are also mentioned in one of the inscriptions just referred to as 'pious *Majjhima*' and 'pious *Kassapagotta*, the teacher of the Himalaya.' In another inscription also *Kassapagotta* is mentioned as the teacher of the Himalaya. *Dundubhissara* who is also mentioned in the *Chronicles* as one of the *Theras* who won the Himalaya countries to Buddhism, is mentioned in another inscription as *Dadabhisāra* along with *Gotiputta* (i. e., *Kotiputta Kassapagotta*). The *Thera*, i. e., *Moggaliputta Tissa* who is described in the *Chronicles* as having presided over the Third Buddhist Council is also mentioned in another inscription at *Moggaliputta*. These facts are guarantee enough for carefully utilising the *Chronicles* as an important source of information for the early history of Buddhism.

This would be far more evident when we would consider the accounts of the three Buddhist Councils as related in the two *Chronicles*. The authenticity of the accounts of these Councils had during the early days of the study of the two *Chronicles* often been doubted. But it is simply impossible to doubt that there must lie a kernel of historical truth at the bottom of these accounts. As to the First Council, both the northern and southern traditions agree as to the place and occasion and the President of the Council. As to the second Council, both traditions agree as to the occasion and cause of the first schism in the

1 *Mahāvamsa*, (tr.) p. XIX.

2 *Ibid*, pp. XIX - XX.

Church, namely, the relaxation of monastic discipline brought about by the Vajjian monks. As to the place of the Council, the northern tradition is uncertain, but the southern tradition is definite inasmuch as it states that it was held in Vesālī under King Kālāsoka in 383/2 B. C. and led to the separation of the Mahāsāṃghikas from Theravāda. The Ceylonese tradition speaks of a Third Council at Pāṭaliputra in the year 247 B. C. under King Dharmāsoka which led to the expulsion of certain disintegrating elements from the community. The Northern tradition has, however, no record of a Third Council, but that is no reason why we should doubt its authenticity. Geiger has successfully shown that the "distinction between two separate Councils is in fact correct. The Northern Buddhists have mistakenly fused the two into one as they confounded the Kings, Kālāsoka and Dharmāsoka, one with another. But traces of the right tradition are still preserved in the wavering uncertain statements as to the time and place of the Council." ¹

The succession of teachers from Upāli to Mahinda as provided by the Chronicles is also interesting from the view point of the history of early Buddhism. The succession list which includes Upāli, the great authority on Vinaya at the time of the Buddha, Dāsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, Moggaliputta Tissa and Mahinda, may not represent the whole truth, they even might not all be Vinaya-pāṃokkhā, i. e., authorities on Vinaya; but the list presents at least an aspect of truth, and is interesting, presenting as it does, 'a continuous synchrological connexion between the history of Ceylon and India.' The list can thus be utilised for ascertaining the chronological arrangement of early Indian history as well as of the teachers of early Buddhism.

The Chronicles can still more profitably be utilised as a very faithful record of the origin and growth of the numerous religious establishments of Ceylon. They are so very elaborately described and the catalogue seems to be so complete that a careful study may enable us to frame out a history of the various kinds of religious monastic establishments, e. g., stūpas, vihāras, cetiyas, etc. of Ceylon. Thus the history of the Mahāvihāra, the Abhaya-

1 *Mahāvamsa*. (Geiger's Tr.) pp. LIX - LX and ff.

giri vihāra, the Thūpārāma, Mahāmeghavanārāma, and of the host of others is recorded in elaborate detail. Incidentally they refer to the social and religious life led by the monks of the Order as well as by the lay people. It is easy to gather from the chronicles that the great architectural activity of the island began as early as as the reign of Devānampiyatissa and continued unabated during each succeeding reign till the death of Mahāsena. The numerous edifices, tanks and canals whose ruins now cover the old capitals of the island were built during that period, and their history is unmistakably recorded in the Chronicles. Religious ceremonies and processions are often vividly described, and they give us glimpses of the life and conditions of the time. Not less interesting is the fact, often times related as a part of the account of these religious edifices, of very close intercourse with more or less important religious centres of India, namely Rājagaha, Kosambī, Vesālī, Ujjeni, Pupphapura, Pallava, Alasanda (Alexandria) and other countries. Every important function was attended by brother monks and teachers from the main land to which the Ceylonese Kings and people turned for inspiration whenever any question of bringing and enshrining a relic arose. There are also incidental and stray references which are no less valuable. The Mahāvamsa informs us that King Mahāsena built the Maṇihiravihāra and founded three other vihāras, destroying temples of the (Brahmanical) gods. It shows that Brahmanical temples existed side by side, and religious toleration was not always the practice.

As for the internal political history and foreign political relations with India, especially with the Damiḷas, the Chronicles seem to preserve very faithful records. No less faithful is the geographical information of India and Ceylon as supported by them. But most of all, as we have hinted above, is the information contained in them, in respect of the history of Buddhism and Buddhist establishments of the island. There is hardly any reason to doubt the historicity of such information.

The Cūḷavamsa¹ is not an uniform and homogeneous work. It

1 Edited by Dr. W. Geiger in two volumes for the P. T. S., London, translated into English by Geiger and Mrs. R. Rickmers, 1929 and 1930. The translation with copious notes and a learned introduction is very useful.

Cūlavamsa is a series of additions to, and continuations of the *Mahāvamsa*. The *Mahāvamsa* is the work of one man - Mahānāma, who compiled the work during the reign of Dhātusena in the 6th A. D. But the single parts of the *Cūlavamsa* are of different character, written by different authors at different times. The first who continued the chronicle was according to Sinhalese tradition the Thera Dhammakitti. He came from Burma to Ceylon during the reign of King Parakkamabāhu II in the 13th century A. D.

Between chapters 37 and 79 no trace is found of the commencement of a new section. This part of the chronicle seems to be the work of the same author. So it is clear, if the Sinhalese tradition is authentic, then about three quarters of what we call the *Cūlavamsa* (Pages 443 out of 532 pages of Geiger's edition of the *Cūlavamsa*) were composed by Dhammakitti.

The second section of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with the reign of Vijayabāhu II, the successor of Parakkamabāhu I, and ends with that of Parakkamabāhu IV. Hence it follows, the second part of the *Cūlavamsa* consists of the Chapters from 80 to 90 both inclusive.

The third portion begins with the chapter 91 and ends with the chapter 100.

The *Mahāvamsa* gives us a list of kings from Vijaya, the first crowned king of Ceylon to Mahāsena. Mahānāma simply followed here his chief source, the *Dīpavamsa*, which also ends with King Mahāsena. The *Cūlavamsa*, however, begins with the reign of King Sirimeghavanna, son of King Mahāsena and ends with Sirivikkamarājasīha.

The first section of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with Sirimeghavanna and ends with Parakkamabāhu I. Evidently this portion gives a chronological account of 78 kings of Ceylon. Altogether eighteen paricchadas are devoted to the glorification of the great national hero of the Sinhalese people, Parakkamabāhu I. Revd.

R. S. Copleston has called this portion of the *Cūlavamsa* the 'epic of Parakkama'. This king was noted for his charity. He not only made gifts of alms to the needy, but also to the Bhikkhus. As a warrior this king also stands out pre-eminent. The Colas and Damilas came to Laṅkā from Southern India and occupied Anurādhapura. Parakkama fought many battles with them and drove them out of the country and became king of the united Laṅkā. He then espoused the cause of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He built many great vihāras and thūpas. He also constructed many vāpis and uyyānas.

The second portion of the *Cūlavamsa* begins with Vijayabāhu II and ends with Parakkamabāhu IV. Thus it refers to 23 kings of Ceylon.

The third section begins with Bhuvanekabāhu III, and ends with Kittisirirājasīha. Thus it refers to 24 kings.

The last chapter gives a brief account of the last two kings, e. g., Sirirājādhirājasīha and Sirivikkamarājasīha.

There are in both the *Chronicles*, the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, interesting references to Pali texts affording very useful material for the history of Pali literature as well as of early Buddhism in Ceylon.

List of Pali Texts in
the Ceylonese Chron-
icles.

In the *Dīpavamsa* references are not only made to Vinaya texts, the five collections of Sutta Piṭaka, the three Piṭakas, the five Nikāyas (they are not separately mentioned), and the nine-fold doctrine of the Teacher comprising the Sutta, Geyya, Veyyākaraṇa, Gāthā, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Jātaka, Abbhuta and Vedalla but also to the seven sections of the Abhidhamma, the Paṭisambhidā, the Niddesa, the Piṭaka of the Āgamas and the different sections namely, Vaggas, Paññāsakas, Saṃyuttas and Nipātas into which the Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas are respectively divided. Mention is also made separately of the two Vibhaṅgas of Vinaya, namely, Parivāra and Khandhaka, the Cariyā-Piṭaka, the Vinaya Piṭaka, the Pātimokkha and the Aṭṭha-kathā. We find further mention of the Kathāvatthu of the

Abhidhamma, the *Peṭavattthu* and the *Saccasamyutta* of the *Vimānavattthu*. Of *Suttas* and *Suttantas* separate mention is made of the *Devadūta Sutta*, *Bālapaṇḍita Suttanta*, *Aggikkhaṇḍa Suttanta*, *Āsivisa Suttanta*, *Āsivisūpama Suttanta*, *Anamataggiya Sutta*, *Gomayapiṇḍaovāda Suttanta*, *Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta* and the *Mahāsamaya Suttanta*.

INDEX OF PALI TEXTS IN THE *DĪPAVAṂSA*

- Abhidhamma, 5, 37 ; 7, 56.
- Abbhuta, 4, 15.
- Aggikkhandha Suttanta, 14, 12.
- Anamataggiya Suttanta, 14, 45.
- Atthakathā, 20, 20.
- Āgamas, 4, 12 ; 4, 16.
- Āsivisa Suttanta, 14, 18.
- Āsivisūpama Suttanta, 14, 45.
- Itivuttaka, 4, 15.
- Udāna, 4, 15.
- Kathāvatthu, 7, 41 ; 7, 56.
- Khandhaka, 7, 43.
- Geyya, 4, 15.
- Gāthā, 4, 15.
- Gomayapiṇḍaovāda Suttanta, 14, 46.
- Cariyā Piṭaka, 14, 45.
- Jātaka, 4, 15 ; 5, 37.
- Dhutaṅga, (precepts), 4, 3.
- Dhamma, 4, 4 ; 4, 6.
- Dhātuvāda precepts, 5, 7.
- Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta, 14, 46.
- Devadūta Sutta, 13, 7.
- Nipātas, 4, 16.
- Niddesa, 5, 37.
- Nikāyas, 7, 43.
- Piṭakas, 4, 32 ; 5, 71 ; 7, 30 ; 20, 20.
- Parivāra, 5, 37 ; 7, 43.
- Paññāsakas, 4, 16.

- Petavatthu, 12, 84.
 Pātimokkha, 13, 55.
 Paṭisambhidā, 5, 37.
 Vinaya, 4, 3 ; 4, 4 & 6 ; 7, 43.
 Veyyākaraṇa, 4, 15.
 Vedalla, 4, 15.
 Vaggas, 4, 16,
 Vimānavatthu, 12, 85.
 Bālapandita Suttanta, 13, 13.
 Vinaya Piṭaka. 18, 19 ; 18, 33 ; 18, 37.
 Vibhaṅgas, 7, 43.
 Mahāsamaya Suttanta, 14, 53.
 Sutta, 4, 15 ; 4, 16.
 Sutta Piṭaka (pañcanikāya) 18, 19 ; 18, 33.
 Saṃyuttas, 4, 16.

In the Mahāvamsa too we find numerous mentions of Pali texts. But, curiously enough, references to independent texts are much less comprehensive than that of the earlier chronicle ; though mention of Suttas and Suttantas mainly of the three Nikāyas, the Āṅguttara, the Majjhima and the Saṃyutta, as well as of the Sutta Nipāta and the Vinaya Piṭaka are much more numerous. There are also several references to Jātakas. The three Piṭakas are often mentioned as important texts, but only the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya are mentioned by name, and that too only once or twice in each case.

INDEX OF PALI TEXTS IN THE MAHĀVAMSA

- Abhidhamma Piṭaka, 5, 150.
 Āsivisūpamā (Āṅguttara Nikāya), 12, 26.
 Anamatagga Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya), 12, 31.
 Aggikkhandopama Sutta (Āṅguttara), 12, 34.
 Kapi Jātaka, 35, 31.
 Kālakārāma Suttanta, 12, 39.
 Khajjaniya Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.) 15, 195.
 Khandhakas (Sections of the Mahāvagga and
 Cullavagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka), 36, 68.

Gomayapindisutta (Saṃyutta N.), 15, 197.

Cūlahatthipadūpama Suttanta, (Majjhima N.), 14, 22.

Cittayamaka (Ref. Yamakappakaraṇa of the Abhidhamma),
5, 146.

Jātaka (tales), 27, 34 ; 30, 88.

Tipiṭaka, 4, 62 ; 5, 84 ; 5, 112 ; 5, 118 & 119 ; 5, 210 ; 27, 44.

Tittira Jātaka, 5, 264.

Devadūta Suttanta (Majjhima N.), 12, 29.

Dhammacakkapavattana Suttanta (Mahāvagga of the V. P.),
12, 41 ; 15, 199.

Bālapaṇḍita Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.), 15, 4.

Brahmajāla Suttanta, 12, 51.

Vessantara Jātaka, 30, 88.

Vinaya, 5, 151,

Mahā-Nārada-Kassapa Jātaka, 12, 37.

Mahāppamāda Suttanta (Saṃyutta N.), 16, 3.

Maṅgala Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), 32, 43.

Mahāmaṅgala Sutta (Sutta N.), 30, 83.

Mahāsamaya Suttanta (Dīgha Nikāya), 30, 83.

Samacitta Sutta (Samacittavagga in the Duka Nipāta of the
Aṅguttara Nikāya), 14, 39,

Sutta Piṭaka, 5, 150.

The Buddhaghosuppatti deals with the life and career of
Buddhaghosuppatti Buddhaghosa, the famous commentator, less
authentic than the account contained in the
Cūlavamsa. It gives us an account of Bud-
dhagosa's boyhood, his admission to the priesthood, his father's
conversion, voyage to Ceylon, Buddhaghosa as a witness, permis-
sion to translate scriptures, his objects attained, return to India
and his passing away. The book is written in an easy language.
It is more or less a historical romance. As to the historical value
of this work readers are referred to my work, 'The Life and Work
of Buddhaghosa' (Ch. II, pp. 43-44). The Buddhaghosuppatti
has been edited by James Grey and published by Messrs. Luzac &
Co., London. Grey has also translated the book into English.

The stories in the Milindapañha, the Mahāvamsa and the Buddhaghosuppatti are so similar that one doubts it very much that the author of this work borrowed the incidents from the Milindapañha and the Mahāvamsa and grafted them on to his own.

A critical study of the Buddhaghosuppatti does not help us much in elucidating the history of Buddhaghosa. The author had little authentic knowledge of the great commentator. He only collected the legends which centred round the remarkable man by the time when his work was written. Those legends are mostly valuable from the strict historical point of view. Grey truly says in his introduction to the Buddhaghosuppatti that the work reads like an "Arthurian Romance". The accounts given by the Buddhaghosuppatti about the birth, early life, conversion etc., of Buddhaghosa bear a great similarity to those of Milinda and Moggaliputta Tissa. In the interview which took place between Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta, the latter is said to have told Buddhaghosa thus, "I went before you to compile Buddha's word. I am old, have not long to live and shall not therefore be able to accomplish my purpose. You carry out the work satisfactorily."

In Buddhadatta's Vinayavinicchaya we read that Buddhadatta requested Buddhaghosa to send him the commentaries when finished that he might summarise them. This request was complied with by Buddhaghosa. Buddhadatta summarised the commentary on the Abhidhamma in the Abhidhammāvatāra and the commentary on the Vinaya in the Vinayavinicchaya. The above statement in the Vinayavinicchaya which is more authoritative than the Buddhaghosuppatti is in direct contradiction to the statement in the latter book. The author has made a mistake in the 6th chapter of the Buddhaghosuppatti in which it is stated that Buddhaghosa rendered the Buddhist scriptures into Māgadhi. In the seventh chapter of the same book we read that after the lapse of three months when he completed his task, the works of Mahinda were piled up and burnt. Buddhaghosa translated Sinhalese commentaries into Māgadhi and not the texts themselves. Had it been so there would not have been any occasion for burning the works of Mahinda. On the other hand they would

have been carefully preserved as the only reliable and authentic interpretation of the sacred texts. It has been distinctly stated in the Mahāvamsa that the texts only existed in the Jambudīpa and Buddhaghosa was sent to Ceylon to translate the Sinhalese commentaries into Māghadhī. If the tradition recorded in the Mahāvamsa is to be believed, then only we can get an explanation for the destruction of Mahinda's works.

The Saddhammasaṅgaha is a collection of good sayings and teachings of the Master. There are prose and poetry portions in it. It consists of nine chapters. It was written by Dhammakīyābhīdhānathera. It has been edited by Nedimāle Saddhānanda for the P. T. S. London. The Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta, Aṅguttara and Khuddaka Nikāyas are mentioned in it. The books of the Abhidhammapitaka are referred to in this work. There are references in it to the Vajjiputtakas of Vesālī and Yasā's stay in the Kūṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana. It is mentioned in this book that Moggalliputta Tissa recited the Kathāvatthu in order to refute the doctrines of others. This treatise contains an account of the missionaries sent to various places to establish the Buddha's religion. Thera Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhāra, Mahādeva Thera to Mahisamaṇḍala, Rakkhita Thera to Vanavāsi, Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita Thera to Aparāntaka, Mahādhammarakkhita Thera to Mahārattā, Mahārakkhita Thera to the Yonaka region, Majjhima Thera to the Himalayan region, Sonaka and Uttara to the Suvannabhūmi and Mahinda Thera to Lankā with four other Theras, Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala, and Bhaddasāla. Besides there is a reference to the Buddha preaching his dhamma to the inhabitants of the city of Campaka (Campakanagaravāsinaṃ),

The Sandesa Kathā has been edited by Minayeff in J. P. T. S. 1885. It is written mostly in prose. It dilates on many points, e. g., Mahinda, Mahāvijaya, Kittisirirājasīha, etc.

The Mahābodhivamsa has been edited by Mr. Strong for the P. T. S. London. The Sinhalese edition by Mahābodhivamsa Upatissa and revised by Sarandada, Colombo, 1891, deserves mention. There is a Sinhalese translation of this

work in twelve chapters. Prof. Geiger says that the date of the composition of the Mahābodhivaṃsa is the 10th century A. D. (Dipavaṃsa and Mahāvaṃsa, p. 79).

The Thūpavaṃsa contains an account of the thūpas or dagobas built over the relics of the Buddha. Readers' attention is invited to a paper on this book by Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe (J. R. A. S. 1898). This work has not yet been edited by the P. T. S. London. A Sinhalese edition of this work is available (Ed. by Dhammaratana, Paeliyagoda, 1896).

The Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vaṃsa or the history of the temple of Attanagalla consists of eleven chapters written in simple Pali. Eight chapters deal with an account of King Siri-Saṅghabodhi and the last three chapters deal with the erection of various monumental and religious edifices on the spot where the king spent his last days. It reads like a historical novel. J. D'Alwis's English translation with notes and annotations deserves mention. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera has undertaken an edition and English translation of this work in the Indian Historical Quarterly. There is an edition of this work published in Colombo 1909 under the title, "Attanagalu-vihāra-vaṃsa".

The Dāṭhāvaṃsa or the Dantadhātuvāṃsa means an account of the tooth relic of the Buddha Gautama. Dāṭhāvaṃsa Vaṃsa means chronicle, history, tradition, etc. Literary it means lineage, dynasty, etc. The Dāṭhāvaṃsa is a quasi-religious historical record written with the intention of edifying and at the same time giving an interesting story of the past. This work is noteworthy because it shows us Pali as a medium of epic poetry.

The work was written by Mahāthera Dhammakitti of the city of Pulatti. He was a disciple of Sāriputta, the author of the Sāratthadīpani ṭīkā, Sāratthamañjusā ṭīkā, Ratanapañcika ṭīkā on the Candavyākaraṇa and the Vinayasamgraha. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Māgadhibhāṣā, Tarkaśāstra (logic), Vyākaraṇa (grammar).

Kāvya (poetry), Āgama (religious literature), etc. He was fortunate enough to secure the post of a Rājaguru. Two Vamsas of the Pali Buddhist literature, the Sāsana-vamsa and the Gandhava-vamsa, tell us that it was he who composed the Dāthāvaṃsa (P. T. S. Ed. p. 34 and J. P. T. S. 1886, p. 62). We know from the Dāthāvaṃsa that originally it was written by the poets in the Sinhalese language and later on rendered into Māgadhibhāsā by Dhammakitti for the benefit of the people of the other countries at the request of Parakammo, the Commander-in-chief of Ceylon, who placed Līlāvati on the vacant throne of Ceylon. This Līlāvati, later on, became the queen of Parākramavāhu, the king of Ceylon (verses 4-10).

The Dāthāvaṃsa was written in the Buddha era 845 during the reign of King Kittisirimeghavanna of Ceylon. Kern says that it is also known as Daladāvaṃsa composed about 310 A. D. It was translated into Pali in A. D. 1200 under the name of the Dāthāvaṃsa (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 89).

The Dāthāvaṃsa is an important contribution to the history of Pali Buddhist literature. It is an historical record of the incidents connected with tooth-relic of the Buddha. It is as important as the Mahāvaṃsa and the Dipavaṃsa. The history of Ceylon would be incomplete without it.

The Dāthāvaṃsa is a specimen of fine poetry. It contains Pali and some debased Sinhalese words. Its vocabulary is rich. Kern rightly remarks that it belongs to the class of compendiums and contains repetitions of passages from more ancient works with more or less apocryphal additions. (Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 9). In the first chapter, stanzas are written in Jagatī chanda. Sixty stanzas are written in Vamsastha vṛtta and the last two in Srag-dharāvṛtta; in the second chapter, stanzas are written in Anuṣṭupachanda in Pathyavaktra vṛtta and in Mandākranta vṛtta; in the third chapter, the stanzas are written in triṣṭhupa chanda in Upajāta, Indravajra, Upendravajra and Sikharanī vṛttas; in the fourth chapter, stanzas are written in Atisakvarichanda, in Mālinī, Sād-

dulavikriḍita vṛttas; and in the last chapter, stanzas are written in Sakvarichanda in Vasantatilaka and Sragdharā vṛttas.

The Dāṭhāvamsa gives an account of the tooth-relic of the Buddha which is said to have been brought
 Subject-matter to Ceylon by Dantakumāra, Prince of Kalinga from Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga. It consists of five chapters, a brief summary of which is given below.

Chapter I. While the Buddha Dīpaṅkara was coming to the city of Rammavati at the invitation of the people of the city, a hermit named Sumedha showed his devotion by laying himself down on the muddy road which the Buddha was to cross. The Buddha walked over his body with his disciples. Sumedha prayed to the Buddha Dīpaṅkara that he might be a Buddha himself in future. Dīpaṅkara granted him the boon whereupon he set himself in all earnestness, to fulfil the ten pāramitās (perfections). The hermit was in heaven prior to his last birth, At the instance of the gods, he was reborn in Kapilavastu in the family of Suddhodana and in the womb of Mahāmāyā. As soon as he was reborn, he stood up and looked round and was worshipped by men and gods. He went seven steps northwards. He was named Siddhattakumāra. Three palaces suitable for the three seasons of the year, were built for him. While going to the garden, he saw an old man, a diseased man, a dead man and a hermit. He then made up his mind to renounce the worldly life. With the help of the gods he left the palace and reached the river Anomā and on the banks of the river, he cut off his hair and threw it upwards to the sky. Indra got the hair and built a caitya over it which is still known as Cūlamāṇi Caitya. A potter brought a yellow robe, a beggar's bowl, etc. for him. He put on the yellow robe and left the Rājagaha. Thence he went to Uruvelā and made strenuous efforts for six years to acquire bodhi (enlightenment). In the evening of the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, he went to the foot of the Bodhi-tree and sat on a seat made of straw and defeated Māra's army. In the last watch of the night he acquired supreme knowledge. After the attainment of Bodhi, he spent a week, seated on the same seat at the foot of the Bo-tree, enjoying the bliss of emancipation. He spent another

week, looking at the Bodhi tree, with steadfast eyes. Another week was spent by him at a place called Ratanaghara near the Bodhi tree, meditating upon paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination). He then went to the foot of the Ajapālanigrodha tree where he spent a week in meditation. He went to Mucalinda-nāgabhavana where he was saved by the nāga from hailstorm. He then visited the Rājāyatana. Thence he started for Isipatana-migadāva to preach his first sermon known as Dhammacakkapavattana but on the way two merchants, Tapussa and Bhallika, offered him madhupiṇḍika (a kind of food prepared with honey and molasses). The Buddha placed them in two refuges. He then reached Isipatana on the full-moon day of the month of Āṣāḍha. He preached the Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta to the first band of five disciples headed by Āññakondañña.

Chapter II. The Buddha was thinking of doing good to the world. Nine months after his attainment of Bodhi, the Buddha made an aerial voyage to Lankā to fulfil his mission and descended on the garden named Mahānāgavana. Then he went to the meeting of the Yakkhas and terrified them by creating storm, darkness and heavy rains. The Yakkhas having been greatly troubled by these, came to the Buddha and asked for protection. In the midst of the meeting he sat down on a seat of leather but by his miraculous power he made the seat very hot and owing to the excessive heat radiating from the seat, the Yakkhas became very much distressed and the leather expanded so as to cover the whole of the island Lankā and the Yakkhas gathered together on the coast, unable to bear the excessive heat. The Giridīpa which was full of shady trees, was brought close to the island of Lankā by the Buddha and the Yakkhas, to save themselves from the extreme heat, went to the Giridīpa which was again set on its former site and thus the island of Lankā was rid of the Yakkhas. As soon as the Yakkhas left the island of Lankā, he stopped his miracle and many gods came to the island and surrounded him. The Buddha preached to the Devas dhamma and gave one of his hairs to God Sumana who built a Caitya over it on the top of the Sumanakūṭa Hill and worshipped it. Then the Buddha returned to Jetavana. Again he went to Lankā five years after his enlightenment and pacified the contest between

Cūlodara and Mahodara for a jewelled throne. Again he came to the island of Laṅkā eight years after his enlightenment being invited by a Nāga named Maṇiakkhika. The Buddha with five hundred disciples went to the house of Maṇiakkhika in Kalyāṇī. A caitya built over the seat offered by Maṇiakkhika and used and left by the Buddha, was worshipped by the Nāgas there. This caitya was named Kalyāṇī Caitya. The Buddha then visited the Sumanakūṭa Hill and left his footprints there. Thence he went to Dīghavāpī where he sat in meditation for some time. Thence he visited the site of the Bodhi-tree at Anurādhapura where also he sat in meditation for sometime. Thence he visited the Thūpārāma and finished his work in Ceylon. He preached dhamma for forty-five years and obtained parinibbāna on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in the garden named Upavattana of the Malla Kings near Kusinārā. In the first watch of the night of his parinibbāna, he preached dhamma to the Mallas, in the middle watch, he made Subhadda an arahat and in the last watch he instructed the Bhikkhus to be ardent and strenuous. Early in the morning he rose up from meditation and passed away. Many miracles were seen after his parinibbāna, e. g., the earth quaked from end to end, celestial music was played, all trees became adorned with flowers, though it was not the time for flowers to bloom. The body of the Buddha was wrapped up in new clothes and cotton, five hundred times. It was put into a golden pot, full of oil. A funeral pyre was prepared with scented wood such as sandal, twenty cubits in height and the Mall chiefs put the oil-pot in the pyre. As Mahākassapa did not arrive, fire could not be kindled because it was desired by the gods that the Buddha's body must not be burnt before Mahākassapa had worshipped it. As soon as Mahākassapa came and worshipped the dead body of the Buddha, fire was kindled. The dead body was so completely burnt as to leave no ashes or charcoal. Only the bones of the Buddha of the colour of pearl and gold remained. On account of the Buddha's desire the bones became separated excepting the four bones of the head, two collar bones and teeth. Sarabhu, a disciple of Sāriputta, went to Mahiāṅgana in Ceylon taking with him one of the collar-bones of the Buddha and built a caitya. An arahat named Khema took a left tooth relic of the Buddha and over the remaining bone relics, kings of the eight countries began to quarrel. Dona

settled the dispute and divided the bones equally among the eight countries. The kings after having received the relic, took them to their respective kingdoms, built caityas over them and worshipped them. One tooth-relic taken by Khema was given to Brahmadata, king of Kalinga who built a caitya over it and worshipped it. Brahmadata's son, Kāśirāja, succeeded his father and worshipped, like his dead father, the caitya built over the tooth relic of the Buddha. Kāśirāja's son, Sunanda, succeeded him and did the same. Sunanda's son Guhasiva, succeeded him to the throne and did the same. Guhasiva's minister who was a false believer, asked the king whether there was anything supernatural in the tooth relic of the Buddha which the king worshipped and for which valuable offerings were given by him. The king then narrated the various qualities of the tooth relic which showed miracles when prayed for. The minister gave up his false belief and became a follower of the Buddha. The heretics seeing this became very much dissatisfied. Guhasiva ordered all the Niganthas to be driven out of the kingdom. The Niganthas went to King Paṇḍu of Pāṭaliputta, who was then a very powerful king of Jambudīpa. They complained to Paṇḍu that King Guhasiva being a king subordinate to him (Paṇḍu) worshipped the bone of a dead person (that is, Buddha's relic) without worshipping Brahmā, Śiva and others whom he (Paṇḍu) worshipped and they further complained that Guhasiva ridiculed the deities worshipped by him (Paṇḍu). Hearing this King Paṇḍu grew angry and sent one of his subordinate kings called Cittayāna with a fourfold army to arrest and bring Guhasiva with the tooth relic. Cittayāna informed Guhasiva of his mission and Guhasiva welcomed him cordially, showed him the tooth relic of the Buddha and narrated to him the virtues possessed by it. Cittayāna became very much pleased with him and became a follower of the Buddha.

Chapter III. Cittayāna then informed Guhasiva of the order of King Paṇḍu. Guhasiva with the tooth relic on his head, followed by a large number of followers with valuable presents for King Paṇḍu, went to Pāṭaliputta. The Niganthas requested King Paṇḍu not to offer any seat to Guhasiva and they also

requested him to set fire to the tooth relic. A big pit of burning charcoal was dug by the king's command and the heretics after taking away the tooth relic, threw it into the fire. As soon as it came in contact with fire, fire became as cool as the winter breeze and a lotus blossomed in the fire and in the midst of the lotus, the tooth relic was placed. Seeing this wonder, many heretics gave up false beliefs but the king himself being a false believer for a long time, could not give up false belief and ordered the tooth relic to be destroyed by stone, which found its place in the sky. The Niganthas asked the king not to attach great importance to the miracles as they were not unprecedented. The tooth-relic was put in a casket and the Nighanphas were asked to take it out and throw it away but none could do so. The king declared that he who would be able to take out the tooth relic, would be rewarded. Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson recollecting the virtues of the Buddha and the deeds done by his great grandfather for the Buddha, was very much pleased to know of the declaration and went to take the tooth relic out of the casket. He praised the tooth relic much and then the tooth relic rose up to the sky and then came down to rest on the head of the great grandson of Anāthapiṇḍika. The Niganthas told King Paṇḍu that due to the influence of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson the tooth relic could rise up to the sky and come down to rest on the head of the great grandson. The Niganthas denied the influence of the relic which displayed various miracles according to the desire of Anāthapiṇḍika's great grandson. The tooth relic was thrown into a moat. Cittayāna advised the king that he should follow dhamma of the Buddha because by worshipping the tooth-relic, Bimbisāra and other kings attained nirvāṇa. Thus advised he gave up false belief and brought the tooth relic with great pomp. King Guhasiva was cordially received by King Paṇḍu and both of them did many meritorious deeds.

Chapter IV. A King named Khiradhāra came to fight with King Paṇḍu who became victorious. Paṇḍu after re-establishing peace in his kingdom, sent back Guhasiva with Buddha's tooth relic to Kalinga. Dantakumāra, son of the king of Ujjain, came to Kalinga to worship the tooth relic. Guhasiva cordially wel-

came to him and became pleased to hear the qualities of Dantakumāra and afterwards gave his daughter in marriage to Dantakumāra. After the defeat of Dantakumāra his son and nephews came to Malayavana, a town near Dantapura, to take away the tooth relic by force. Fully realising the danger, Guhasiva asked his son-in-law and daughter to go to Ceylon with the tooth relic. As the king of Ceylon and his subjects were faithful to the Buddha, he thought Ceylon would be the best and safest place for the relic. At this time Mahāsena, a friend of Guhasiva, was the king of Ceylon. The son-in-law and the daughter with the relic sailed by a merchant ship from the port of Tāmralipti. The ship reached Ceylon safely with the relic.

Chapter V. Dantakumāra and his wife with the relic went to a village near the eastern gate of Anurādhapura in the ninth year of the reign of Kittisirimegha, son of Mahādisena. Dantakumāra met an Arahat and informed him of the tooth relic which he brought to Ceylon for its safety. The Arahat after hearing this went to the king and informed him of the matter. Mahādisena, the preceding king of Ceylon was a friend of Guhasiva, king of Kalinga who did not know that Mahādisena had died and his son Kittisirimegha was on the throne of Ceylon. Dantakumāra and his wife became very much grieved to know that Mahādisena was no more and his son Kittisirimegha had succeeded him on the throne. The king of Ceylon after learning from the Arahat that the tooth relic was brought to Ceylon for its safety by Dantakumāra and his wife, became very much pleased. The king and the queen of Ceylon went barefooted to Meghagirivihāra, residence of the Arahat, to receive the relic. They brought the relic to the palace and placed it on the throne with great devotion. The citizens of Ceylon, the Bhikkhus well versed in the Tripiṭakas and the Arahats came to worship it. The king knew that the colour of the relic was as white as the morning star. But finding it not to be so when it was taken out of the casket, suspicion arose in the mind of the king, but his suspicion was soon removed when the relic displayed several miracles. The king built a special temple and kept it there. All the Simhalese monks and householders assembled at Anurādhapura to worship the tooth

relic. At this time a question arose as to the section of the monks to whom the tooth relic would be entrusted for its safety and management. The king decided that the tooth relic would select its own abode. The tooth relic placed on a fully decorated elephant was taken round the city and was brought to the place where the Thera Mahinda preached his first sermon after reaching Ceylon. The King of Ceylon ruled that the relic would be taken round the city once in a year in spring. The temple where it was kept, was extended at the cost of nine lacs. After the death of Kittisirimegha, his successors such as Buddhādāsa worshipped it with devotion and protected it.¹

The Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff of St. Petersburg in the Journal of the P. T. Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa S. 1885. It is a work by a modern Burmese author of unknown date. It is a mixture of prose and poetry. It contains an account of hair relics of the Buddha.

The Gandhavaṃsa has been edited by Minayeff in J. P. T. S., 1886. His edition is based on Burmese Gandhavaṃsa manuscripts. It is a small and interesting outline of the history of Pāli books. It is written mostly in prose. Besides the books of the canon, there is contained in it a sketch of the history of more modern Pāli works far more detailed than that in the Sāsana-vaṃsa. A list of authors and their works as stated in the Gandhavaṃsa is given below :

The Dāṭhāvaṃsa has been edited in Devanāgarī character and translated into English by Dr. B. C. Law and published by Messrs. Motilal Banarsidas, Proprietors of the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. Besides, there are two Sinhalese editions (by Terunnanse and Sīlā-laṅkāra), and a P. T. S. (London) edition published in 1884 in J. P. T. S. There is another English translation of this work by Mutu Coomaraswami published by Messrs. Trübner & Co., London in 1874. A French version of this work appeared in Paris in 1884 under the " Le Dāṭhāvaṃsa, ou, Histoire de la dent relique du Buddha Gotama ; poème épique Pāli de Dhammakitti. " There is a commentary on the Dāṭhāvaṃsa known as the Dāṭhādhātuvāṃsaṭṭikā mentioned in an inscription of the 15th century A. D. Vide also G. Turnour — Account of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon (J. A. S. B. vi).

Mahākaccāyana :— Kaccāyanagandho, Mahāniruttigandho, Cullaniruttigandho, Nettigandho, Petakopadesagandho, Vaṇṇan-
tigandho.

Buddhaghosa :— Visuddhimaggo, Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Papañca-
sūdanī, Sāratthapakāsinī, Manorathapūraṇī, Samantapāsādikā,
Paramatthakathā, Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī, Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Jāta-
kaṭṭhakathā, Khuddakapāṭhaṭṭhakathā, Apadānaṭṭhakathā.

Buddhadatta :— Vinayavinicchayo, Uttaravinicchayo, Abhi-
dhammāvatāro, Madhuratthavilāsinī.

Ānanda :— Mūlaṭṭikā,

Dhammapāla :— Nettipakaraṇaṭṭhakathā, Itivuttaka-aṭṭha-
kathā, Udānaṭṭhakathā, Cariyāpitaka-aṭṭhakathā, Theragāthāṭṭha-
kathā, Vimānavatthussa Vimalavilāsinīnāma aṭṭhakathā, Peta-
vatthussa Vimalavilāsinī nāma aṭṭhakathā, Paramatthamañjūsā,
Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathādīnaṃ Catunnaṃ aṭṭhakathānaṃ Linattha-
pakāsinī nāma ṭīkā, Jātakatṭhakathāya Linatthapakāsinī nāma
ṭīkā, Paramatthadīpaṇī, Linatthavaṇṇanā.

Mahāvajirabuddhi :— Vinayagandhi.

Vimalabuddhi :— Mukhamattadīpaṇī.

Cullavajiro :— Atthabyakkhyānaṃ,

Dīpaṅkaro :— Rūpasiddhipakaraṇaṃ, Rūpasiddhiṭṭikāṃ Sum-
maṇāsasuttaṃ.

Culladhammapālo :— Saccasaṃkhepaṃ.

Kassapo :— Mohavicchedanī, Vimaticchedanī, Buddhavaṃso,
Anāgatavaṃsa.

Mahānāma :— Saddhammapakāsaṇī, Mahāvaṃsa, Cullavaṃsam.

Upasena :— Saddhammatṭhiṭṭikāṃ.

Moggallāna :— Moggallānabyākaraṇaṃ.

Samgharakkhita :— Subodhālaṃkāraṃ.

Vuttodayakāra :— Vuttodaya, Saṃbandhacintā, Navatṭikāṃ.

Dhammasir! :— Khuddasikkham.

Anuruddha :— Khuddasikkham.

Anuruddha :— Paramatthavinicchayaṃ, Nāmarūpaparicchedaṃ, Abhidhammatthasaṅgahapakaraṇaṃ.

Khema :— Khemaṃ.

Sāriputta :— Sāratthadīpaṇī, Vinayasaṅgahapakaraṇaṃ, Sāratthamañjusaṃ, Pañcakam.

Buddhanāga :— Vinayatthamañjusaṃ.

Navo Moggallāna :— Abhidhānappadīpikaṃ.

Vācissaro :— Sambandhacintāṭikā, Moggallānabyākaraṇassa-
ṭikā, Nāmarūpaparicchedaṭikā, Padarūpavibhā-
vaṇaṃ, Khemapakaraṇassaṭikā, Mūlasikkhāya-
ṭikā, Vuttodayavivaraṇaṃ Sumaṅgalāpasādanī,
Bālāvatāro, Yogavinicchayo, Sīmālaṃkāra, Rūpā-
rūpavibhāga, Paccayasaṅgaho.

Sumaṅgala :— Abhidhammatthavikāsaṇī, Abhidhammattha-
Vibhāvaṇī.

Dhammakitti :— Dantadhātupakaraṇaṃ.

Medhamkaro :— Jinacaritaṃ.

Saddhamasiri :— Saddatthabhedacintā.

Devo :— Sumanapakūṭavannaṇā.

Cullabuddhaghoso :— Jātattaginidānaṃ, Sotattaginidānaṃ.

Ratthapāla :— Madhurasavāhinī.

Aggavamsa :— Saddanītipakaraṇaṃ.

Vimalabuddhi :— Mahāṭikam.

Uttama :— Bālāvatāraṭikam, Liṅgatthavivaraṇaṭikam.

Kyaovāraṇṇo :— Saddabindu, Paramatthabindupakaraṇaṃ.

Saddhammaguru :— Saddavuttiṭṭipakāsaṇaṃ.

Aggapandita :— Lokuppatti.

Saddhammajotipāla :— Sīmālakārassatikā, Mātikatthadīpanī,
Vinayasamutthānadīpanī, Gandhasāro,
Paṭṭhānagāṇanāyā, Saṅkhepavaṇ-
ṇanā, Suttaniddeso, Pātimokkhaṇi-
dhanī.

Nava Vimalabuddhi :— Abhidhammapaṇṇarasatthānam.

Vepullabuddhi :— Saddasāratthajālīniyātikā, Vuttodayātikā,
Paramatthamañjūsā, Dasagaṇḍhivaṇṇanā,
Magadhabhūtāvidaggaṃ, Vidadhimukkhama-
ṇḍanaṭikā.

Ariyavaṃso :— Maṇisāramañjusaṃ, Maṇidīpaṃ, Gaṇḍabhara-
ṇaṃ, Mahānissaraṃ, Jātakavisodhanaṃ.

Civaro :— Jaṅghadāsassa ṭikāṃ.

Nava medhamkaro :— Lokadīpakasāraṃ.

Sāriputto :— Saddavuttiṭṭipakāsakassatikāṃ.

Saddhammaguru :— Saddavuttiṭṭipakāsaṇaṃ.

Dhammasenāpati :— Kārikāṃ, Etimāsamidīpakāṃ, and Maṇo-
hāraṃ.

Nānasāgaro :— Liṅgaṭṭhaviṇṇapaṇakāsaṇaṃ.

Abhaya :— Saddaṭṭhabhedacintāya mahāṭikāṃ.

Guṇasāgaro :— Mukhamattasāraṃ taṭṭikāṃ.

Subhūtaṇḍana :— Liṅgaṭṭhaviṇṇapaṇakaraṇaṃ.

Udumbaraṇāmācariyo :— Peṭakopadesassa ṭikāṃ.

Upatissācariya :— Anāgataṇṇassa aṭṭhakathā.

Buddhapiya :— Sāratthasaṅgahanāmagandho.

Dhammānandācariya :— Kaccāyanasāro, Kaccāyanabhedam,
and Kaccāyanasārassatikā.

Gandhācariyo :— Kurundīgandho.

Nāgītācariya :— Saddhasāratthajālīni.

Works of unknown authors mentioned in the Gandhavaṃsa
are stated below :—

Mahāpaccariyaṃ, Pūrāṇaṭṭikā, Mūlasikkhāṭṭikā, Līnatthapakāsinī, Nisandeho, Dhammānusāraṇī, Ñeyyāsandati, Ñeyyāsandatiyā ṭṭikā, Sumahavatāro. Lokopāññattipakaraṇaṃ, Tathāgata-pattipakaraṇaṃ, Nalātadhitavannaṇā, Siḥalavittha, Dhammapa-dāpako, Paṭipattisaṃgaho, Visuddhimaggagandhi, Abhidhamma-gandhi, Nettipakaraṇagandhi, Visuddhimaggacullaṭṭikā, Sotappa-mālīnī, Pasādaṇī, Ottasalokasūdaṇī, Subodhālaṅkāraṇaṃ Navatṭikā, Gūḷhatthaṭṭikaṃ, Bālapabbodhanaṃ, Saddatthabhedacintāya maj-jhimaṭṭikaṃ, Kārikāyaṭṭikaṃ, Etimāsamidipikāyaṭṭikaṃ, Dipavaṃsa, Thūpavaṃsa and Bodhivaṃsa.

The author of the Sāsana-vaṃsa gives an outline of Buddha's life and briefly deals with the three Buddhist Councils held during the reigns of the three Indian kings, Ajātasattu, Kālāsoka and Asoka. After the third Council was over, Moggaliputta Tissa Thera sent Buddhist missionaries to different countries for the propagation of the Buddhist faith. Paññāsāmi, the author of the Sāsana-vaṃsa, speaks of the nine regions visited by the missionaries. But of these nine, five are placed in Indo-China. Dr. Mobil Bode is of opinion that the author's horizon seems to be limited, first by an orthodox desire to claim most of the early teachers for the countries of the South (and hence to prove the purest possible sources for the Southern doctrines), and secondly by a certain feeling of national pride. According to this account, Mahā-Moggaliputta Tissa sent two separate missionaries to the neighbouring regions in the valley of the Irawaddy besides three others, who visited Laos and Pegu.

The Thera Mahinda went to Ceylon for the propagation of the faith during the reign of the Sinhalese King Devānampiyatissa who was a contemporary of the Indian King Asoka.

Sona and Uttara visited Suvannabhūmi (Sudhammapura, that is, Thaton at the mouth of Sittaung River). The author holds that even before the sending out of the missionaries to Suvannabhūmi by Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the President of the Third Buddhist Council, Buddha came here personally with a number of Bhikkhus to preach his doctrines.

Mahārakkhita Thera spread Buddhism in Yona country (the country of the Shan tribes about Zimmé).

Yonarakkhita Thera visited the country of Vanavāsī (the region round Prome) and propagated Buddhism there.

Majjhantika visited Kasmīra and Gandhāra (the Gandhāra country) which lay on the right bank of the Indus, south of Kabul and the whole country became a strong Buddhist hold.

It was through Mahā-Revata Thera that Buddhism found its way into Mahimsakamaṇḍala (Andhra country).

Mahā-Dhammarakkhita Thera went to Mahārāṭṭha (Mahā-nagara-rāṭṭha or Siam) and spread Buddhism there.

Majjhima Thera spread the Buddhist faith in Cīnarāṭṭha (the Himavantapadesa of the Ceylon books).

Now we shall deal with the history of the spread of Buddhism in Aparantarāṭṭha which (placed by European scholars west of the Punjab) is no other than the Sunāparanta of the Burmese, i. e., the region lying west of the upper Irawaddy.

The Sāsanavamsa brings before us a picture of the relations of State and Saṅgha in Burma from the time of Anuruddha, with his constant adviser, Arahanta, to the time of Meng-Dun-Meng, with his Council of Mahātheras. Those relations were one of mutual dependence. The Order, though enriched by the gifts of pious laymen, yet depends, in the last resort, upon the king. The peaceful and easy life dear to the Burmese Bhikkhu, the necessary calm for study or the writing of books, the land or water to be set apart for ecclesiastical ceremonies, all these are only secured by the king's favour and protection. This accounts for the general loyalty of the Saṅgha to the head of the State. The king's despotism is also held in check. " At the lowest, the royal gifts of vihāras and the buildings of cetiyas are either the price paid down for desired prosperity and victory, or the atonement for bloodshed and plunder ; and the despot dares not risk the terrors, the degradation, that later births, in coming time, may hold in store for him, if he injures or neglects the Saṅgha." As a rule, the king was the recognised authority in ecclesiastical affairs. This is

evident from Anuruddha's vigorous reforms. The Saṃgharāja is not the elected Head of the Order. He is appointed by the king whose favourite and tutor he usually is. It appears from the Pārupana Ekamsika controversy that the king's power to settle a religious question by royal decree is fully recognised by the Saṃgha. But we also see the king himself under his ācariya's influence, so far as to ensure his favouring the orthodox or unorthodox school, according to the views of the Saṃgharāja.

The History of Religion in Mramma is nothing more than the history of the Buddhist Order in Sunāparanta and Tambadīpa. The history of the Burmese as a nation centres in a group of cities -- Pugān, Sagain, Ava, Panyā, Amarapura, Mandalay -- each, in its turn, the seat of kings.

The early Buddhist stronghold in Burma was at Sudhammapura, the capital of Manohari, King of Pegu. Anuruddha, King of Pugan, at the instance of Arahanta, a great Thera who came from Sudhammapura to Pugān, made war with Manohari and brought the sacred relics and books to Pugān. All the members of the Saṃgha in Thaton (Sudhammapura) were also transferred to Pugān. Anuruddha further sent for copies from Ceylon, which Arahanta compared with those of Pegu, to settle the readings.

During the reign of Narapatisisa the celebrated teacher Uttarājīva came from Sudhammapura to Arimaddana and established religion there. His pupil Chapada who spent ten years studying in Ceylon, returned with four colleagues to the capital. After the death of Chapada separate schools came into existence, having their origin in certain differences that arose between the three surviving teachers -- Sivali, Tamalinda and Ānanda. The schools are together known as Pacchāgapa to distinguish them from the earlier school in Arimaddana (Purimagana) founded by Arahanta.

The reign of Kyocvā is highly important for the history of Buddhism. He was himself the author of two manuals -- Paramatthabindu and Saddabindu, for the use of his wives, and one of his daughters wrote the Vibhatyattha. We are told of the science and zeal of the women of Arimaddana, and anecdotes are told of their skill in grammar and the keenness of their wit,

In the reign of Bureng Naung religion thrived most. It is recorded of him that he even forced Buddhism on the Shāns and Muslims in the north of his kingdom.

In the reign of Siri Mahāsīhasūrasudhammarāja begins a new chapter in the history of Burmese Buddhism — the Pārupana — Ekamsika controversy. The rise and many phases of the dispute are set forth at length by the author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*. Two sects arose — the Ekamsika sect (it was so named for going about in the village with one shoulder uncovered by the upper garment, and the Pārupana sect (this school strictly observed the wearing of the upper garment on both shoulders, during the village rounds). During the reign of Bodoah Prā the question was settled for good. A royal decree established the Pārupana practices for the whole of the kingdom.

During the reign of Meng-dun-Meng we come to the last controversy, perhaps recorded because it points to the influence of the Burmese Saṃgha in Ceylon. An ancient Simā in the island (Ceylon) was the subject of dispute. The matter was brought for judgment to the Saṃgharāja at Mandalay, by deputations from both sides. The Saṃgharāja gave judgment after consulting various sacred texts. The members of both sides received presents from the king.

Thus the history of religion in Aparanta closes.

The edition of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*¹ is based on two palm-leaf Mss. in the British Museum. It is a non-canonical book and is text of Burmese authorship. It is a very interesting historical work. The author Paññaswāmi who dates his book 1223 of the Burmese Common Era 1861 A. D., was the tutor of the then reigning king of Burma and himself a pupil of the head of the Order at Mandalay. The table of contents promises a general history of Buddhism drawn from a few well-known Pali works, e. g., *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, *Mahāvaṃsa* and *Dipavaṃsa*. Events are brought up to the time of the third Council in the

Read *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa* edited by Jñānatilaka Nāyaka Punnāṇse and *Sāsanavaṃsadīpaya* by Vimālasāra Unnāṇse. Read also " The author of the *Sāsanavaṃsa* " by M. Bode, J. R. A. S., 1899, "

time of Asoka and the sending forth of missionaries by the Thera Mahāmoggaliputta Tissa. The later history of religion consists of nine chapters, which falls into two parts. The first part consists of a few legends strung together with quotations from Buddhaghosa and Dīpavaṃsa. The accounts of Ceylon and Burma seem to be more careful and complete than those of the other matters of this group. The second part covers three-fifths of the book and treats solely of the history of Buddhism in Burma proper. In part one, the section dealing with the missions strikes the key-note of the Sāsana-vamsa. A few geographical notes explained the nine regions visited by the first missionaries. A careful study of this work shows the author's intimate acquaintance with the commentaries. The style imitates that of Buddhaghosa and his successors. There are no points of philological interest. The book gives us an interesting record of the part played by the Buddha's religion in the social and intellectual life. Paññaswāmi's history is a purely ecclesiastical piece of work. This work has been edited by Mobel Bode, Ph. D. for the P. T. S. London.

THE DATE OF HARṢA - PULAKEŚIN WAR

BY

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It is well-known that the efforts of mighty Harṣa to reduce Pulakeśin II to submission did not come to fruition and that he had to return home discomfited from the Vindhya passes. But neither the foreign admirer of Harṣa, who admits the defeat of his imperial host, nor the courtly poet of Pulakeśin, who grows eloquent over this signal achievement of his patron, throws any light on the time of this war or the causes that led to it. We of course know that the war took place sometime before 634 A. D., the date of the Aihole inscription, but how many years prior to that date it was fought, is not yet definitely ascertained. As a consequence, we find divergent views held on this subject. The late Dr. Fleet had advanced the opinion that the war between Pulakeśin and Harṣa must have taken place before 612 A. D.¹ This view has been recently accepted by Dr. R. K. Mookerji in his book on Harṣa in the Rulers of India Series². Vincent Smith³, and following him, Mr. C. V. Vaidya⁴ are, on the other hand, disposed to hold that the contest has to be placed in c. 620 A. D. It will be shown in this paper on the strength of new epigraphical evidence that the war between the two aspirants for imperial power almost certainly took place sometime between 630 A. D. and 634 A. D.

The arguments in favour of the view that the battle took place before 612 A. D. are by no means very strong. It is no doubt true that later records of the successors of Pulakeśin II mention that

1 *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 351.

2 Pp. 31 ff.

3 *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 353.

4 *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 13.

Pulakeśin won the title of Paramēśvara as a result of the overthrow of Harṣa, the Imperial Sovereign of Northern India, and that the Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeśin II, dated 612 A. D.¹, assign him that title. It will be, however, not safe to conclude from this circumstance that Pulakeśin had defeated Harṣa even earlier than 612 A. D. If such were the case, the glorious achievement being quite a recent one, the plates would have gone eloquent over its description. As it is, they do not even refer to the overthrow of Harṣa. The title Paramēśvara is no doubt given to Pulakeśin, but every student of ancient Indian copper-plates knows that their writers were not usually accustomed to weigh their words very carefully when they were eulogising their patrons. That the title Paramēśvara had no vital connection with the overthrow of Harṣa, as later day copper-plate-composers claim, will be further evident from the fact that Ravikirti, the author of the Aihole *prāśasti*, does not give it to his patron in his famous composition, although he therein describes the defeat of Harṣa in picturesque language.

Nor does the testimony of Yuan Chwang prove that the two sovereigns had measured swords with each other before 612 A. D. The Chinese pilgrim no doubt remarks that after conquering the 'five Indias' within six years after his accession, Harṣa 'reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon.'² But as Walters has pointed out³, the word *ch'ui* here employed simply means 'to don the imperial robe', i. e. to reign justly and happily. That any literal interpretation of the expression, which would of course exclude the possibility of the offensive against Pulakeśin after 612 A. D., is out of question will be clear from the fact that Harṣa was actually engaged in a war with the people of Ganjam at the time of his meeting with Yuan Chwang.

Fleet seems to be under the impression that all the exploits of Pulakeśin mentioned in the Aihole inscription in verses 17 to 24 were accomplished prior to his formal coronation in 610 A. D.,

1 I. A, VI, p. 73.

2 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 343.

3 *Ibid*, p. 346.

14 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

which is being described in v. 25. If such were the case, the defect of Harṣa will have to be placed prior to 610 A. D. The verse 25, however, does not at all refer to the coronation of Pulakeśin II. After describing how Pulakeśin foiled the efforts of his uncle to deprive him of his throne, how he broke up the confederacy of Govinda and Āppayika, defeated the rulers of Vana-vāsi and Konkana, overthrow Gaṅgas, Alūpas and Mauryas and reduced Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara rulers, Ravikīrti points out that as a consequence of these exploits, Pulakeśin became the Lord Paramount of the three Mahārāṣṭras. The verse describes Pulakeśin's attainment of the imperial position in the south and has nothing to do with his accession in 610 A. D.¹

A survey of the political situation at the commencement of the careers of both the sovereigns will show that they could not have fought with each other prior to 612 A. D. Each had to spend his first few years in consolidating his position and overcoming local and hereditary foes, who were neither few nor insignificant. If we read between the lines of Yuan Chwang, we shall find that Harṣa could have thought of challenging the position of Pulakeśin only after 612 A. D. Says the Pilgrim "Proceeding *eastwards*, he (i. e. Harṣa) invaded the states that had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the five Indias". The exact meaning of the expression 'Five Indias' is unfortunately uncertain, but the expression '*proceeding eastwards*' makes it quite clear, that these six years were spent by Harṣa in fighting with his opponents exclusively in Eastern India. The pilgrim goes on to observe, "then having enlarged his territory, he increased his army, bringing his elephant corps upto 60,000, and the cavalry to 1,00,000." It must have been only after his resources were thus increased and army strengthened in 612 A. D. that Harṣa could have thought of attacking his neighbours in the west or in the south.

1 Cf. विधिवदुपचिताभिः शक्तिभिः शक्रकल्य- ।

स्तिष्ठिरपि गुणोच्चैः स्वैश्च माहाकुलदैः ॥

अगमदधिपतित्वं यो महाराष्ट्रकाणां ।

नवनवतिसहस्रग्रामभाजां त्रयाणाम् ॥

Nor was Pulakeśin powerful enough to accept the challenge of Harṣa before 612 A. D. The Hyderabad plates make it clear that he had ascended the throne in 610 A. D. Pious history, as manufactured by later chroniclers, no doubt asserts¹ that Maṅgalīśa voluntarily surrendered the crown to his nephew Pulakeśin II, when the latter came of age; 'for is it ever conceivable that a scion of Cālukya family would ever depart from the path of virtue?' Contemporary documents, however, tell a different tale, and we know that instead of handing over the kingdom to his nephew, Maṅgalīśa fought with him to the bitter end in order to secure the succession of his own son and perished in the effort.² The fratricidal war encouraged the feudatories to be rebellious, and Pulakeśin was threatened in the very heart of his kingdom by a confederacy of Govinda and Appāyika, who advanced to fight with him on the banks of the Bhīmā. Pulakeśin could save the situation only by buying off one of his opponents in order to defeat the other.³ Then immediately to the south of his capital, he had to fight with the Gaṅgas and Alūpas. Nor had he easy time in Kōṅkana, where he had to reduce to subjection the Mauryas. It will be thus seen that the first few years of Pulakeśin must have been spent in reconquering the home-provinces of his hereditary kingdom. Within three years of his accession, he could, therefore, hardly have been in a position to defeat Harṣa.

The cause of the war between Harṣa and Pulakeśin seems to be the conflict of their imperial plans in Gujarat and Malva. Students of Ancient Indian History know full well how these provinces used to profess allegiance sometimes to a northern and sometimes to a southern power. Both Harṣa and Pulakeśin, therefore, thought that these provinces ought to fall within their own spheres of influence. There is nothing to show that Ravikīrti follows any chronological order in narrating the events in the Aihole inscription; the mention, however, of the acceptance of Pulakeśin's sovereignty by Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara rulers in v. 22, immediately before the description of the war with Harṣa,

1 e. g. Yevoor tablets, *I. A.*, vol. VIII, p. 13.

2 Aihole Inscription, v. 15.

3 Ibid, v. 17.

may very probably show that the one was the cause of the other. It is well-known that several records of the Gurjars of Bharoach claim that Dadda II, a ruler of that line, had protected a king of Valabhi against Harṣa.¹ It would appear very probable that before attacking Valabhi, Harṣa must have compelled the ruler of Malva to recognise his suzerainty. This must have exasperated Pulakeśin, for that ruler was his own feudatory erstwhile. He seems to have planned retaliation by helping the Gurjara ruler Dadda II in affording protection to the Valabhi chief against Harṣa. Nay, it is quite probable that the credit claimed for Dadda II may have really belonged to Pulakeśin, whose feudatory he probably was. Cases are by no means few in Ancient Indian historical documents where feudatories entirely ignore their suzerains and take the full credit of the latter's achievements to themselves. Thus the defeat of Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahipāla is claimed entirely for Cālukya feudatory Nārasimha by his court poet Pampa, who completely ignores Indra III, his patron's feudal lord.² The Bharoach Gurjara kingdom was a petty principality, hardly equal to two or three modern districts: and it is very improbable, if not impossible, that Dadda II could have single-handedly afforded protection to the Valabhi ruler against the Lord Paramount of Northern India. It is almost certain that he was either supported by Pulakeśin's battalions, or that he was merely fighting in the latter's army. The latter hypothesis seems to be more probable, for the Aihole inscriptions claim in v. 22 that the Gurjara ruler was a feudatory of Pulakeśin.

It would appear that Harṣa eventually succeeded in winning over the Valabhi ruler by offering him his own daughter in marriage. Such a move was essential, for it was very useful in consolidating Harṣa's position in Central India by removing an enemy in the flank. The assumption sometimes made that Harṣa may have marched against Valabhi after the efforts to defeat Pulakeśin proved of no avail is very improbable. Northern powers are usually seen consolidating their position in the north, right up to Kathiawar before launching an attack on trans-

1 e. g. Naosari plates I. A. XIII, p. 77.

2 *Karṇāṭaka-bhūṣā-bhūṣana*, Introduction, p. XIV.

Vindhyan regions. The Mauryas had conquered Kathiawar before attacking the Deccan. The Muslims attacked Devagiri only after they had conquered Gujarat and Kathiawar. It would therefore seem almost certain that Harṣa's conquest or winning over of the Valabhi ruler must have preceded his offensive against Pulakeśin.

If such were the case, the latter event must be placed sometime about 630 A. D. We have already seen how later Gurjara grants claim that Dadda II had afforded protection to the Valabhi king against Harṣa. The known dates of Dadda II range from 629 to 640 A. D. It is not very probable that his accession took place much earlier than 629 A. D. We may therefore place the Gurjara-Cālukya alliance sometime about 628 or 629 A. D. This alliance did not last long, for Dhruvabhata the Valabhi king, was won over by Harṣa. Strengthened and encouraged by this defection, Harṣa must have planned his offensive against Pulakeśin sometime between 630 and 634 A. D.

634 A. D., the upper limit for the war is determined by the Aihole inscription. That the lower limit cannot go back beyond 630 A. D., as shown above by a discussion of the general political situation, is further rendered almost certain by the recently published Lohanera copper-plates of Pulakeśin II.¹ The wording of the date of this document is unfortunately slightly corrupt, it reads as '*dvipaṇcāsādhike śakābdapaṇcake*'. If we take the expression literally, it would mean 'in the Śaka year 52'. But in Śaka 52, neither Pulakeśin nor the Cālukyas were in existence. It is quite obvious that the expression *śakābdapaṇcake* is a mistake for *śatābdapaṇcake*. The date of this record of Pulakeśin II is therefore 552 in Śaka Era i. e. 630 A. D., a year falling within the known reign of that ruler.

The Lohanera plates of Pulakeśin II issued in 630 A. D. describe his valour and exploits, but are altogether silent about the defeat of Harṣa. They describe Pulakeśin as *Vijayī sūhasaikaratiḥ, anekacaturdantasaṃgrāmajaniṭapṛāṇa ... tayā ... svabhujabalalabdha-vikramākhyah, ... pūrvāparāmbunāṭhah, ... prasabhūbhīmṛṣṭanyarāja-*

I Khare ; Sources of Mediaeval History of the Deccan, Vol. I, pp. 1-8.

śrih, but are quite silent about the most notable achievement of Pulakeśin. Negative evidence is no doubt generally to be accepted with caution, but the composer was out to describe the valour of the donor ; and if the most significant achievement of the latter known to us did not occur to him, the almost certain reason seems to be that it was not yet an accomplished fact. We have seen already how the known facts of the Gurjara-Maitraka history support the view that the offensive against Pulakeśin could not have been launched before c. 630 A. D. The negative evidence of the Lohanera plates supports the same conclusion. It would be thus seen that we can locate the war between Harṣa and Pulakeśin within the narrow limit of four years, 630-634 A. D.

THE AGE OF JANAKA AND OTHERS

BY

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA, M. A.

Two remarkable books were sometime ago published on Ancient Indian History by the Calcutta University. These deserve the special study and attention of all oriental scholars. The first of these is Dr. S. N. Pradhan's "Chronology of Ancient India" which deals with the political history of ancient India from the time of the Ṛgvedic King Divodāsa down to the extinction of the Nandas, while the second, Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury's "Political History of Ancient India" deals with the period from the birth of Parikṣit to the extinction of the imperial Guptas. Thus the period ranging from the time of Parikṣit to the end of the Nandas has been dealt with by both Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury.

It is interesting to note that the results obtained by them diverge widely. Dr. Pradhan has worked on the well-known principle laid down in the Vāyu Purāṇa (I, 200-1) and the Mahābhārata (I. 2, 382; I, 1, 267-8) that the knowledge of the Veda should be reinforced with the knowledge of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, for 'Veda is afraid that the man ignorant of the Purāṇa and Itihāsa will do violence to Him' (i. e. Veda). There is some truth in this principle, for Vedic India can never be properly understood, unless one knows the Purāṇa (= ancient history) of India. Working on this principle Dr. Pradhan has checked and corrected Purāṇic genealogies and traditions with the information and evidence derived from Vedic literature in general, as well as from genuine Purāṇic synchronisms, and found that in the Purāṇas 'sometimes one dynasty is merged or interwoven into or tacked on to another dynasty, owing to the corrupt readings that have crept in', and this has resulted in 'a preposterously long line of kings' (*Chronology of Ancient India*, Preface, p. xi). Collateral successions have sometimes been described in the Purāṇas as lineal; sometimes orders of succession reversed, synchronisms misplaced, dynasties lengthened owing to corrupt

readings (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). For this reason Dr. Pradhan has thought it necessary to accept all Purāṇic accounts with caution, to compare and check them amongst themselves and 'to correct them in the light of Vedic, Buddhistic, Jain and other external evidences' (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). For according to him evidence derived from the Veda is very strong and generally carries more authority than the Purāṇas, for 'many of them are either directly contemporary records or are traditions founded on contemporary records' (*C. A. I.*, Preface, p. xi). Dr. Roy Choudhury's point of view, though somewhat similar, leans more towards Buddhistic literature, and looks on the Purāṇas with greater suspicion. It may be noted in this connection that Pargiter's view has been to place 'little trust in the Vedic literature regarding matters containing Brahmanical pretensions' (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 10), and to ascribe to the Veda 'a Brahmanical lack of historical sense' (*A. I. H. T.*, pp. 63-75), and generally to place 'implicit trust in the Purāṇas' and 'little trust in the Vedas'. We mean to compare here a few of the results obtained by Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury.

Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks that Janakas from Śiradhvaja Janaka to Kṛti Janaka, as described in the Purāṇas (i. e. the Vāyu and Viṣṇu etc.) were the later Videhas of Mithilā, and began to rule the kingdom of Videha 6 generations or 180 years after the time of Janamejaya Pāriksita. He admits that he has failed to bring any of the Janakas into synchronistic connection with the members of other royal dynasties and identify any of the Purāṇic Janakas, with the Janakas mentioned in the Buddhistic Jātakas (*Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 31). He thinks that the great Janaka of the Vedic texts was Śiradhvaja Janaka, father of Sitā, of the Purāṇic list, because Āśvapati, king of the Kekayas, is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as the maternal grandfather of Bharata, and because Janaka of the Vedic texts, was contemporary with the Kekaya king named Āśvapati (*Political History of Ancient India*, 1st ed., p. 21). This is the view held by Dr. Roy Choudhury in the 1st edition of his book. In the 2nd edition of it, we find he has almost withdrawn his opinion, as we find him adding "as the name Āśvapati is also given to Bharata's maternal uncle (Rāmāyaṇa VII, 113, 4.), it

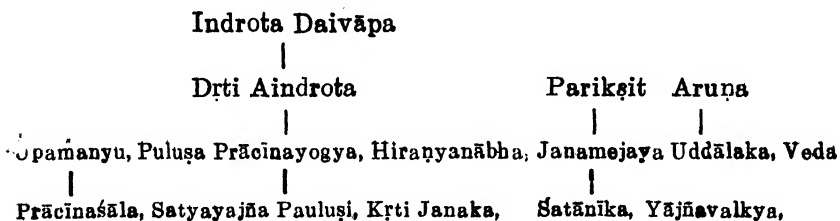
was possibly not a personal name but a family designation like 'Janaka'. In that case it is impossible to say how far the identification of the Vedic Janaka with the father of Sitā is correct" (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 31). Although 'the precise determination of the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka is', according to Dr. Roy Choudhury, 'impossible' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26), yet Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks, the fact that 'the great Janaka was later than the Pāriksitas' (i. e. Janamejaya, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena) 'admits of no doubt' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 25). Although the epic tradition that Uddālaka and his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya (*Mahābhārata*, Beng. recension, I, 53, 7 ; IV, 21, 2) and the Purāṇic tradition (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa* IV, 21, 2) that Janamejaya's son and successor Śatānika learnt the Vedas from Yājñavalkya, go towards proving the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Janaka, they are held by Dr. Roy Choudhury as unreliable (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26) because he thinks that they are incompatible with the evidence derived from Vedic literature (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26). The first line of Vedic evidence is, according to Dr. Roy Choudhury, derived from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (III, 3. 1), where Bhujyu Lāhyāyani tests Yājñavalkya with the question "whither have the Pāriksitas gone?", the true answer to which had already been obtained by Bhujyu from a Gandharva who had possessed the daughter of Patañcala Kāpi in the Madra country before. Yājñavalkya answered "Thither where Āsvamedha sacrificers go". Dr. Roy Choudhury concludes from this that 'the Pāriksitas (sons of Parikṣit)' i. e. Janamejaya and his brothers 'must at that time have passed away, though their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 25-6).

A second line of evidence adduced by Dr. Roy Choudhury in support of his contention is as follows (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 26) :—

Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka was a contemporary of Janamejaya (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* XIII, 5, 4, 1). Indrota's pupil was his son Dṛti Aindrota (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2 ; *Vaiṣṇa Bra.* 2). Dṛti's pupil was Puluṣa Prācinayogya (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2).

Pulusa's pupil was Satyayajña Pauluṣi (*Jaim. Up. Bra.* III, 40, 2). Satyayajña Pauluṣi was a contemporary of Budila Āsvata-rāśvi and of Uddālaka Āruni (*Chāndogya Up.* V, 11, 1-2) two prominent figures of Janaka's court (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* V, 14, 8 ; III, 7, 1). Satyayajña Pauluṣi therefore was a contemporary of Janaka Vaideha. He was an elder contemporary because his pupil Somaśusma Sātyayajñi Prācinayogya met Janaka (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI, 6, 2, 1-3). As Satyayajña flourished long after Indrota Daivāpa, his contemporary Janaka was considerably later than Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota (*P. H. A. I.* 2nd ed., p. 26).

Turning to the view of Dr. Pradhan we find that the same evidence from Vedic literature and consequently the same line of argument has been used by him to show that Janamejaya Pāri-kṣita was a contemporary of Hiranyanābha Kausalya and therefore was an older contemporary of Janaka and Yājñavalkya (*C. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 134). The small synchronistic tables furnished by him (*C. A. I.*, p. 160 ; p. 134), illustrate the chronological relation amongst the persons mentioned :—



Thus it will be found that the Vedic evidence used by Dr. Roy Choudhury in the hope of proving 'clearly' that 'Janaka was separated by six generations from Janamejaya's time' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., p. 27) or by about '180 years' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-8) and thus to reject the Purāṇic and epic synchronisms considering them as 'unreliable' is exactly the very evidence which has already been employed by Dr. Pradhan to show that they furnish corroboration of the epic and Purāṇic synchronisms.

The third argument advanced by Dr. Roy Choudhury to prove that Janaka was six generations below Janamejaya is based upon the lists of teachers in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhadā-

raṇyaka Upaniṣad (*P. H. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 17 ; 2nd ed., p. 27). He says that because Tura Kāvaseya, the priest of Janamejaya, stands at the 10th step above Sāñjiviputra, and because Yājñavalkya, the friend of Janaka, stands at the 4th step above the same Sāñjiviputra, as in the list below :—

Tura Kāvaseya	Janamejaya
Yājñavacas Rājastambāyana	
Kuśri	
Śāṇḍilya	
Vātsya	
Vāmakākṣāyana	
Māhitthi	Yājñavalkya, Janaka
Kautsa	Āsuri
Māṇḍavya	Āsurāyana
Māṇḍukāyani	Prāśniputra
Sāñjiviputra	Sāñjiviputra

therefore Janamejaya stands at the 6th step above Janaka.

Dr. Pradhan we find (*C. A. I.* p. 159) has used a slightly different list from the same book Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X, 6, 5, 9 ; XIV, 3, 2, 32), but arriving at the same conclusion, namely that Tura Kāvaseya stands at the 6th step above Yājñavalkya in the following series of Vedic teachers :—

Tura Kāvaseya	
Yājñavacas Rājastambāyana	
Kuśri Vājaśravasa	
Upaveśi	
Aruṇa Aupaveśi	Parikṣita
Uddālaka Āruṇi	Janamejaya
Yājñavalkya	Śātānika
Janaka	

Thus although Tura Kāvaseya stands at the 6th step in the series of teachers above Yājñavalkya and Janaka, Dr. Pradhan

has placed Janamejaya only a step above Janaka (*C. A. I.*, 1st ed., p. 159) in conformity with the several epic, Purāṇic and Vedic synchronisms which will be mentioned in this paper presently, and has made the justifiable hypothesis that Tura Kāvaseya lived to a great age to officiate as the priest of Janamejaya, just as Vyāsa Pārāśarya lived to a great age to attend Janamejaya's court (*C. A. I.*, p. 160) when the latter instituted his Nāgasatra (*Beng. MBh.* I, 53, 7 ; I, 60, 7). Besides in a succession of teachers, the average age-difference is generally much less than that in a lineal descendance, unless the pupils are sons of their preceptors. The preceptors were in some cases younger than their pupils, just as Śaṅkarācārya was much younger than his pupil Sureśvarācārya. The subject of contemporaneity will be best understood when it is borne in mind that a man may generally be contemporary with five successive generations. In my childhood I was a contemporary of the grand-father of a friend of mine ; I am now a contemporary of his old father and of him ; I am a contemporary of his son, who is now a youth and has just married ; If I am spared a few years more, I shall be a contemporary of my friend's grand-child. If a man lives exceptionally long, he may be a contemporary of no less than six successive generations of men, younger or older. There is no reason to be surprised at the information that Tura Kāvaseya officiated as the priest of Janamejaya, although the latter was contemporary with Uddālaka Āruṇi who was the fifth in the series of teachers from Tura Kāvaseya. All doubts about this will be dispelled when one remembers the case of the Turkish bi-centenarian Zaro Aga who was 9 years old in 1784 at the time of the treaty of the American War of Independence. '

It is interesting to note how Dr. Pradhan and Dr. Roy Choudhury have differed as regards the time about which the famous king Hiranyanābha Kausalya flourished.

Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks that Hiranyanābha Kausalya was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, and of Prasenajit, king of Kosala, and of Bimbisāra of Magadha (*P. H. A. I.*, 1st ed. p. 51 and p. 81 ; 2nd ed. p. 65 and p. 99). He has arrived at this result by the following steps :—

(1) 'Uddālaka' Āruṇi 'was separated by 6 generations from Janamejaya'.

(2) Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was separated by 2 generations from Uddālaka, (as in the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka).

(3) 'Therefore Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana flourished 7 or 8 generations from' (i. e. below) 'Janamejaya'.

(4) Kausalya Āśvalāyana, Kabandhin Kātyāyana, Pippalāda and Prince Hiranyanābha Kausalya were contemporaries as given in the Praśna Upaniṣad (VI, 1). Āśvalāyana here was an inhabitant of Kosala.

(5) The author of the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra was contemporary with the author of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, 'as they mention each other in their respective works'.

(6) Āssalāyana of Sāvatti is 'mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya (II, 147 et seq) as a famous Vedic scholar and a contemporary of Gotama Buddha and Kukuda or Pakudha Kaccāyana'.

'These facts' have enabled Dr. Roy Choudhury 'to identify Kausalya Āśvalāyana' of the Praśna Upaniṣad 'with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti' of 'the Majjhima Nikāya', and to conclude that he 'must have lived in the 6th century B. C.' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17), and secondly to conclude that Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana 'too must have lived in the 6th century B. C.', if Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was identical with the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17), and thirdly to conclude that the king Hiranyanābha Kausalya was contemporary with Prasenajit, king of Kosala, and of Gautama Buddha, and of Bimbisāra of Magadha.

On analysing the steps adopted here by Dr. Roy Choudhury it will be found that the 1st step is wrong, as we have already seen that his Vedic evidences rather tend to prove the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Uddālaka Āruṇi.

Combining the 4th and 6th steps together, Dr. Roy Choudhury concludes that Kausalya Āśvalāyana of the Praśna Upaniṣad was identical with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti of the Majjhima Nikāya. Because Āśvalāyana was an inhabitant of Kosala, therefore he

was identical with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti — this seems to be the reasoning adopted by Dr. Roy Choudhury. It is an assumption pure and simple. It is no proof.

In the 1st edition of his work (p. 10) Dr. Roy Choudhury stated " It is however possible that Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was not identical with the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra and referred us to *S. B. E.* XXIX, pp. 4-5. In the second edition (pp. 16-17), he states " If Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana was the same as the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra, he too must have lived in the 6th century B. C." It appears that he entertains less doubt about Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana having been the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra, for he accepts the contemporaneity of Guṇākhyā, Āśvalāyana and Gautama Buddha, and places Janaka in the 7th century B. C. (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-28). But we have got to say a few words about Guṇākhyā.

From the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad (VI, 3, 7 ; 5, 3) we learn that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi. Kahōḍa being the pupil of the same Uddālaka, was contemporary with Yājñavalkya. Guṇākhyā who was the pupil of Kahōḍa, therefore ranks only a step below Yājñavalkya. Now Yājñavalkya was the author of many Yajuses in, and the compiler of the White Yajurveda. Guṇākhyā who ranks only a step below Yājñavalkya therefore belonged to the very beginning of the Yajurvedic Period. Hence he could not evidently have been the Gr̥hya Sūtrakāra, for the Gr̥hya Sūtras, as a class of literature, are of later date.

Another point need be noticed in this connection. The consequences of treating Guṇākhyā as contemporary with Āssalāyana Sāvatti and Gautama Buddha, and therefore with Prasenaḥjit and Bimbisāra would be to bring down Kahōḍa, and Yājñavalkya — the author of the White Yajurveda to only a step above Gautama Buddha, that is to suppose that Gautama Buddha, Prasenaḥjit and Bimbisāra, etc. might have seen Yājñavalkya in their youth. This is absurd on the very face of it, for the White Yajurveda cannot belong to the time of Gautama Buddha. Guṇākhyā was far earlier than Gautama Buddha.

Again, consequent on Dr. Roy Choudhury's assumption of the identity of Āssalāyana of Sāvatti with Kausalya Āśvalāyana of

the *Prasna Upaniṣad*, Dr. Roy Choudhury has been compelled to make another wrong assumption, namely, of the identity of Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the *Prasna Upaniṣad* with Pakudha Kaccāyana of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed., pp. 16-17). In order to prove the identity of Kabandhin Kātyāyana with Pakudha Kaccāyana, he says that the word 'Kavandhin' means the same thing as the word 'Kakuda' giving us the equation 'Kavandhin = Kakuda' (*P. H. A. I.*, 2nd ed, p. 17 foot-note) and has asked us to refer to the *Atharvaveda* IX, 4, 3. We consult the *Atharvaveda* and find that W. D. Whitney has translated the word 'Kavandha' by 'trunk'. (*Translation of Atharvaveda*, p. 529). We consult the *Vācaspatya Abhidhāna*, Monier-William's Dictionary, Sanskrit Worterbuch, R. C. Childers' Dictionary of the Pali Language etc., and nowhere do we find any way of helping Dr. Roy Choudhury to obtain the equation "Kavandha = Kakuda". We give here all the meanings of these two words :--

- " Kav(b)andha " = (1) A barrel, cask, trunk, belly
 (2) A large-bellied vessel
 (3) A comet
 (4) Name of Rāhu
 (5) Name of the Rākṣasa Danu, son of Śrī
 (6) Name of certain Ketus 96 in number
 (7) Clouds which obscure the Sun at sun-set and sun-rise.

- " Kakuda " = (1) Chief
 (2) Any projecting corner
 (3) The hump of the shoulder of the Indian bullock
 (4) Name of a metre
 (5) An ensign of royalty
 (6) Name of a daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma.

Childers names ' the tree *Terminalia Arjuna* ' as a synonym for Kakuda in addition to the 3rd and 5th in the above list.

- “Kav(b)andhin” means (1) a sage mentioned in the *Prasna Upaniṣad*
(2) laden with water.

Thus it will be realized that we have been misled with a wrong equation. But even admitting for the sake of argument that the word ‘Kavandha’ means the same as ‘Kakuda’, we cannot accept that Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the *Prasna Upaniṣad* was identical with Pakudha Kaccāyana of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, for it would then only mean that in the Kātyāyana gotra or family one was named Kabandhin and another Pakudha. Other very strong evidences must be brought forward to prove the identity of two persons having different names of the same meaning. But the question does not arise at all, because the equation itself Kavandhin = Kakuda, cannot stand. The fact is that Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhāyana, Āśvalāyana, Bhāradvāja etc. were gotra or family titles in those days, just as Mukherjee, Banerjee, Pradhan and Roy Choudhury are family-titles now-a-days.

From the conversations described in the *Prasna Upaniṣad* (III, 1-12) between the Atharvavedic Professor Pippalāda and Kausalya Āśvalāyana, it is clear that the latter was eager to know about the nature of Life and its relation to the Self, while from the conversations between Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Gautama Buddha it is clear that this Āssalāyana belonged to a degenerate age, puffed up with the vanity of caste, always anxious to preach the purity and superiority of Brahmins. How different is the mentality of Āśvalāyana of the *Prasna Upaniṣad*.

Similarly, it is evident from the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 198 ; I, p. 250 ; II, p. 2) that Pakudha Kaccāyana was a degenerate mediocrity or even worse in intellect, while the *Prasna Upaniṣad* (I, 3-15) informs us that Kavandhin Kātyāyana really belonged to the true Brahmanic type of the Vedic age, anxious to know about the Most Glorious, the Most Effulgent, the One Origin of this Universe, Manifested in this Universe. It is now easy to understand why Dr. Roy Choudhury has been led to assign Hiranya-nābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra. Kausalya Āśvalāyana and Kavandhin Kātyāyana were, according to the *Prasna Upaniṣad*, contemporary with the

King Hiranyanābha. Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Pakudha Kaccāyana were, according to the Majjhima Nikāya, contemporary with Gautama Buddha, Prasenajit and Bimbisāra. Now if Kausalya Āśvalāyana and Kavandhin Kātyāyana are identified with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Pakudha Kaccāyana respectively, as they have been by Dr. Roy Choudhury, then the king Hiranyanābha Kausalya could not but be regarded by him as belonging to the time of Gautama Buddha.

We have already seen that Dr. Roy Choudhury's identifications represented by the equations :

Kausalya Āśvalāyana = Āssalāyana of Sāvatti and Kavandhin Kātyāyana = Pakudha Kaccāyana, are wrong, so that one may infer that his assigning Hiranyanābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha and Prasenajit is erroneous. Moreover we shall have to imagine that the Kosala King Hiranyanābha and the Kosala King Prasenajit ruled simultaneously if we believe in the above identifications. Had they ruled or existed simultaneously in Kosala, the eloquent Buddhist literature would have mentioned that.

According to Dr. Pradhan, the assignment of Hiranyanābha Kausalya to the time of Gautama Buddha is absolutely untenable, for the King Para, son of Atpāra and grandson of Hiranyanābha, as he has shown (*C. A. I.*, p. 135) is mentioned not only in a Brāhmaṇa-like passage in the Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI, 9, 11-13), the Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (II, 6, 11), the Pañcavimśā Brāhmaṇa (XXV, 16, 3), and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5, 4, 4), but also in the Taittiriya Samhitā (V, 6, 5, 3) and the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā. No one should dare to bring the Taittiriya Samhitā, the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Tāndya Brāhmaṇa, Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa etc. down to times of Prasenajit, Ajātasatru and Gautama Buddha.

Dr. Pradhan has collected various other pieces of evidence for accepting that Janamejaya Pāriksita was a contemporary of Hiranyanābha Kausalya and an older contemporary of Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā :—

(1) The position of Yājñavalkya, and therefore of Janaka Vaideha, is absolutely fixed on the genealogical table because Śatānika, son of Janamejaya, read the three Vedas with Yājñavalkya (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

(2) The position of Yājñavalkya and therefore of his friend Janaka Vaideha, is unalterably fixed on the genealogical table, because Yājñavalkya was the nephew (=sister's son=Bhāgineya) and disciple of Vaiśampāyana who related the story of Mahābhārata at the court of Janamejaya Pāriksita (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

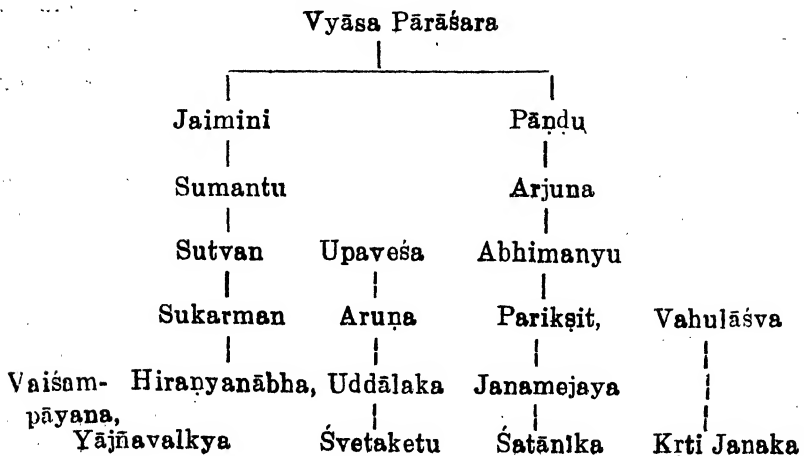
(3) This Vaiśampāyana's personal name was Caraka (Kāśikā on Pāṇini), so that his full name was Caraka Vaiśampāyana, so called because he was a descendant or son of Viśampa (*C. A. I.*, p. 124). As a result of a quarrel between Vaiśampāyana and his nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, the latter, the friend of Janaka, gave up learning and teaching the Black Yajurveda, and composed and compiled the White Yajurveda (*C. A. I.*, p. 124).

This quarrel between the uncle and the nephew is attested not only by the Vāyu, Brahmanḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata but also by the Mahābhārata (both the Bengal and Madras recensions) (*C. A. I.* p. 124) and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (*M. Śat. Br.* III, 8, 2, 24), where it is mentioned that Yājñavalkya was cursed by Caraka Adhvaryu. This fact of the quarrel between Vaiśampāyana and his pupil and nephew Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā fixes the position of Yājñavalkya and therefore of Janaka Vaideha, just a step below that of Janamejaya whose court-historian Vaiśampāyana was.

(4) Uddālaka Āruṇi who, according to the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad attended the court of Janaka Vaideha, and joined that famous debate, had two other class-friends, namely, Upamanyu and Baidā (or Veda); and these three were the pupils of Apoda Dhaumya as is evident from the Bengal and Madras recensions of the Mahābhārata (*C. A. I.*, p. 132). Now of these three pupils, the third, i. e. Veda or Baidā was approached by Janamejaya Pāriksita to become his priest (*C. A. I.*, 132). This also makes Uddālaka Āruṇi and consequently his pupil Yājñavalkya contemporary with Janamejaya.

(5) Uddālaka Āruṇi himself with his son Śvetaketu attended the Śarpa-satra of Janamejaya (*Mbh.* I, 53, 7). This also makes Uddālaka Āruṇi and Janamejaya contemporaries.

(6) Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā, as appears from the Bṛhadāra-nyaka Upaniṣad (VI, 5, 3), was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi (*C. A. I.*, p. 132). He was the pupil also of Hiranyanābha Kausalya, a descendant of Rāma Dāśarathi. This King Hiranya-nābha Kausalya was, according to the unanimous testimony of the Vāyu, Brahmandā, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇa, was the pupil of Sukarman, the great grandson of Jaimini, the disciple of Vyāsa Pārāśarya (*C. A. I.*, pp. 125-127). It is related in detail in all these works that Sumantu was the son and pupil of his father Jaimini — the pupil of Vyāsa Pārāśarya Sumanta's son and pupil was Sutvan; Sutvan's son and pupil was Sukarman; Sukarman got two very intelligent disciples, one,— the Brāhmaṇa Pausyañji, and the other, — the King Hiranyanābha Kausalya. Now Jaimini, having been the pupil of Vyāsa, was contemporary with Pāṇḍu; Jaimini's son Sumantu was contemporary with Pāṇḍu's son Arjuna; Sumantu's son Sutvan was contemporary with Arjuna's son Abhimanyu; Sutvan's son Sukarman was contemporary with Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit. Hence Sukarman's pupil Hiranyanābha Kausalya could not but be contemporary with Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit. The relation is best expressed in the following table :—



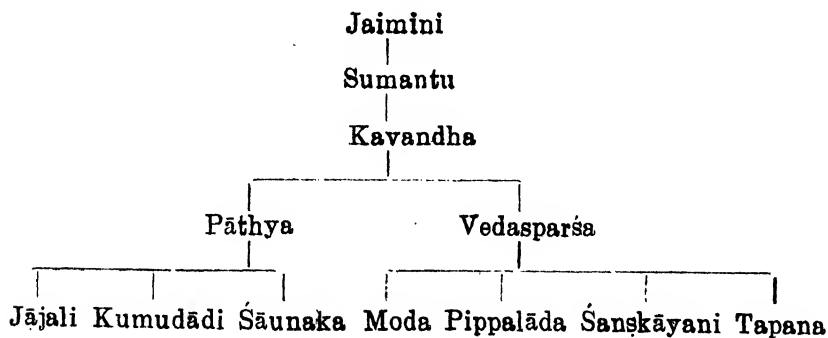
This establishes the contemporaneity between Janamejaya and Hiranyanābha Kausalya. According to all the authoritative Purāṇas, as Dr. Pradhan has shown, Yājñavalkya learnt the science of 'Yoga' from Hiranyanābha Kausalya (*C. A. I.* pp. 123-4). Dr. Pradhan has also shown that Hiranyanābha's pupil Kṛti was no other than Kṛti, the son of Vahulāsva of the Janaka dynasty (*C. A. I.* pp. 131-132). Kṛti Janaka and Yājñavalkya therefore belonged to the same time and the same step on the genealogical table, as both of them were the pupils of Hiranyanābha. Yājñavalkya thus was the friend and contemporary, not of Śradhvāja Janaka, the father of Sītā, as Dr. Roy Choudhury has supposed, but of Kṛti Janaka, a descendant of Śradhvāja in the 18th degree. Thus will be realized what a tremendous confusion has been made by Dr. Roy Choudhury by supposing that the Videhas in the Purāṇas from Śradhvāja Janaka downwards, were the later Videhas of Mithilā, who began to flourish six generations after Janamejaya Pāriksita, and by assuming necessarily that the events of the Rāmāyaṇa were long posterior to those of the Mahābhārata. This absurd supposition, which goes against the entire body of Indian tradition, could not have been thought of even if there were no uncritical scholars in support of it in the days of the infancy of Oriental research in Europe.

The above table makes it absolutely clear that the Pāriksitas could be dead when Janaka Vaideha (= Kṛti Janaka) held his Vahudakṣiṇa Sacrifice in his advanced years and thus Bhujyu Lāhyāyani could very well test Yājñavalkya with the question "Whither have the Pāriksitas gone ? ", after the passing away of the Pāriksitas.

(7) It seems that Dr. Roy Choudhury has not paid proper attention to the use of 'Laṇ' in the verb 'bhu' in the sentence "Kva Pāriksitā abhavan." More than two thousand and one hundred years ago, Patañjali illustrated the use of 'Laṇ' in the sentences "Aruṇad Yavanaḥ Sāketam, aruṇad Yavano Mādhyamikān, " as pointed out by Goldstücker and R. G. Bhandarkar. Pātañjali, the speaker who illustrated the use of 'Laṇ' could have seen the Yavana King and his siege of Sāketa and Mādhyamikās, had he so liked and had he taken the trouble

of going to Sāketa etc.. Yājñavalkya and Bhujyu similarly might have seen the death of the Pāriksitas had they been present in Hastināpura at that time. It is clear from the use of 'Lañ' that the death of Janamejaya and his brothers happened during the life-time of Yājñavalkya, Bhujyu etc. In fact the use of 'Lañ' is another evidence for the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Yājñavalkya. The real fact is that Yājñavalkya was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya as we have already found.

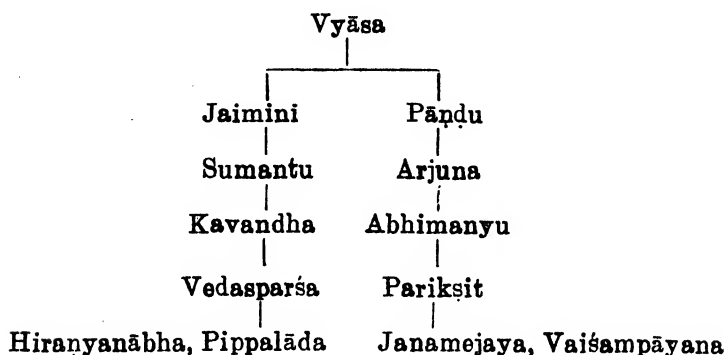
(8) From the Vāyu (61-49-52) Brahmāṇḍa (II, 65, 51-4) Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata we learn that Jaimini's son Sumantu to whom Vyāsa entrusted the teaching of Atharvaveda, had two pupils, one of whom was Kavandha; Kavandha again taught the Atharvaveda to two of his pupils, namely Pathya and Vedasparśa; Pathya's three pupils were Jājali, Kumudādi and Śāunaka, while Vedasparśa had four pupils, namely Moda, Pippalāda, Śaṅṣkāyani and Tapanā. The relations are best expressed in the following tree which has already been published in Dr. Pradhan's table genealogies of Vedic Kings and series of Vedic teachers, facing page 176 of 'Chronology of Ancient India.'



The reader can see it at a glance that here is Pippalāda who has been mentioned in the Praśna Upaniṣad.

Now Sumantu, son of Jaimini, was contemporary with Pāṇḍu's son Arjuna, for Pāṇḍu and Jaimini, as we have already seen, were contemporaries; Kavandha, pupil of Sumantu, was therefore contemporary with Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna; Vedasparśa was contemporary with Parikṣit, and Pippalāda, pupil

of Vedasparśa, was therefore contemporary with Janamejaya Parikṣita, as illustrated below :—



Kausalya Aśvalāyana, Sukeśan Bhāradvāja, Kavandhin Kātyāyana, Pippalāda, the Atharvavedic professor, must therefore have been contemporary with Janamejaya, as is clear from the table above. Now from the Praśna Upaniṣad we have already learnt that Hirāṇyanābha and Pippalāda were contemporaries. Hence Hirāṇyanābha must have been contemporary with Janamejaya.

It should be noticed in this connection that Pathya's pupil Jājali (lit. son of Jajala) seems to have been the same Jājali who learnt from the famous Tulādhāra (= shopkeeper) of Vārāṇasi, as related in the Mahābhārata, while Śaunaka, the other pupil of Pathya, seems to have been the author of the present recension of the Atharvaveda which we now possess, and to have taught Śatānika, son of Janamejaya the science archery and rituals. The Praśna Upaniṣad now appears to be the Upaniṣad or supplement to the Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda, as it extols and praises the Professor Pippalāda. The Pippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda has also been obtained in Kāśmīra.

(9) The contemporaneity between Hirāṇyanābha and Janamejaya is also deducible from a comparison of the list of Sāmavedic teachers drawn up by Dr. Pradhan (*C. A. I.* p. 131) with the list of Atharvavedic teachers and the pedigree of Janamejaya as already shown on the table of genealogies facing page 176 of his *Chronology of Ancient India*.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI, 6, 2, 1-3) it is stated that Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi Prācīnayogya saw Janaka Vaideha. From the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I, 2, 5) we learn that a Vedic teacher named ' Dantābala Dhaumra ' was courteously received by the King Janamejaya Pāriksita. The reading "Dantābala Dhaumra" in Dr. Rājendralal Mitra's edition of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is clearly the corrupt form of the correct name "Dantāla Dhaumya" of the famous Vedic teacher. Now the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (II, 55-56) informs us that Hr̥tsvāsaya Āllakeya, the king of the Mahāvṛṣas, was the pupil of Dantāla Dhaumya and Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi Prācīnayogya. It follows then that Janamejaya Pāriksita who courteously received Dantāla Dhaumya, must have been contemporary with Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi and therefore with Janaka Vaideha. This Janaka, Vaideha who was no other than Kṛti Janaka, appears to have held his Vahudakṣiṇa sacrifice when he was quite advanced in years when Janamejaya was dead. The relation is illustrated in the following table :--

Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka		
Dṛti Aindrota Śaunaka	Janamejaya	Āpoḍa Dhaumya
		Dantāla Dhaumya
Puluṣa Prācīnayogya,		
Satyayajña Pauluṣi	Janaka Vaideha	
Somasuśma Sātyayajñi		Hr̥tsvāsaya Āllakeya

Thus from evidences exclusively Vedic, we arrive at the conclusion that Janaka Vaideha of the Vedic texts was a younger contemporary of Janamejaya.

(11) There is yet another ground for holding that Janaka and Yājñavalkya were younger contemporaries of Janamejaya Pāriksita. The Vāyu Purāṇa clearly relates that the Vājasaneyins i. e. Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya and his followers and pupils were held in high esteem and established in honour by Janamejaya Pāriksita who circulated his royal proclamation for honouring the Vājasaneyins amongst his subjects. Vaiśampāyana, the leader of the opposite school, i. e. the Taittirīyas, became really sorry for this and once said angrily to Janame-

jaya : " You, ill-advised king, your proclamation will not be respected as long as I continue to live "

In spite of this, Janamejaya worshipped the Vedic deity Prajāpati on a full moon day with the offering of oblation of ghee and performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices according to the rules and formulas or mantras of Vājasaneyā (= Yājñavalkya) and thus after establishing the Vājasaneyin Veda (= Brahman), i. e. the White Yajurveda in practice, Janamejaya became dwarfed in three limbs. (Perhaps Janamejaya became attacked with gout or paralysis which crippled him). This detailed information given by the Vāyu Purāṇa is extremely interesting and absolutely creditable. It removes all doubt about Janamejaya and Yājñavalkya. It is certain that these two Aśvamedha sacrifices performed according to rules and mantras given by Yājñavalkya, were the very Aśvamedha sacrifices to which Yājñavalkya, referred, during the debate held in Janaka's court. The story of Patañcala Kāpya's daughter having been possessed by a Gandharva, has been introduced by the later Vājasaneyins, i. e. the writers of the Brhadāranyaka, to give an appearance of difficulty to the question put to Yājñavalkya by Bhujyu Lāhyāyāni, at the court of Janaka.

Thus it will be found that Dr. Roy Choudhury's error about the chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka has plainly been due to his wrong assumption of the identity of Āśvalāyana of Sāvasthī with Kausalya Āśvalāyana; of Kabandhin Kātyāyana with Pakudha Kaccāyana. Consequent on these wrong assumptions, Dr. Roy Choudhury has made the more grievous assertion that Hiranyanābha Kausalya was contemporary with Gautama Buddha.

ARTHAŚĀSTRA RE-EXAMINED
OR
THE CULTURE AND DATE OF THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA
BY

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M. A.

“ Kautalya's *Arthaśāstra* advocates ideals and culture which are non-Indian. This may be due to the fact that the Malwa empire for a long time remained under the influence of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas ”. In this strain a recent writer on the subject writes in the *Indian Antiquary*¹ and seems to expound three theories. First the *Arthaśāstra* was written somewhere between 480 and 510 A. D. Secondly it was a product of the Malwa Empire under the foreign domination of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas. Thirdly ideals and culture advocated in the *Arthaśāstra* are non-Indian.

This is then a re-examination of the whole *Arthaśāstra* problem. Though there has been a view that the date of the compilation of the Kautaliya *Arthaśāstra* may be brought down to the beginnings of the Christian era² still opinion was not divided as to the culture advocated by that treatise on ancient Indian Polity. The late V. A. Smith took the correct and sound view that the *Arthaśāstra* was an actual picture of the Mauryan Empire under its first emperor³. This finds corroboration from a more reliable quarter viz. : Aśokan inscriptions. Notwithstanding volumes of interpretation on these mute records on the rocks and pillars still the last word has not been said. A comparative study of the inscriptions and the *Arthaśāstra* texts has revealed to us the wonderful concordance between the two. The inference is irresistible that

1 See Pran Nath's article on *the date of the compilation of Kautalya's Arthaśāstra 484-510 A. D.*, June, 1931, pp. 109-113, July, 1931, pp. 121-3.

2 See A. B. Keith in the *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Patna, pp. 8-22.

3 See *Early History of India*, p. 144.

Aśoka was an ardent student of the *Arthaśāstra*¹. Suffice it to say here that this coincidence is remarkable since it demonstrates beyond doubt the powerful hold which the *Arthaśāstra* had on the great Mauryan empire.

An interesting circumstance in this connection is that the ideals and culture advocated by the *Arthaśāstra* were known to the distinguished author of the sacred *Kural* whose compilation is assigned to the second century B. C. on various grounds.² If the *Arthaśāstra* be known in the Tamil land in the Second Century B. C. surely at least a century must have elapsed since the compilation to get authoritative recognition from the learned public. Further there is no trace of the ideas and ideals peculiar to the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas adumbrated. The institutions and the political theories inculcated are quite in consonance with the accepted standards of Ancient Hindu culture. Mere statement of a theory would not help us much unless substantiated by quotations from the *Arthaśāstra*. No case has been made out to prove that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* has imported alien ideas and culture into his memorable treatise.

Equally weak, unconvincing and inconclusive is the attempt to show that it was a product of the Malwa Empire. The following are some of the points raised in this connection. They may be categorically stated with summary answers.

1. Kautilya has selected a small territory called *Janapada* and that situated near a sea-coast approaching in area nearly to a modern *tasil*. This is quite contradictory with the other remark made in the very next page that the Kautilian King possessed landed property in Aparānta, Āsmaka, Avanti, Jāngala, and Anupa Deśas. Certainly each of these countries must have been bigger than a modern *tasil* and these countries put together must be big enough for an empire even granting that the Kautilian King possessed landed property only in the above mentioned Deśas. Thus at the outset it seems that the case made out rests on no substantial basis.

1 I have discussed this question in my *Maurya Polity*, (Madras University), 1932.

2 See Author's *Studies in Tamil Literature & History*, the chapter of Tiruvalluvar.

2. Much is made of the defence by the local wild tribes. Reference here is only to the outlying portions of the empire, specially those forest-belts which always separated the Capital from the country parts. In such places a statesman like Kauṭalya would have felt that it would be the right policy to get such forsaken places guarded by wild tribes who were real masters of the situation. The mention of Vāhurika and Pulinda may refer to Gujarat, Avanti and Central India. But Śabaras, Candālas and Ātavikas were not the monopoly of the Malwa Empire alone. These and similar tribes were scattered throughout the length and breadth of the Indian continent. The same condition is depicted in the ancient Tamil works. The Maravar or the Eyinar who were foresters were pressed into service by the Tamil kings for defence purposes. In the opening chapters of *Janapadasamuddeśa* Kauṭalya simply lays down means and methods for a conquering monarch with regard to colonisation of new lands, their distribution and protection. In the beginning of the Mauryan epoch there was a tendency on the part of the first two kings to enlarge their kingdoms as far as possible. This being the ruling passion of the monarch Kauṭalya lays down a prescription how to encroach on a new territory with a view to eventually occupy the same.

3. The theory that the Kauṭilya *Janapada* was situated near a sea coast is inconclusive. For the empire under Candragupta Maurya, and his successors Bindusara and Aśoka, was bounded by the sea at least on two sides, and there is therefore every justification for Kauṭalya to refer to seaports and sailing vessels, either commercial or piratic. There need be no elaborate department of Nāvādhyakṣa or Superintendent of boats and navy for a *Janapada* of a modern *tasil*. An interesting circumstance in this connection is that among articles of import find mention oyster shells, conch shells, pearls etc., which are found in sea-shore¹. If the kingdom is really situated on a sea-coast, then, would it not be legitimate to expect that kingdom to export such articles and import inland articles which can not be obtained near a sea-coast? But the fact that the sea-growing articles were imported is proof

1 *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. XI.

positive that the Capital was situated away from the sea and this necessitated importing of such articles of merchandise. Again if the kingdom is situated on a sea-coast then there would be no room for Kauṭilya to enunciate in such an elaborate manner the interstate or international policy by means of a *maṇḍala* theory known as 'the circle of states'. In fact if one takes it as Pran Nath does, there would be no place for a circle of states'.

In this connection a passage from the section entitled *Śilā-dhyakṣa* is quoted and the passage is as follows :

Ṣoḍaśadronam Jāṅgalānām varṣapra
māṇamadhyardhamanūpānām deśa
vāpānām ardhatrayodaśāśmakānām,
trayovimsatiravantinām, amitamapa-
rāntānām haimaṇyānām ca kulyavāpānām ca kālataḥ ।
—Arthasāstra, Bk. II, Ch. 24.

Shama Śāstri translates it thus : "The quantity of rain that falls in the country of Jāṅgala is 16 droṇas half as much more in the moist countries (anūpānām); as to the countries which are fit for agriculture (deśavāpānām) 13½ droṇas in the country of Aśmakas; 23 droṇas in Avanti and an immense quantity in western countries (aparāntānām) the borders of the Himalayas and the countries where water channels are made use of in agriculture (*Kulyavāpānām*)¹. Pran Nath interprets thus : "The annual measure (of produce to be taken as the King's due) is 16 droṇas in the country of Jāṅgala; 34 droṇas in moist (marshy or low) countries fit for agriculture; 13½ droṇas in *Janapadas* of Aśmaka; 23 droṇas in Avanti; the quantity in Aparānta is not measured; the crop grown in winter and irrigated (by well, pond, tank, lake etc.) should be ascertained according to the time"². Both these translations are faulty in the sense that while one term is interpreted as the name of a kingdom, another is interpreted in its literal sense. For example, Shama Śāstri translates *anūpa* moist country and Pran Nath *Haimanya* winter. In the interpretation of any passage the prescription is :

arthāt-prakṛaṇāt-līṅgāt-aucityāt-arthamācayāt ।

1 Trans. P. 139, II Ed.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1931, P. 111,

This means that the interpretation suggested must follow the *prakaraṇa*. Either all the terms occurring in the passage are names of territories or connote different classification of soil. The latter cannot be. For Āsmaka and Avanti cannot come under any classification of soil. So the other possible alternative is that every term refers to a different kingdom. Further it is ingenious to interpret *Varṣapramāṇam* as annual measure of produce. Its ordinary meaning, 'the quantity of rainfall,' will quite fit in with the context.

If Kauṭilya had meant "actual measure of produce" he should have stated the quantity of the Aparānta and Haimanya. The expression *amitam* proves that the author means only the quantity of rainfall.

The suggested translation is as follows :—

"Amongst the countries fit for agriculture the quantity of rainfall in the kingdom of Jāṅgala (possibly Kurujāṅgala) is 16 droṇas, in that of Anūpa¹ 24 droṇas, in that of Āsmaka (Āraṭṭa) 13½ droṇas and in that of Avanti (Malwa) 23 droṇas the quantity of rainfall in the Aparānta and the Himalayan regions cannot be measured; and these are cultivated by irrigation channels in certain seasons".

The idea of the last two sentences is that such regions being mountaineous tracts and rainfall dependent on monsoons, sometimes there will be very heavy showers and sometimes monsoon failing there will be no shower with the consequence that they had to resort to irrigation. A geographical study of the territories mentioned shows that the empire contemplated by the *Arthaśāstra* is not Malwa empire of the 5th Century A. D. but is much bigger than that. Western India, Himālayas, Kurujāṅgala, Bengal, Malwa and the Dekhan constitute the empire and hence practically the whole of Hindustan with a portion of the Dekhan. In other words these were the territorial limits covered by the Mauryan empire under its first ruler Candragupta. Can it still be maintained that the *Arthaśāstra* was not the work of the Minister of Candragupta Maurya? We hope not.

1 The country inhabited by the Anūpa tribe and may be looked for in the Vindhya Hills,

MISCELLANEA

SUBSTANCE OF THE LECTURE ON THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF AHIMSA

delivered at the

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

(25th February 1932)

BY

PROFESSOR DR. BETTY HEIMANN

of the University of Halle

Etymologically *ahimsā* connotes an absence of a desire to injure another in thought, word, or deed. In form it is negative, and is often interpreted in a specific narrow sense; but really it is wider and a very ancient conception. It can in fact be traced back to the Rgvedic conception of the "Rta" or the eternal cosmic Law or Order which governs all the facts and happenings in Nature. Rta compels every animate and inanimate being to follow the laws of its own existence so as not to thwart or obstruct all others from following the laws of their own individual existences. It may accordingly be said to be a sort of a "social contract" interpreted from the cosmic point of view. It is worth noting in this connection that Varuṇa, the champion of the Rgvedic Rta, is associated with Mitra, the god of friendship or social contract, from whom the Buddhistic conception of "Mettā" is lineally descended. This conception is meant to inculcate the doctrine of "Samatā" or equality of all things in the sense of the well-known Brhadāranyaka passage I. iii. 22 which equates the Prāṇa Ātman simultaneously with the gnat, the fly, the elephant, or the universe, who are all — ignoring their differing evaluation from the *human* point of view — alike the equal partners of the cosmic social order that is based upon non-violence or Ahimsā. It follows that this doctrine, while in one of its workings-out it led the Jainas to object to even the cultivation of the soil lest it might involve the destruction of insect-life, in its

another and equally logical interpretation it enjoined upon the King of the country the duty to uproot all the "Kantakas" thorns or mischief-mongers, that may harm his subjects and so disturb the social balance. This means that the "social contract" presupposes the acknowledgment of all existing orders and existing groups of beings as essential functional values in an estimation of the universe as a whole, no single component of which is permitted to follow the "Atimarga" and transgress the bounds of its own existence and purpose. This in fact is the true "Dharma" the eternal rule that teaches different "Dharmas" to tolerate each other.

Ahimsā in Ancient India was conceived as a duty and a privilege that regulated the relations not between man and man alone, but between man and the whole Nature. Thus man is enjoined to remember in his daily religious offerings the shares of all his fellow-creatures. As objects of religious veneration he chooses caves, causeways or confluences which seem to have been sanctified by Nature itself. He may not impair the holiness of Nature by his own man-built forms of religion. And even in those glorious temples (e. g. Mamalapuram and Ellora) where the art of man appears to have triumphed over Nature, his innate humility has led him to create animal-sculptures and place them as if freely walking about in the complex of the temple.

It is this doctrine of Ahimsā taken in its widest philosophical sense that has made the Ancient Indian Ethics a *cosmic* ethics and not a *personal* ethics. Man and the animate and inanimate creation in the midst of which he is placed constituted but one whole, the component parts of which had their own fixed and inalienable places and boundaries. Hence the system of the castes and their traditional code of conduct, wherein each individual is merely a representative of his order and becomes liable for ancestral or communal delinquencies. The individual has accordingly to preserve the balance of his order and be ready, by self-immolation if need be, to restore the balance if disturbed, and render *objective* satisfaction : Compare the story of Odipus in Greek Mythology. Hence the responsibility of the king for all the undetected sins amongst his subjects as illustrated in the glorious life-history of Rāma. The king no less than the commoner was

thus regarded not as a private individual but as the "function-holder" of the community. The conduct between men and men is in short governed by laws derived from cosmic facts. Ahimsā thus became tantamount to *unviolated* social contract.

In the domain of Dharmaśāstra or Civil and religious law the doctrine of Ahimsā has made itself felt in the recognition of the sanctity of possession, the appointed time for appropriation being purposely postponed as long as possible. Similarly the head of the family was not allowed to make a will cutting the property — especially landed and house-property — into pieces. The householder's duty to maintain the holy fire and the daily Karman or to continue the "prajā-tantu" may in this way be regarded as an injunction for Ahimsā in respect of things and persons that are to come. Man in fact is not an isolated individual : every creature is a fellow-creature. Hence the exemplary cultivation of hospitality in Ancient India. Hence too the three ethical duties enjoined by Prajāpati by the voice of thunder : *Damayata, Datta, Dayata* (Bṛhad. V. ii. 1). Belief in the dogma of transmigration or re-incarnation, by projecting or continuing the relations between man and his fellow-creation beyond the limits of just one span of life, must no doubt have eased the difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the ethical doctrine of Ahimsā as a social contract, and it must also have heartened many an Indian Yogin, Sādhu, or Tapasvin to cultivate self-denial and indifference to bodily suffering. Ahimsā in fact weaned men from self-concept, wantonness or passion (*īḥṣṭis*) which has played such an important role with the Greek Dramatists.

In religious and political expressions Ahimsā, sows the seed of tolerance, one effect of which is the facility with which symbols got multiplied and at times even contradictory symbols were brought together in India in the sphere of one and the same religion. Symbols are not the reality : they merely represent it. And as the Real according to the "Ahimsā" philosophy is an all-comprehending unity, a variety of symbols to represent the divine variety of nature became a foregone conclusion.

The famous theory of the Syādvāda, which teaches us to look to all possibilities in thinking, may be regarded as the logical

aspect of the doctrine of Ahimsā. And not only the Syādvāda, but all Indian Logic endeavours to see things not subordinated but co-ordinated : not cut off from each other by dichotomic definitions, but brought together in a kind of summarizing, synthetic definitions. In politics Ahimsā has given us the idea of "Satyāgraha", which etymologically connotes "seizing the truth as it exists" — always conceding the right of all forms of existence as such to exist, including of course your own existence. This should infuse not only courage of convictions and a fearlessness of consequences but also the ever necessary readiness to compare, to measure and to discuss one's own point of view and that of the opponent, in order to realize and establish the balance between the opposing forces and ideas.

We can thus never do full justice to the high dignity of the doctrine of Ahimsā if we narrow it down to one single practical act.

A NOTE ON SIDDHIVINIŚCAYA AND ŚRĪSTIPARIKṢĀ

BY

H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

Out of the several important and unpublished works quoted by *Siddhasena Gaṇi* in his monumental commentary¹ to *Umāsvāti Vācaka's Tattvārthādhigānasūtra* and its *bhāṣya*, I may mention *Siddhiviniścaya* and *Śrīstiparikṣā*.

As is well-known Jainism does not consider anybody as a Creator of the Universe, much less does it attribute the act of creation to *Paramātman*, the soul in its perfectly liberated condition. Since the learned commentator does not intend to dilate upon this open secret, he naturally refers the readers to standard works where their curiosity in this connection is likely to be easily gratified. He has selected for this purpose *Siddhiviniścaya*² and *Śrīstiparikṣā*³, the latter signifying the examination of creation. In my humble opinion, both these works are of *Jaina* authorship and most probably of the *Śvetāmbara* School. If one is tempted to identify this *Siddhiviniścaya* with one composed by *Akalaṅkadeva* and commented upon by *Anantavīrya*, pupil of *Rambhadra*, will it not be a very difficult problem for him to solve as to why this *Siddhasena* does not seem to have criticized or refuted any of the views of *Akalaṅka* expressed by him in his splendid work *Tattvārtharājavārtika*, even when this *Śvetāmbara* commentator has not spared his own brethren, and, if rightly judged, *Siddhasena Divākara* too, the well-known logician, in his zeal to be quite faithful to the *Āgamas*?

It may be mentioned *en passant* that the exact date of *Siddhasena Gaṇi* is a desideratum. He has referred to *Dharmakīrti*⁴ and

1 This commentary together with the original text and the *bhāṣya* is published in two parts, in the "Sheth Devachand Lalbhai Jain Pustakodhar Fund Series", along with my introductions in Sanskrit and English.

2-3 Ibid. pt. I, p. 37.

4 Ibid. p. 397,

Jinabhadra Gaṇi kṣamāśramaṇa, in his commentary. This practically settles his earlier limit. Pandit Sukhlal identifies him with *Gandhahastin* mentioned by *Śīlāṅka Sūri* in his commentary to *Ācārāṅga*. This fact, if admitted, helps us in fixing the other limit.

Since not a single line is quoted in the commentary from *Siddhiviniścaya*, it remains to be verified, if there is any scholarly discussion as regards the theory of Creation in *Siddhiviniścaya* of *Akulaṅka*, whose date is still a subject open to discussion amongst various scholars.

Śrṣṭiparikṣā so far as I know, has not been mentioned in any of the catalogues of Mss. published. So will any scholar be inclined to furrow this virgin soil by attempting to find out, if there is any Ms. available, and if not, to see whether this is quoted in any work of not later than the 9th century ?

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XI

DATE OF *RĀGAMĀLĀ* OF *PUNḌARĪKA-VIṬṬHALA*

(ŚAKA 1498 = A. D. 1576) and identification of his patron

MĀDHAVASIMHARĀJA with MĀDHAVASIMHA,

patron of DALAPATIRĀYA

The *Rāgamālā* is a dissertation on the different rāgas, their forms, attributes and notes composed by Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala, a Karṇāṭaka (Karṇāṭaka-jātiya). The only two Mss. of the work now extant and available are the following :—

(1) Bikaner No. 1100. ¹

(2) No. 1026 of 1884-87 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

The description of the Bikaner Ms. as given in the Catalogue does not refer to the date of composition of the work which is given only in the B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 1026 of 1884-87 and is contained in the following verse :—

“ शाके वसंवत्सरे द्वाब्ज कपरिगणिते धातुसंवत्सरे रिमन्
8 9 4 1

आषाढे कृष्णपक्षे शशधरसुदिने पंचमी रेवतीमे

नागांब (नागाम्बा²) धर्मसुतुर्द्विजवरतिलको विद्वलोस्तीह विद्वान्

तेनेयं रागमाला रसिकजनगलेभूषणार्थं कृता हि ”

The chronogram ‘वसंवत्सरे द्वाब्ज’ comes to Śaka 1498 i. e. A. D. 1576. The age of the Ms. as recorded in the copy is Samvat 1671 i. e.

1. Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner, 1880- p. 515.

2. This is the reading of Bikaner Ms.

A. D. 1615. This means that the present copy was prepared 39 years after the date of composition of the work.

Aufrecht has the following information regarding the works of Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala in his Catalogue¹ :—

पुण्डरीकविट्ठल from Kārṇāṭaka, son of माधवसिंहराज lived under Akbar—नर्तननिर्णय Bik. 513, रागमञ्जरी Bik. 516, शीघ्रबोधिनी-नाममाला L. 1578, षड्रागचन्द्रोदय² Bik. 529.

The parentage of Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala as given in the verse from the रागमाला quoted above appears to be different from that mentioned by Aufrecht. The रागमाला verse tells us that he was the son of 'Nāgāmbā and Dharma' (नागांबाधर्मसूनुः) while Aufrecht says presumably on the authority of the catalogue description of the Mss. of the works नर्तननिर्णय and others that he was the son of माधवसिंहराज and lived under Akbar (1556-1605).

Aufrecht's remarks about the parentage of *Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala* appear, however, to be incorrect. The Bikaner Durbar has furnished me with a copy of a Ms. of Rāgamañjarī mentioned by Aufrecht as "Bik. 516". The following verses in the beginning and end of the work show clearly the relation of *Puṇḍarikaviṭṭhala* with *Mādhavasīmharāja* :—

Folios 1 & 2 " श्रीमत्कुण्डलपञ्चशदीपकमहाराजाधिराजेश्वर- ।
 स्तेजःपुंजमहाप्रतापनिकरो भानुः क्षितौ राजते ॥
 तस्यासीद्भगवंतदासतनयो वीराधिवीरेश्वरः ।
 क्षोणीमंडलमंडनो विजयते भूमंडलाखंडलः ॥
 तस्य द्वौ तनयौ ह्यभूक्तविनयौ शूरौ महाधार्मिकौ ।
 जातौ पंक्तिरथात्मजैत्वक्बरक्षोणीपतेः स्वौ भुजौ ॥
 सिंघो माधवमानपूर्वपदकौ संग्रामदक्षादुभौ ।
 तेगत्यागसहस्रहस्तकलितौ श्रीसर्वभूमीश्वरौ ॥
 अंकवरचपधर्मी शक्रतश्चातिधर्मी ।
 धराणिगगनमध्ये जंगमो मध्यमेरुः ॥
 सकलचपतिताराश्चंद्रसुराधिमौ द्वौ ।
 जगति जयनशीलौ माधवा मानासिंघौ ॥

1. Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p. 339a.

2. Mr. Fox-Strangways in his *Music of Hindostan*, p. 105, adds रागमाला and संगीतवृत्तरत्नाकर to this list of works ascribed to Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala and remarks that he belonged to the 2nd half of the 16th century.

तत्र माधवसिंघोयं राजा परमवैष्णवः

अगणितगणकचिकित्सकवेदांतन्यायशब्दशास्त्रज्ञाः ।
दृश्यन्ते बहवः संगीतिर्नात्र दृश्यतेऽप्येकः । इत्युक्ते
माधवसिंघे विठ्ठलेन द्विजन्मना । नत्वा गणेश्वरं देवं
रच्यते रागमञ्जरी ॥ ” etc.

Last Folio—

“ देसकजननीनिजसुताविठ्ठलकृतरागमञ्जरिक्रियं ।
सुंदररतिविचित्रावाग्देवीश्रवणमंडना भवतु ॥ २ ॥
संगीतार्णवमंदिरः प्रतिदिनं साहित्यपद्माकर-
प्रोद्धतप्रबलप्रबोधजनको भासां निधिः सांप्रतं ॥
विद्यावादविनोदिनामतितरामग्रेसरः केसरी ।
सोयं माधवसिंघराजातिलको जीयाच्चिरं भूतले ॥ ३ ॥ ”

It is clear from the foregoing extracts that Mādhavasimharāja was the patron of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala. The two brothers Mādhava-simharāja and Mānasimha were great favourites of Emperor Akbar. They were sons of ‘Bhagavantadāsa’ of the ‘Kachapa’ family. Mādhavasimharāja was a Vaiṣṇava and was apparently fond of Music. Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala was inspired to write all his works on Music by the direct encouragement of Prince Mādhava-simha.

The present Mādhāvasimharāja appears to have been the patron of another writer called दलपतिराय who wrote पत्रप्रशस्ति or यावन परिपाटी-अनुक्रम. There are two Mss. of this work in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute :—(1) No. 409 of 1882-83 and No. 517 of 1891-95. Dalapatirāya makes the following remarks about himself in this work :—

“ अथ प्रथमं यवनराज्याधिकारनियोगधृता, यथाशक्युपचारितनानाशास्त्र
विशारदविबुधवृन्देन पित्रा ग्राहितगीर्वाणयावनशास्त्राम्यासस्तदनु च हिंदुम्लेच्छ-
महीपालपरिचर्यापारतंत्र्येऽपि विद्याव्यसनव्यग्रचेता बहुषु जनपदेषु विविध
विद्वत्सपर्यापारिचयसंपादितसुरनागव्रजयवनभाषाकाव्यरसालंकाराद्यभिनिवशः
कथमपि पूर्वपुण्यप्राग्भारसंदर्शितफलोदयो निखिलराजम्यराजिनीराजि-
तांधिराजीवश्रीमन्माधवेन्द्राणां परिचारकपदमासवाद् अस्मि दलपतिरायः ”

This passage is found in both the Mss. Ms. No. 517 is in-
complete, while No. 409 has the following colophon :—

“इति यावनपारि(पा)व्यानुकृत्या राजरीतिनिरूपणोनाम सप्तमोधिकारः ॥ इति श्रीमदखिलमहीमंडलाखंडल श्रीसवाईमाधवसिंह देवाज्ञा विलिखि”

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's remarks on the basis of the last line of the above colophon that Mādhavasimha, the Sārvaabhauma, appears to have been Savai Madhavarao or Madhavarao II of Peshawa dynasty of Poona.

I am inclined to take a different view of the above colophon. In the first instance the Ms. No. 409 has been acquired from Gujarat.² Secondly the “सवाई माधवसिंह” has a Gujarati tinge about it and presumably refers to a Prince in Rajputana. Thirdly the word ‘विलिखि’ is generally used by copyists in the sense that the “copy was made” or the “work was copied”. I am, therefore, inclined to take the last line as one added to by the scribe and the ‘सवाई माधवसिंह’ as some other Rajput Prince different from the माधवसिंह सार्वभौम, the patron of Dalapatirāya. It is possible that the present copy of the पत्रप्रशस्ति might have been made by a scribe under the instructions of a Rajput Prince called ‘सवाई माधवसिंह’. During the time of the Peshawa Madhavarao II, the Mogul rule was not so prominent as in the days of Akbar. Dalapatirāya in his remarks about himself and his father (vide extract quoted above) refers to circumstances such as ‘यवनराज्याधिकारनियोग’, ‘गीर्वाणयावनशास्त्राभ्यास’, ‘हिंदुम्लेच्छमहीपालपरिचर्यापारतंत्र्य’ all of which fit in more with the times of Emperor Akbar than those of Madhavarao II of the Peshawa dynasty. I am, therefore, of opinion that the माधवसिंह सार्वभौम or माधवचन्द्र, the patron of दलपतिराय is identical with the माधवसिंह the patron of Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala. The epithet ‘सार्वभौम’ need not mislead us because it is laudatory. It is similar to the epithet “श्रीसर्वभूमीश्वरो” applied to the two brothers माधवसिंह and मानसिंह the tributary princes in the extract from Rāgamañjarī quoted above.

1. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss. for 1882-83, p. 41.

2. Ibid, p. 2 — “The Gujarat Section comprises Nos. 1-486”

DATE OF SUMATIVIJAYA'S COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA — LATTER HALF OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Mr. S. P. Pandit in his edition of the *Raghuvamśa* makes the following remarks about the commentary of *Sumativijaya* on the *Raghuvamśa*¹ :—

“ We have now to notice the last Jain commentary that we have secured. The author's name is Pandita Sumativijaya of Vikramapura (Bikaner?) and that of his work *Sugamārtha-prabodhikā* which he composed sometime between A. D. 1635 and 1643.”

The date given by Mr. Pandit in these remarks is based on the chronogram in the colophon of his Ms. viz. “निर्विघ्नहरसप्तशतसंवत्सरे”. About सप्त and शत there is no difficulty of interpretation as their values viz. 6 and 1 are clear. There is difficulty as regards the value of the expression “ निर्विघ्नहर ”. Mr. Pandit observes in this connection : “ whatever the figure of unit may be that is meant to be indicated by the letters preceding हर it is certain that ग्रहरसप्तशत mean one thousand six hundred and ninety, obviously of the Samvat as that is the era used in Rajputana where the commentary was composed and whence it has been obtained.”

Another scholar to deal with this date is Mr. Nandargikar² who describes a Ms. of the work viz. No. 46 of 1873-74 of the Govt. Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Institute. His remarks about the date are as under :—

“ Date 1609 of the Samvat year corresponding with A. D. 1552. This Ms. of *Sugamānvayā* is bought for the Bombay Govt. by Dr. Bühler at Bikaner in Rajputana.” Mr. Nandargikar, like Mr. Pandit, also bases his date A. D. 1552 on the chronogram “ निर्विघ्नहरसप्तशत ”.

1. *Raghuvamśa*, edited by S. P. Pandit, 1872, Preface pp 11-12

2. *Raghuvamśa*, 1897, Critical Notice, pp. 24-25.

This divergence of interpretation of the chronogram by two different scholars results in the difference of more than 100 years (1643 and 1552) in fixing the date of composition as recorded in the work itself.

Instead of multiplying these interpretations it would prove a sort of corrective if we try to infer the probable date of the work on the basis of internal evidence. A cursory perusal of this commentary (Ms. No. 46 of 1873-74 referred to above) gives us the following list of authorities mentioned by Sumativijaya :—
अमरः, हेमकोषः, काव्यप्रकाशः (fol. 240); विश्वः or विश्वप्रकाशः (4, 56 etc.);
वैजयंती (fol. 5, 12 etc.); धराणिः (fol. 7); अनेकार्थः (fol. 9, 32 etc.);
अनेकार्थतिलक (fol. 14, 16, 19, 22, 31, 32 etc.); अभिधानचिंतामणिः (fol. 14, 16, 18 etc.); भारतशास्त्रं (fol. 23); शाश्वतः (fol. 33, 70); आगमः (fol. 36);
किरातार्जुनीयकाव्यं (fol. 49); केशवः (fol. 82, 140, 152); सज्जनः (fol. 97); वायुपुराण (fol. 114); लिंगानुशासन (fol. 139); भोज-
व्याकरणं (fol. 142); हलायुधः (fol. 142, 175, 217); कृष्णभट्टाः (fol. 192);
दक्षिणवर्तः (fol. 192); विष्णुपुराणं (fol. 219); यादवः (fol. 51, 78, 79, 198).

In the above list the reference to the अनेकार्थतिलक proves that the commentary was written after A. D. 1374¹ which is the date of this lexicon. More important than this reference is the reference to भोजव्याकरण on folio 142 which appears as under :—

“ दृढाचासौ भक्तिश्च दृढभक्तिः । एवत्कर्मधारयेत्यनेन एवद्भावः वा वादृढं भजन यस्य स दृढभक्तिः । अत्र केचिदाहुः कर्मसाधनेन भक्तिशब्दे एवत्वनिषेधोयं भक्तौ तु कर्मसाधनायां इति भोजव्याकरणदर्शनात्. ”

Now as regards Bhojavvyākaraṇa Dr. Belvalkar³ observes that it was “ written for the benefit of a King Bhoja, son of Bharamalla. ” Mr. Harishankar Shastri in his edition⁴ of this work

1. Zacharie ; *Die Indischen Wörterbücher*, p. 33.

2. *Bhojavvyākaraṇa* (N. S. Press—1919) Pothi edition—folios 25-26 — see verses 88, 89, 90, 2nd line of verse 90 — “ वा प्रहणायस्वेषु एवद्भावो भवेन्नहि ”.

3. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (1915), pp. 115-116.

4. Edition of *Bhojavvyākaraṇa* (in Pothi form), 1919, (Published by Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay), Introduction p. 2.

states — “महोपाध्यायपदधारकेण विनयसागरेण मुनिना श्रीभारमल्लभूपतिप्रीतये तत्कुमारनामस्मरणार्थमेतद्भोजव्याकरणं पद्यबंधरचनया व्यरचि । तेन भारमल्लभूपतिश्रुति-प्रसन्नतरोबभूव”.

I wonder on what evidence Mr. Harishankar Shastri has based the above remarks for they are different from the following statement of the work itself as recorded on folios 29, 67 and 76 of the printed edition under reference :—

“श्रीभारमल्लतनयो भुवि भोजराजो
राज्यं प्रशस्ति रिपुवर्जितमिन्द्रवधः
तस्याज्ञया विनयसागरपाठकेन
संगुंकितात्र रुचिराष्टु तृतीयवृत्तिः”

It appears, therefore, that the work was written, as stated thrice in the work itself, under the orders of the King Bhoja, the son of Bhāramalla. Bhāramalla of the verse is none other than Bhāramalla I, Rao of Kacch who reigned from 1585-1631 A. D.¹ As the work was written under the orders of Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla and during his reign it must have been written some years after 1631 A. D., say about A. D. 1640 or so. As Sumativijaya belongs to Vikramapura i. e. Bikaner as stated in the colophon of his commentary and as he quotes भोजव्याकरण as authority he must have had a copy of the work before him. We shall, therefore, be not far wrong if we suppose that Sumativijaya wrote his commentary between 1640 and 1675 A. D. or in the latter half of the 17th century. This conclusion harmonizes with the dates of some of the Mss. of the commentaries of Sumativijaya in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute which are as under :—

Ms.	Number	Dated Samvat	A. D.	Remarks
रघुवंशटीका ...	No. 450 of 1887-91	1838	1782	
Do ...	No. 373 of 1892-95	1817	1761	
मेघदूतटीका ...	No. 315 of A 1882-83	1804	1748	

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, part II, p. 41.

A MANUSCRIPT OF A COMMENTARY ON THE
RAGHUVAMŚA CALLED PRAKĀŚIKĀ AND
ITS PROBABLE DATE — MIDDLE OF
THE 15TH CENTURY

There is a Ms. of a commentary on the Raghuvamśa called Raghukāvya prakāśikā in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. This is No. 471 of 1895-1902 and consists of 69 folios. The commentary is only for seven cantos of the text. The name of the author is not mentioned in any of the colophons of the seven cantos which appear on folios 19, 25, 35, 44, 54, 66 and 72. Among works and authors referred to in the commentary the following may be noted :— कामंदकः (fol. 5); वैजयंती (fol. 5, 48, 65); मनुः (fol. 6, 14, 18); यादवः (fol. 8); रुद्रः (fol. 8); विश्वः (fol. 9, 11, 15, 19, 52); हेमाचार्यः (fol. 11); अमरः (fol. 13, 19, 37, 64); हलायुधः (fol. 15); हैमक्रोषः (fol. 16, 29, 31, 39, 40); पराशरः (fol. 17); अभिधान-चिंतामणि (fol. 26, 27); आगमः (fol. 28, 37); अनेकार्थतिलक (fol. 29); अनेकार्थः (fol. 30, 49); शाश्वतः (fol. 32, 64); किरातार्जुनीय (fol. 46).

As the list of the Mss. of the collection 1895-1902 was published by the B. O. R. Institute in 1925 this Ms. of the commentary Prakāśikā could not be recorded in Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum.

From the list of references given above it will be clear that the commentary is not very old. The quotation from अनेकार्थतिलक on folio 29 gives us one terminus to the probable date of the commentary. This quotation appears as under :—

“ रथांगं चक्रवाकयोरित्यनेकार्थतिलके ”

Presumably this is a quotation from the work of Mahīpa called अनेकार्थतिलक, which is a chapter of the larger work शब्दरत्नाकर. It deals with homonyms and bears the date 1374 A. D.¹ As the present commentary refers to a lexicon of 1374 A. D. it must have been composed many years after this date. Secondly, in the list of references given above the commentary mentions works which are all of them of earlier date. This would justify our conclusion that the present commentary Prakāśikā was written in the *middle of the 15th century*, say between 1425 and 1475 A. D.

1. Zacharie ; *Die Indischen Wörterbücher*, 1897, p. 36,

XIV

A MANUSCRIPT OF MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY DATED SAMVAT 1837 (1781 A. D.) AND IDENTIFICATION OF GAJASIMHA IN WHOSE REIGN IT WAS WRITTEN

There is a Ms. (No. 332 of 1884-86) of Mallinātha's commentary on the Raghuvamśa dated Samvat 1837 (नग, अग्नि, वसु, ऋ) which corresponds to A. D. 1781. The scribe states that the Ms. was copied in the above year in the reign of *Gajasimha* of *Vikramapattana*. The name of scribe is व्यासनंदलाल of नाइट or नाइट family.

It appears that the *Gajasimha* mentioned in the colophon of this Ms. is identical with *Gajasimha* of Bikaner Raj¹ who ruled from A. D. 1746 to 1787. The date of the Ms. viz. A. D. 1781 harmonizes with the above period of *Gajasimha*'s reign and *Vikramapattana* of the Ms. is identical with *Bikaner*.

REFERENCES TO THE BAUDDHAS AND THEIR PHILO-
SOPHY IN UMĀSVĀTI'S TATTVĀRTHABHĀṢYA AND
SIDDHASENA GANĪ'S COMMENTARY TO IT.

It is a matter of great pleasure to write this note, for, it is connected with the response I have met with, from two erudite scholars so far as the Buddhistic quotations referred to in the last issue of this very journal are concerned.

Dr. P. V. Bapat was kind enough to point out to me that आत्म-धर्मोपचारो हि is the opening verse of Trīmśikā composed by Vasubandhu and edited by Prof. Sylvain Lèvi in A. D. 1925.

This very fact together with another has been communicated to me by Dr. Sylvain Lèvi, himself, the learned editor of this very work as under :—

“ In response to your call (*Annals Bhandarkar Or. Inst.* XIV, p. 143), I beg to inform you that the verse quoted on p. 104 आत्म-धर्मोपचारो हि etc. is the first verse of Trīmśikā, the classical work of Vasubandhu. * * * * ”

“ About the name Māyāsūnaviyāḥ for Buddhists, I think it is rather a nickname implying the meaning of sons of Illusion, of Deceit”, much more than really the name of the queen Māyā. It sounded a good joke.”

H. R. KAPADIA

धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्यानमाला ।

प्रथमं व्याख्यानम् ।

१ वेदादिव्याख्येतिरार्थनिर्देशः ।

२ वेदार्थस्य सापेक्षत्वानिरपेक्षत्वमीमांसा ।

सभ्यप्रार्थनादि — अयि सभाध्यक्षाः । वेदादिविद्यावारिधिनिमग्न-
स्वान्ताः शान्ता निर्मत्सरा विद्वांसः । यदर्थमहमत्रोपस्थितो यच्च मया
प्रत्यभ्यावि सभाधिकारिभ्यस्तत्सर्वं श्रीमद्भिः श्रुतचरम् । अधुना स्वीयं
कार्यं निर्वोढुं प्रयते । तत्र प्रथमं मया वेदादिव्याख्यस्य सारार्थः संक्षिप्ततया
यावच्छृण्वं कालक्रमानुसारं निर्देश्य इति समापताति । प्रत्येयं यत् — अगा-
धस्य वेदशास्त्रमहोदधेः परिचयो मुष्टिपचमतिना मयाऽल्पीयसाऽनेहसा
विशेषतः सर्वविदां तत्र भवतां समाजे कारयितुमशक्यस्तथापि “नभः पत-
न्त्यामसमं पतत्रिणः ।” इति वैयासिकवचोऽनुसारं यथामति तत्र
धृष्णोमि ।

२ वेदार्थसंक्षेपः — तथा च — विभज्य आसयतीति व्यासः । वेदानां
व्यासः, वेदव्यास इति व्युत्पत्तिसंदर्शितपंथेन भगवता व्यासेन चत्वारोऽशाः
संहितानामृग्यजुःसामाथर्वणिकीनां पैलादीन् स्वशिष्यान् पाठिताः । ते च
संहितांशा अपौरुषेया इति मीमांसकानां मतम् । वैयाकरणादिभिस्तु तत्रापि
पौरुषेयत्वमुररीक्रियते । तत्र दाशतय्यां तद्देवतानां स्तुतयः सूक्तापरपर्यायाः
समुपलभ्यन्ते । यजुःष्वध्वयुवेदापरनामधेयेषु हविर्दानपूजनात्मकानि
कर्माणि गाथामन्त्राश्च । साम्नि गीत्यात्मके औद्गात्रोपयोगिनो मन्त्राः । आथ-
र्वणे तु यज्ञबहिर्भाग उपयुज्यमाना यज्ञोपहन्तृविशसनात्मकाः सर्पादिविष-
विघातका यज्ञीयब्राह्मकर्मप्रतिपादका वा मन्त्रा दरीदृश्यन्ते ।

३ ततस्तद्व्याख्यारूपा ब्राह्मणग्रन्था वेदविवरणार्थं प्रवृत्ताः । क्रचैव
हौत्रं, यजुषैवाध्वर्थवम्, साम्नैवौद्गात्रम्, त्रिभिर्ब्रह्मा आथर्व-
ब्राह्मणग्रन्थस्वरूपम् । निष्केन वेत्यादिवचसा वेदमन्त्राणां कर्म विधीनां च संबन्धं
बोधयितुं प्राधान्येन प्रावर्तिषतेमे ब्राह्मणग्रन्थाः । इमे
तैत्तिरीयैतरेयशातपथगोपथादिरूपा ब्राह्मणग्रन्था गद्यरूपाः कचिद् शतपथे
स्वरविशिष्टा अपि समुपलभ्यन्ते । तत्र तैत्तिरीयैतरेयादिषु विनियोजकं

वाक्यं ब्राह्मणम्' इति मीमांसकलक्षणलाक्षिततया लिङ्लोदतव्यप्रत्ययान्ता-
स्तत्तद्याज्ञिककर्मबोधकविधयः समुपलभ्यन्ते । अत्र ब्राह्मणेषु त्रिधा व्याख्या-
१ प्रथमं मन्त्राणां विनियोगविधिः । २ ततो मन्त्रगतानां कतिपयानां विषम-
पदानामर्थनिर्देशः । ३ अथ च तृतीयेंऽश इतिकर्तव्यता विशेषतः संबन्ध-
वैधुर्यवती चार्थवादरूपाख्यायिका । ईदृश्यः संबन्धविधुरा अप्याख्यायिका
न वैरस्याय भवन्ति यतस्तासु प्रभूताः प्रशस्तास्ताः साहित्यविलसितत्वाद्
बहुमानारूपदं च । अत्र बहुशः “एवं ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति” इति पण्डितानां
तत्तत्कर्मविचिकित्सानिरासका विवादास्तत्र तत्र श्रूयन्ते । त एवोहाद्विद्वारा
धर्मशास्त्रीयसंशीतिदृष्टेनोपयुज्यन्ते । निबन्धकृद्भिः क्वचित्तथोपयोजित-
मपि । किं चेमा आख्यायिका इतिहासप्रवणमतीन् पुराणवस्तुसंशोधकांश्चोप-
कुर्वन्ति । संहितांशे द्वेवतास्तुतयः । ब्राह्मणांशे कर्मविधय इति प्रभूतं तार-
तम्यं मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्विवरीतुं शक्यं किंतु विस्तरभीतिरिमं प्रपञ्चं निरुणद्धि ।
ब्राह्मणग्रन्थो यथा वेदार्थसंदेहापहारी तथा शिक्षाव्याकरणादीनि षडङ्गा-
न्यपि । कल्पविषये त्वनुपदमेवोच्यते ।

४ ब्राह्मणे वेदत्वातिदेशः—ततस्तत्र काले संप्रवृत्तेन कर्मविधिमाह्वात्म्येन
संप्रेरितो भगवान् कात्यायनमहर्षिः “मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम्” इति
सूत्रयित्वा ब्राह्मणभागेऽपि वेदत्वमतिदिदेश । ततः प्रभृति ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेऽपि,
“श्रूयते, श्रुतिः, आम्नायः” इति वाक्प्रचारोऽनिरुद्धसंचरः पदं लेभे । तत्र
ब्राह्मणेषु कानिचिन्नवीनानि कानिचित् प्राचीनानीति “पुराणप्रोक्तेषु
ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु” इति भगवतः पाणिनेः सूत्रात्प्रतीयते । पुराणेति किम् ।
याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानीति तत्प्रत्युदाहरणं सूत्रव्याख्याकृद्भिः प्रदर्श्यते ।
तेनैव संजाघटीति ब्राह्मणविषये पौरुषेयत्वसंशीतिः केषांचित् । एतेषामेव
चरमांश आरण्यकरूपाः तत्र प्रायः कर्मगतानां कतिपयानामुद्गीथाद्यङ्गाना-
मुपासनाः ।

५ काण्डत्रयोपयोगः—ततश्च कर्मणा चित्तशुद्धिः, उपासनया चित्तै-
काग्र्यम्, ज्ञानेन मोक्षः, इति तार्तीयस्थितिसमाधिगतये उत्तरकाण्डे वेद-
शिरोभूतोपनिषत्सु ज्ञानं प्रतिपाद्यते “तमेव विदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमोति नान्यः
पन्था विद्यतेऽग्रनाय” इति श्रुतेः । एवमेव वेदगतकाण्डत्रयार्थनिर्णायकानि
जैमिनिबादरायणसूत्राणि । उपनिषदर्थग्रथनार्थत्वात्सूत्राणामिति श्रीशंकर-
भगवत्पूज्यपादाः । अत एव विंशत्यध्यायात्मिका मीमांसा संप्रवृत्ता । तत्र
द्वादशाध्यायाः कर्मकाण्डगताश्चत्वार उपासनार्थनिर्णायका देवताकाण्डपर-
पर्यायाः शंकलनया षोडशैते जैमिनिप्रणीता एव । अथ चोपनिषदर्थप्रति-
पादकाश्चत्वारो बादरायणमहर्षिप्रणीता उत्तरमीमांसासूत्राध्यायाः । सोऽयं
काण्डत्रयानुयायिनां पन्थाः ।

६ सूत्रग्रन्थोद्भवः— परं ये केवलं पूर्वकाण्डीयेन यज्ञविधिना सदाचा-

रेण च स्वीयमैहिकं पारलौकिकं च फलं कामयमाना
सूत्रग्रन्थोद्भवः अनुतिष्ठन्ति विधीनेव केवलं तदर्थमत्र किंचिदिव
मीमांस्यते । अयि श्रुत्यर्थचणा विद्वन्मिश्राः । ब्राह्म-

णार्थं तद्वतविधिं च दुरुहं भन्वानानां कृतेऽश्वलायनबोधायनकात्यायना-
दिभिः कल्पसूत्राणां प्रणेतृभिः स एव ब्राह्मणगतः कर्मविधिः सूत्ररूपेण
ग्रथितः । सूत्रं नाम - आख्यायिकार्थवादरहितो ब्राह्मणांश इत्युक्त्या ना-
पराधिनमात्मानं कलये । यत एतदेव सूत्राणां स्वरूपम् । तथा च यावच्छ-
क्यं ब्राह्मणाक्षराण्येव सूत्रेषु दृश्यन्ते । एवमयं सूत्रग्रन्थः सौकर्यायानुष्ठा-
नृणां सुग्रहः । सूत्रेषु च प्रकारत्रयम् — १ श्रौतसूत्राणि, २ स्मार्तसूत्राणि,
३ धर्मसूत्राणि च । यथा ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु श्रौता यागविधयस्तादितिकर्तव्यता-
रूपाणि निरूपणानि तथैव श्रौतसूत्रेष्वपि संभवन्ति तानि वह्नित्रयसाध्यानि
कर्माणि ।

स्मार्तसूत्राणि — श्रौतसूत्रग्रथनानन्तरं स्मार्तसूत्रप्रणयनम् । यतः
श्रौताग्निहोत्रादौ “जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीत” इति विधानात् जात-
पुत्रस्याधिकारः, जातपुत्रत्वं च विवाहमन्तरानुपपन्नं ततश्च ‘येन विना
यदनुपपन्नं तत्तेनाक्षिप्यते’ इति न्यायेन जातपुत्रत्वं धर्म्यं विवाहमाक्षिपति ।
तदर्थं विवाहादयः षोडश संस्कारा एकाग्निसाध्यानि श्रवणाकर्मस्थाली-
पाकादीनि तैरेवाश्वलायनादिमहर्षिभिः स्वगृह्यरूपेण स्वशास्त्रानुसारं ग्रथि-
तानि ।

धर्मसूत्राणि—अनन्तरं च तत्तत्कर्मसदाचारादिविषयकविचिकित्सावि-
निवर्तकानि धर्मसूत्राण्यवातारिषुः । तेषामवतारप्रकारश्चे-
धर्मसूत्राणि त्थम् । यदा यदा कर्मविचिकित्सा वा वृत्तविचिकित्सा वा
संजाता तदा तदा गुरुणां शिष्याणां च शास्त्रविषयि-
णी मीमांसा प्रवर्तते स्म । कदाचिद् ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु तत्समानकक्षीयाः
संशीतयः समुत्तारिताः पुराणेषु वा । अत्र नैवमनुयोक्तव्यं यद्ब्राह्मणग्रन्था-
त्प्राक्तनानि अधुनोपलभ्यमानानि पुराणानीति । नेति तदुत्तरम् । किं तु
पुराणं नाम किमप्याख्यायिकारूपं ब्राह्मणात्प्राक्तनं
पुराणप्राक्तनत्वविचारः ग्रन्थजातमासीत् । शातपथीयबृहदारण्यकादिषु —

“तस्यैतस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद्यद्वेदो
यजुर्वेदः सामवेदः वाको वाक्यं पुराणमितिहासः” इत्यादिनिर्दे-
शात् । ब्राह्मणेषु पुराणशब्दः सामान्यतो जगदुत्पत्तिमीमांसेत्यर्थे समुप-
युज्यते । एवं च पूर्वोक्ता गुरुशिष्याः ब्राह्मणपुराणपर्यालोचनया शास्त्र-
संस्कृतषुद्ध्या च समाप्य वादं सूत्ररूपेण सिद्धान्तं ग्रथयामासुस्तान्येव
धर्मसूत्राणि । यद्यपि प्राक्तनविवादस्तत्र नोपलभ्यते तथापि सिद्धान्तेनानु-

मातुं शक्यः सः । इमान्येव सूत्राणि गौतमबोधायनापस्तम्बादीनि धर्म-
सूत्राणि स्मृतीनां निदानम् । तत्र कानि सूत्राणि काः स्मृतीः प्रयोजयति
किं वा तेषां पौर्वापर्यमिति तृतीये व्याख्याने पर्यालोचयिष्यामः ।

पुराणमहाभारते — अधुना पुराणविषये समुपक्षिप्यते — ब्राह्मणग्रन्था-
नन्तरं जायमानेषु पुराणेषु “वंशो मन्वन्तराणि” इत्यादिश्लोकबोधितरौत्या
वंशादीनि पञ्चाङ्गानि वर्णितानि । यथा श्रीमन्महाभारते वैयासिके कुरुराजे-
तिहासानुरोधाद् बहूनि राजधर्माद्युपाख्यानानि सर्वजनकार्याकार्यसंदेहाप-
हारकाणि समुपलभ्यन्ते । तत्र पुराणेषु परिकीर्तिता विविधाः कथास्ता
अनुसृत्य स्मृतीनां प्रणयनं, ततः पुराणानि धर्ममूलमिति स्मृतिव्याख्यातृभि-
रुक्तक्रियते । पुराणकथा आहत्य धर्मनिर्णय आसौत् । धर्मसूत्रपूषोद्वलक-
त्वेन पुराणवर्त्तासि स्वाक्रियन्ते ।

शास्त्रापेक्षयाऽपि रूढराचारापरपर्यायायाः श्रेष्ठत्वमासीदिति द्योतयितुं
पुराणमाहात्म्यप्रदर्शकं नारदस्मृतिवचो हेमाद्रिणा
रूढिप्राप्तस्यम् संकलितम् ।

वेषाः प्रतिष्ठिता देवि पुराणे नात्र संशयः ॥

विभक्त्यल्पश्रुताद्देवो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥ १ ॥

उभाभ्यां यत्र दृष्टं न तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ॥

एवं नारदीयपुराणे महाभारते च — “अन्धस्य यष्टिरिव वेदानां
पुराणानि” इति प्रत्यवादि । मोर्मासकेः स्मृत्यपेक्षया पुराणानां गौणत्वं
स्वाक्रियते । आदिष्यपुराणे तु कालवर्ज्यत्वेन केचिद्धर्मशास्त्रबोधितविधिनां
निषेधाः प्रतिपाद्यन्ते । अतः पुराणेष्वधीत्यत्वं धर्मशास्त्रस्य । ते चाधुनात-
नन्यायालयाध्यक्षरूपयोज्यन्ते ।

वस्तोरसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहाः ।

शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्धसोरिणाम् ॥

माज्याक्षता गृहस्थस्य तीर्थसेवातिकूरतः ।

ब्राह्मणादिषु तु शूद्रस्य पक्रतादिक्रियापि च ॥

भृग्वभिमरणं चैव वृद्धादिमरणं तथा ।

इदं वर्ण्यप्रकरणं पूर्वं न्यायालये नियोज्यमानैः पण्डितैरङ्गीक्रियते स्म ।

तैः पुराणानामुपपुराणानां चोपोद्वलकत्वेन स्वीकारः

कृतः । तैः पुराणवाक्यानि स्मृतिवाक्यानीव संमानि-

तानि । (पराशरमाधवीये श्रुतिमालम्ब्य पूर्वपक्षयित्वा

पुराणवचोऽनुसरणेन तत्त्वण्डनं बहुषु स्थलेषु समुपलभ्यते) यतः पुराणेषु

चातीव सादृश्यम् । तथा च — कूर्मपुराणमुशनः स्मृतिश्च समा । याज्ञवल्कीय-

पुराणेन शास्त्रस्य

बाध्यत्वम्

आदित्यपुराणः अग्निगण्डपुराणे च समे । भविष्यपुराणस्थाः केचिदंशा मनु-
स्मृत्या समाः । यद्यपि पुराणं न धर्मशास्त्रं तथापि तत्तत्कालीनरूढिदर्शक-
त्वेन उद्ग्रहणार्थादिषु रघुनन्दनादिभिराद्रियते । रघुनन्दनेन स्मृतिसंमतोऽ-
सर्वणविवाह आदित्यपुराणप्रामाण्यान्निरस्तः । आदित्यपुराणे च-

समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदेषू भवेत् ।

इत्युक्तम् । पुराणैः कालदेशपरिस्थित्यनुरूपं योग्यमेवाचरितम् ।
पुराणभारतादीनां ग्रन्थनमनु व्यतीति बहुतिथे काले साहित्यग्रन्थानां
काव्यनाटकादीनां प्रगयनम् । प्रकृतेऽस्माभिर्धर्मशास्त्रविषय एवोपक्षेपः
कर्तव्योऽतः पूर्वोक्तग्रन्थमहोदधौ समुपलभ्यमानानि धर्मशास्त्रविषयसंस्मृ-
कानि लिङ्गानि कालानुरोधात् कियन्तिचिन्निर्विश्यन्ते । तत्प्रदर्शने दायभाग-
विषय एव विशेषतः समादरः कर्तव्यः प्रसङ्गानुरोधात् । अतस्तान्येव
प्रदर्शयन्ते ।

प्राचीन -- व्यवहारधर्मशास्त्रनिर्देशाः —

१ मनुः पुत्रेभ्यो दायं व्यभजत् । तै० सं० ३-१-९-४

२ तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्ति । तै० सं० २-५-२-७

३ तस्मात् स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादोरपि पापात्पुंस उपस्तितरं
वदन्ति । तै० सं० ३-५-८-२

४ शाकुन्तलम्- षष्ठोऽङ्कः । -

राजा- (अमुवाच्य) कथम् । समुद्रव्यवहारी सार्धवाहो धनमिश्रो
नाम नौव्यसने विपन्नः । अनपत्यश्च किल तपस्वी । राजगामी तस्या-
र्थसंचय इत्येतदमात्येन लिखितम् । कष्टं स्वत्यनपत्यता । वेत्रवति
बहुधनत्याह्वुपत्तिकेन तत्रभवता भवितव्यम् । विचार्यतां यदि
काचिदापन्नसत्त्वा तस्य भार्यासु स्यात् । प्रतीहारी — देव । इदानी-
मेव साकेतस्य श्रेष्ठिनो दुहिता निर्वृत्तपुंसवना जायाऽस्य श्रूयते ।

राजा — ननु गर्भः पित्र्यं रिक्थमर्हति । गच्छ । एवममात्यं ब्रूहि ।

५ न जामये तान्वा रिक्थमरैक् (ऋग्वेद) ३-११-२ निरुक्ते- ३-५

६ वृ० आ० २- ब्रा० ४ कं० १-

मैत्रेयीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः । उद्यास्यन्वा अरेऽहमस्मात्स्थानाद-
स्मि हन्त तेऽनया कात्यायन्याऽन्तं करिष्यामि ।

७ पातञ्जलमहाभाष्ये १-२-३

न वा राजाज्ञास्ति न वा धर्मसूत्रकाराः पठन्ति । (अनेन राजाज्ञा
वा प्रमाणं धर्मसूत्रकारा वा प्रमाणमिति पातञ्जलमतं प्रतीयते ।)

तत्र धर्मशास्त्रं किं तद्ग्रन्थाश्च के तस्वरूपं च कीदृशविधमिति तृतीये व्याख्याने प्रदर्शयिष्यामः । पूर्वं तदुपयोगित्वेनाद्य स्मृत्यादिधर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थानां वाच्यलक्ष्याद्यर्थाः कथं निर्णयेया इति मीमांस्यते । 'वचनस्य नातिभारोऽस्ति' इति धर्मशास्त्रे स्वीक्रियते तेन लक्ष्यार्थस्य न तत्र संभावना । व्याख्याकृतां श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरप्रभृतीनां सरणावालोच्यमानायामिदं मतिपथमाटीकते यत् तैर्यावच्छक्यं ग्रन्थकालक्रममाद्यनपेक्षं सर्वेषां स्मृतिग्रन्थानां मूलात्पूर्वभाविनां पश्चाद्भाविनामपि चार्थं समन्वितं कृत्वा मूलार्थो विव्रियते । स एव च न्यायालयस्थैराद्रियते कदाचित्तेन मूलविरोधी टीकारुतां पन्थाः विप्लवोऽपि समुद्भवति । तदधुना यथामति विवृणोमि । अयि श्रेष्ठाः । मीमांसाशास्त्रे गुणोपसंहारो नाम समादृतः कश्चन साधीयान् पन्थाः । तेन श्रौतस्मार्तसूत्रोक्तविधेषु तत्तत्सूत्रेऽनुक्तानि कानिचित् कर्माणि भवन्ति तेषां गुणोपसंहाराविचारः 'अनुक्तमन्यतो ग्राह्यम्' इति वाक्यात् सूत्रान्तरात् ग्रहणं यत्र सर्वं विधयस्तत्र समुपलभ्यन्ते तत्र न सूत्रान्तरान् स्मृतिभ्यो वा संग्रहणम् ।

बह्वर्त्तनं वा स्वगृह्योक्तं यस्य यावत्प्रकीर्तितम् ।

तस्य तावति शास्त्रार्थे कृते सर्वं कृतं भवेत् ॥

इति कार्यायनस्मृतेः । एतावता व्याख्याकृतामयमधिकोपक्षेपः सर्वत्र न गुणोपसंहारन्यायानुसारी । किंच भो विचारचातुरीचतुराः । व्याख्यानिबन्धकृता इदमन्यदप्येकं ध्येयम् । निबन्धानां व्याख्याकृतां च प्रामाण्यं स्मृतिवज्राप्रतिहतप्रसरं किं तु प्रमाणान्तरावलम्बि । यतः स्मृतीनामुपदेशविधयाऽस्ति प्रामाण्यं नाम । यतस्तदुक्त्यवमतौ प्रत्यवायोत्पत्तिः । विहितस्याननुष्ठानादिति स्मृतेः पातित्यापादकं तत् । न तथा निबन्धकृताम् । सर्वशास्त्रनदीष्णानां तेषां तद्विचारविधया प्रामाण्यं नाम स्वयमस्माभिः स्मृत्यर्थकरणे नो चेद्वक्ष्यमाणविरोधस्तर्हि तदनुकूलमर्थकरणमन्यथा तस्याग इत्येव । द्वितीयः पन्थाः सर्वमीमांसकशिष्टसंमतोऽत एव तत्तैर्निबन्धकुङ्क्षिः संमता शास्त्रार्थसरणिः । परस्परं वैमत्यं प्रदर्श्यते । एतत्तु नाविदितं निबन्धादिपर्यालोचयितृणाम् । न चैवं प्रत्युत्थातव्यं यत्स्मृत्यन्तरसंमत्यैवाधिकार्थस्योपक्षेपो व्याख्याकुङ्क्षिः कल्प्यते किं तत्र विवादास्पदमिति । अत्रैवं ब्रूमः । स्मृत्यन्तरसमन्वयविषये विचारो द्वितीयकक्षां गतः प्रथमं निर्दिष्टादं सर्वैरादृता सरणिरियम् । व्याकरणकोशादिभिराप्तवाक्यैश्च पदानां संकेतं गृहीत्वा प्रकरणसंनिध्यादिरूपिणी मीमांसकसरणिः संमाननीया । यद्यत्र व्याख्याकृततामैक्यं ततस्तु न विवाः । १ मम तु मतमेतत् ।

यदेवमेव सर्वत्र स्मृतिषु प्रवर्तनीयम् । सुलभार्थाक्षराणि स्मृतिवाक्यानि भवन्ति । मूलनिरपेक्षं क्वचित्तिद्विरुद्धमपि व्याख्याकृत एव शरणीक्रियन्ते कैश्चित् । तदर्थमेव मयेदमुपाक्षिप्यते । इदं विचारास्पदं—स्मृत्यर्थो व्याख्यादि-सापेक्षो ग्राह्यस्तन्निरपेक्षो मूलैकशरणतया ग्राह्यो वा । द्वितीयः कल्पो राद्धान्तरूपः ।

मन्वादिस्मृतीनां प्रभूता व्याख्याः समुपलभ्यन्ते । (तासां सर्वासां नामानि तृतीयव्याख्याने कालनिर्देशपुरःसरं कथयिष्यामि ।)

मनुस्मृतौ व्याख्याष्टक विलसति । याज्ञवल्कीये च त्रिचतुराणि व्याख्या-
नानि । अयि श्रेष्ठाः । इदमत्र विचार्यम् । स्मृतिश्लोकार्थः १ सर्वथा सर्वस्मृत्य-
न्तरसमन्वितो ग्राह्यः । २ यावच्छ्रव्यस्मृत्यन्तरसमन्वितो ग्राह्योऽथवा ३
तत्तद्व्याख्याकृतप्रदर्शितस्मृतिसमन्वितो ग्राह्यः । नाद्यः । सर्वैः सर्वथा सर्व-
स्मृतीनामशक्योपलम्भत्वात् । न द्वितीयः । यावच्छ्र-
परस्परविरोधः । क्यमिति पदस्य निर्गलत्वात् । न तृतीयः । व्याख्या-
कृतां विरोधात्सर्वस्मृतिग्रहग्राहिलतया व्याख्याकृद्भि-
र्मूलस्वारस्यविरोध्यर्थप्रदर्शनाच्च । अत्र हेतुद्वये उदाहरणद्वयं प्रदर्श्यते प्रथित-
योर्मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यस्मृत्योः ।

अर्थानर्थानुभौ बुद्ध्वा धर्माधर्मौ च केवलौ ।

वर्णक्रमेण सर्वाणि पश्येत्कार्याणि कार्यिणाम् ॥

अस्य वाक्यस्यार्थो व्याख्याद्वये द्विधा । अत्र श्लोके मेधातिथिः—धर्मा-
धर्मावेव केवलावर्थानर्थौ न गोहिरण्यादिलाभोऽर्थस्तद्विपर्ययो वानर्थः किं तर्हि
धर्म एवार्थानर्थश्चाधर्म इति बुद्ध्वा हृदि निश्चित्य कार्याणि पश्येत् अथवा-
र्थानर्थावपि शौध्यौ धर्मावपि धर्मस्य सारता बोद्धव्यार्थस्य फल्गुता ।
अथवा यत्र महाननर्थः स्वल्पश्चाधर्मस्तत्रानर्थ परिहरेत् । शक्यो हि मह-
तार्थेनेषदधर्मो दानप्रायश्चित्तादिना निराकर्तुम् । संनिपाते च व्यवहारिणां
बहूनां वर्णक्रम आश्रयितव्य एष च दर्शने क्रमो वर्णानां यदार्थं तुल्यपीडा
भवन्ति यदा त्ववरवर्णस्याप्यात्याधिकं कार्यं महद्वा तदा यस्य चात्यायिका
पीडेत्यनेन न्यायेन तदेव प्रथमं पश्येत् न क्रममाद्रियेत् राज्यस्थित्यर्थो हि
व्यवहारनिर्णय इत्युक्तमसौ न यथाश्रुतमादरणीयम् ॥ २४ ॥ इति व्याख्याति ।

कुल्लुकश्रैबं टीकयति — प्रजारक्षणोच्छेदाद्यात्मकावैदिकावर्थानर्थौ
बुद्ध्वा परलोकार्थं धर्माधर्मौ केवलावनुरुध्य यथा विरोधो न भवति
तथा कार्यार्थिनां कार्याणि पश्येत् । बहुवर्णमेलके तु ब्राह्मणादिक्रमेण
पश्येत् ॥ २४ ॥

एवं च प्रथमायां व्याख्यायाम्— अर्थः कारणं, धर्मः कार्यम् । द्वितीयस्यां धर्मः कारणमर्थः कार्यम् । इति व्याख्यातृभेदः । उभावपि मीमांसकौ । अधुना मूलस्वारस्यविरोधे दृष्टान्तः ।

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ —

पितृद्रव्याविरोधेन यदन्यत्स्वयमर्जितम् ।

मैत्रमौद्वाहिकं चैव दायादानां न तद्भवेत् ॥ २—११८ ॥

कमादभ्यागतं द्रव्यं हृतमभ्युद्धरेत्तु यः ।

दायादेभ्यो न तद्दद्याद्विद्यया लब्धमेव च ॥ २—११९ ॥

अत्र श्लोकद्वये वाक्यद्वयं सुविशदं जागर्ति । दायादानां न तद्भवेत् ।

दायादेभ्यो न तत् दद्यात् । इति क्रियापदाभ्यां पृथ-

मूलविरोधः

गवाक्यत्वस्य प्रदर्शनात् । एकतिङ् वाक्यमिति च

वैयाकरणानां घण्टापथः । तथापि मिताक्षरायां

श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरैः पितृद्रव्याविरोधेनेत्यस्य भिन्नवाक्यस्थपदस्य विद्यया लब्ध-

मेव चेत्यनेनेतरवाक्यस्थपदेन संबन्धो निरदेशि स न युक्तिसहः । अत्र

व्याख्यातृमहोदयैः १ समाचारविरोधः २ नारदवचनविरोधः ३ कात्यायनव-

चोविरोधश्चांति हेतुत्रयं दर्शितम् । एवं च तदाहृतनारदकात्यायनस्मृतिसम-

न्वयं कर्तुकामैः कथमपि संबन्ध आहतस्तथापि स मूलस्वरसविरोधी यतो

भगवान् याज्ञवल्क्यः संबन्धमिमपैक्षित्यत चत्कुतः समानार्थकं दायादानां

न तद्भवेत्, दायादेभ्यो न तद् दद्यादिति क्रियापदं प्रायोक्ष्यत् । किं च

सांख्यं व्याख्याकृत्संबन्धः पूर्वप्रणीतमनुस्मृतिविरोधकश्च । तथाऽत्र मनौ-

विद्याधनं तु यद्यस्य तत्तस्यैव धनं भवेत् ।

मैत्रमौद्वाहिकं चैव माधुपर्किकमेव च ॥ ९—२०६

प्रोफेसर काणेमहोदयैर्धर्मशास्त्रमहोदयिसमालोडनप्रमाणितमतिभिर्या-

ज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिकालः क्रिस्तशकात्प्राक्तनशतसंवत्सरादारभ्य तच्छतकानन्तरं

शतत्रयपर्यन्तमित्युदलेखि । तथा कात्यायनस्य कालः

स्मृतीनां पौर्वापर्यम् । क्रिस्तशकादनन्तरं चतुःशततमसंवत्सरादनन्तरं षट्-

शतमितसंवत्सरपर्यन्तमिति चोदलेखि । तेन सुस्पष्ट-

मेतद्वक्तुं शक्यं यत्कात्यायनः स्मृतिकृद्याज्ञवल्क्यानन्तरजः । एवं च

कात्यायनानुसारं याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृत्यर्थः शास्त्रयुक्तिविधुरः । प्राक्तनमन्वनुसारं

तु युक्तिसहः ।

ततश्चेदं सिद्धं यद्याज्ञवल्क्यमतेन निरूपधि विद्याधनमविभाज्यं, इति

स्वरसतया पूर्वतनस्मृत्यनुकूलतया च सिध्यति । व्याख्याकृद्विज्ञानेश्वरमतेन

तु पितृद्रव्याविरोधेनेत्युपधिना सह तदविभाज्यामिति सिध्यति तच्चोक्त-

प्रकारेण शास्त्रयुक्तिविधुरम् । श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरैर्मिताक्षरायां प्रथमाध्यायपञ्चम-

श्लोके “एतेषां प्रत्येकं प्रामाण्येऽपि साकाङ्क्षाणामाकाङ्क्षाविपूरणमन्यतः क्रियते । विरोधे तु विकल्पः” इति कण्ठरवेणोक्तम् । विज्ञानेश्वरस्य श्लोके- तद्युक्तं मीमांसकसमादरणीयत्वात् । एवं च तदुक्त्यापि विरोधः । निर्गच्छत्ययमर्थः । यद् यत्र साकाङ्क्षं स्मृतिवाक्यं तत्रैव स्मृत्यन्तरसमन्वयः कर्तव्यः । निराकाङ्क्षे न । विरोधे विकल्पश्च । अत्र विद्याधनविषयकस्मृतौ श्लोकस्तु न साकाङ्क्षो नाप्यस्पष्टार्थकः । तथापि केचन स्वकालिकविद्याधनविभाज्यतापद्धतिसंसाधनार्थं कथमपि कात्यायन-वचसा याज्ञवल्कीयं समन्वितमकार्षुर्विज्ञानेश्वरस्वामिनः । यत्र साकाङ्क्षं यथा —

नेक्षेतार्कं न नम्रां स्त्रीं न च संसृष्टमैथुनाम् ।

न च मूत्रं पुरीषं वा नाशुची राहुतारकाः । १—१३५

तत्र स्मृत्यन्तरस्य मन्वादेः समुच्चय इष्टः स च तैरादृतश्च । अन्यथा सर्वपावकसूर्यदर्शनाभावः संपद्येत । याज्ञवल्क्येन हि साकाङ्क्षे योजना भगवतः सूर्यस्य प्रसादाद् वेदाधिगमः संपादितः, स तद्दर्शननिषेधं कुर्यात् किम् ? अत्र श्लोके न सर्व-

दैव सूर्यालोकननिषेधः किं तु ।

नेक्षेतोद्यन्तमादित्यं नास्तं यन्तं कदाचन ॥ ४—३७

इति मनुस्मृतिसमन्विततया व्याख्यानमावश्यकं युक्तिसहं च । अत्र स्मृतिचन्द्रिका-जीमूतवाहनकृतदायभागादयो निबन्धा विवरणीयाः किंतु कालाभावाद्विरम्यते ततः । एवं चैतदनुसंधेयं यत्र न स्वरसविरोधो न वा व्याकरणमीमांसादिनियमक्षतिराकाङ्क्षाघटिततयार्थानुपलब्धिश्च तत्र पूर्व-तनस्मृत्यन्तरसमन्वय आदरणीयो नान्यत्र । व्याख्याकृतो निबन्धकृतश्च कुतः समन्वयग्रहग्रहिला भवन्ति तत्र राजकीयं कारणं तत्तत्कालीनसमा-चारविरोधोऽथवोभयपक्षसंसाधनार्थोपयोगिमीमांसा* जयकरविद्याधननियमः लापनचातुरी वा प्रयोजिकेति सविस्तरं मीमांस्येत पञ्चमे व्याख्याने । अबहुतिथे काले व्यतीति विद्याधन-विषये नवीनो राजनियमो मान्यवरजयकरमहोदयसंसूचनया समभूतत्र वयमेवं वक्तुं धृष्टुमो यद्याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिसंमतोऽयं विद्याधनाविभागो न्याया-लयस्थैः प्रणिडितैर्मिताक्षरानुरोधदेतावता कालेन भिन्नव्यवहारः कृतः । अधुना तु यथास्मृति व्यवहारः प्रचलिष्यति इत्येव न तत्र प्रसन्नता । एवं बहुषु विवादपदेषु वक्तुं शक्यं तत्तद्विषये समालोचयिष्याम इति शम् ।

*मीमांसायां तत्तदर्थविशेष्यपशुकानि बहून्वधिकरणानि भवन्ति तैरुभयथाऽपि धर्मशास्त्रीय-पक्षाः निबन्धरुद्धिः साधयितुं शक्यन्ते ।

द्वितीयं व्याख्यानम् ।

१ धर्मधर्मशास्त्रयोः स्वरूपम् ।

२ धर्मशास्त्रोद्गमस्तत्प्रकारश्च ।

अस्मिन् द्वितीयव्याख्याने धर्मधर्मशास्त्रयोः स्वरूपं तदुद्गमकारणं तत्संघटना बाध्यबाधकभावो धर्मव्यवहारस्वरूपनिर्दर्शनपूर्वकं सालक्षण्य-वैलक्षण्ये च प्रदर्श्यते ।

१ धर्मशब्दार्थः ।

धर्मशब्दस्य तत्तत्कर्तृणां परंपरायां समालोचि-
मेवा अनुमातुं शक्यन्ते । दाशतय्यां पुरुषसूक्ते—
स्तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन् ॥' इत्याद्यृक्षु संधा-
चिच्च उत्पापक इति विशेषणार्थको धर्मशब्दः
धार्मिकीः समाज्ञा बोधयति । ततश्चैतरेयब्राह्मणे
श्रुतान्दोग्ये तु आश्रमसंबन्धविशिष्टविधयः, माण्डू-
चार्यकारिकासु 'उपासनाश्रितो धर्मो जाते ब्रह्मणि वष्ट-
जीवस्य ग्रहणम् ।

रिस्थिति-
न्त देवा-
तः कुत्र-
क्वचिच्च
इत्यर्थ-
गौडपादा-
धर्मपदेन

तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदि 'धर्मं चर' इत्यत्र तथा भगवद्गीतासु "स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः । परधर्मो भयावहः ।" इत्यादौ मनुस्मृतौ याज्ञवल्कीये च 'वर्णाश्रमे-तराणां नो ब्रूहि धर्मानशेषतः' इति धर्मपदेन वेदानुयायिनां विशिष्टानि कर्तव्यानीत्यर्थः । तदेतद्वाङ्मय मेधातिथिविज्ञानेश्वरादिभिः १ वर्णधर्मः २ आश्रमधर्मः ३ सामान्यधर्मः इत्यादयः प्रकारा उररीकृताः । एतमथमाह-त्यैव व्याख्यानमालायामस्माकं प्रवृत्तिः । अत्र धर्मशास्त्रे प्रतिपादितानाचार-व्यवहारप्रायश्चित्ताख्यान् पदार्थान् स एवार्थो व्याप्नोति । अन्ये च जैमिनि-कणादादिदर्शिता अर्थास्तल्लक्षणानि वा यथा नोपयुज्यन्ते प्रकृते धर्म-शास्त्रीयपदार्थजाते तत्परीक्षिष्यामहे ।

शास्त्रान्तरीय - लक्षणस्यासंभवः ।

प्रथमं श्रीजैमिनिमहर्षिणा दर्शितं धर्मलक्षणं मीमांसामहे । तच्चेत्थम् -
वेदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः इति । वेदविहितः स्वर्गादिप्रापको यो यज्ञादिरूपः

* उपनिषत्सु धर्मशब्दस्याल्पीयान् प्रयोगः । प्रभूतस्तु ब्रह्मशब्दस्यैव । कश्चित्तैत्तिरीये धर्मं चरेत्यत्र सत्कर्मैत्यर्थः । तत्रैव अलूक्षा धर्मकामाः स्युः "इत्यत्रापि सत्कर्म । ततश्च मनुस्मृतौ सदाचार इत्यर्थे - 'धर्मेणाधिगतो येस्तु वेदः सपरिवर्णः ।'

पदार्थः स धर्मः । अयमर्थः श्रौतसूत्रोपयुक्तः । न स्मृतिगतधर्मशास्त्रे समुप-
युज्यते तेनैव व्यवहारदायभागेऽपि न तस्य प्रसरः । ततो वैशेषिकाणां
लक्षणम् - यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः" इदं लक्षणं सापेक्ष न
गोभृङ्गग्राहिकया धर्मपदार्थं बोधयति, यत्कारणं अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससाधको-
ऽयमिति वेदस्मृत्यादिवचःसापेक्षत्वात् । तथैव श्रीमन्महाभारते —

ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति मे ।

धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स च कस्मान्न सेव्यते ॥

इति श्रीमन्महाभारतीयलक्षणलक्षितोऽपि धर्मः साक्षाद्भूतः । एवं वेद-
विहितं धर्मः । वेदनिषिद्धमधर्मः । न हि तत्रानुमानं प्रमाणं, इति पातञ्जल-
भाष्यकैयटे । अयमपि श्रौतधर्मविषय एव । एवं च धर्मस्वरूपं येन मति-
पथमारोहेत्तद्विदं लक्षणं यत्-

श्रीमन्महाभारते- धारणाद्धर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ।

यत्स्याद्धारणसंयुक्तं स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

इतीदं सार्वकालिकसार्वजनीनं शिष्टादृतं च धर्मलक्षणम् । यदा यदा
समाजस्य धारणं रक्षणापरपर्यायं येन संसाधयितुं शक्यते स तदानींतनो
धर्मः । अत एव वैदिकधर्मे पशुमांसाभ्यवहारः स्मार्तधर्मे शूलगवादिकर्म,
विविधं श्राद्धीयास्त्रमधुनातनधार्मिकाणां वैदिकमार्गानुयायिनां वेदानुकूल-
समाचारश्च पुराणादिषु वर्तिकादाहश्च संगच्छन्ते । तत्तत्कुलाचारादयश्च
धार्मिका एव । ततश्चायं निर्गलितोऽर्थः । यद्यस्मिन् काले समाजधारकं
तदानींतनशिष्टसंमतं तदेव धर्मपदेन व्यवह्रियते । एतावता स्यात्कदाचित्
कस्यचित् मतम् 'केनापि कथमपि वर्तितव्यमिदमेव च समाजधारकमित्यु-
द्धोषणीयं तेन च विप्लवः स्यात् । इति । एवं वक्तुं न शक्यते । तथा तदानीं
शिष्टैर्ग्रन्थाविद्वारा राजाविद्वारा च सुयोग्यं नियम्यमानत्वात् । 'शिष्टः
पुनरकामात्मा' इति लक्षणलक्षितस्तेन विप्लवस्यासंभाव्यमानत्वात् ।

अधुना धर्मस्य प्रयोजका ज्ञापका वा क इति विचार्यते । श्रुतिः, स्मृतिः,

सदाचारः (अयमेव रूढिपदेन व्यवह्रियते)

धर्मस्य प्रयोजकाः तत्प्रणीतं

आत्मप्रियम्, आत्मतुष्टिर्वा । वेदशास्त्राविरोधी

धर्मशास्त्रं च । तत्र बाध्य-

तर्कः । शासनाच्छास्त्रं धर्मस्य शास्त्रं धर्म-

बाधकभावः । धर्मनिर्णयहेतवः

शास्त्रम् । किं च शास्त्रपदनिरुक्तिः -

प्रवृत्तिर्वा निवृत्तिर्वा नित्येन कृतकेन च ॥

पुंसां येनोपदिश्येत तच्छास्त्रमभिधीयते ॥ इति ।

तथा च सत्कर्मप्रवृत्तिरसत्कर्मनिवृत्तिर्वा बोध्यतेऽधिकारिणां येनापौरुषेयेण पौरुषेयेण वा वचसा तच्छास्त्रमित्यङ्गीकार्यम् । धर्मशास्त्रकारकक्षापकहेतु-विषये याज्ञवल्क्यः —

कारकहेतवः— देशे काल उपायेन द्रव्यं श्रद्धासमन्वितम् ।
पात्रे प्रदीयते यत्तत्सकलं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥

ज्ञापकहेतवः— श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
सम्यक्संकल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ॥
पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः ।
वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यमतेन निर्णायकाः—

चत्वारो वेदधर्मज्ञाः पर्षत्त्रैविद्यमेव वा ।
सा ब्रूते यं स धर्मः स्यादेको वाध्यात्मवित्तमः ॥

सभा वा न प्रवेष्टव्येत्यादि वाक्यं तु राजनियताधिकारिसभाविषयम् ।

मनुः —

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ॥ २-१ ॥

धर्मप्रमाणानि —

वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् ।
आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ २-६ ॥

श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः ।
ते सर्वार्थेष्वमीमांस्ये ताभ्यां धर्मो हि निर्वर्तौ ॥ २-१० ॥

वेदः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
एतच्चतुर्विधं प्राहुः साक्षाद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥ २-१२ ॥

अर्थकामेष्वसक्तानां धर्मज्ञानं विधीयते ।

धर्मं जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः ॥ २-१३ ॥

श्रुतिद्वैधं तु यत्र स्यात्तत्र धर्मावुभौ स्मृतौ ।

उभावपि हि तौ धर्मौ सम्यगुक्तौ मनीषिभिः ॥ २-१४ ॥

अत्रार्थे मनुस्मृत्युक्ता उदितानुदितादिहोमद्विविधश्रुतिविषयका दृष्टान्ताः
ततः परं द्वादशाध्याये —

प्रत्यक्षं चानुमानं च शास्त्रं च विविधागमम् ।

त्रयं सुविदितं कार्यं धर्मशुद्धिर्भीप्सता ॥ १२-१०५ ॥

आर्षं धर्मोपदेशं च वेदशास्त्राविरोधिना ।

यस्तर्केणानुसंधत्ते स धर्मं वेद नेतरः ॥ १२-१०६ ॥

तर्केण = अनुमानेन, मीमांसारूपेण वा ।

अनाम्नातेषु धर्मेषु कथं स्यादिति चेद्भवेत् ॥

यं शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ब्रूयुः स धर्मः स्यादशङ्कितः ॥ १२-१०८ ॥

धर्मेणाधिगतो यैस्तु वेदः सपरिवृंहणः ।

ते शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ज्ञेयाः श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षहेतवः ॥ १२-१०९ ॥

दशावरा वा परिषद्यं धर्मं परिकल्पयेत् ।

त्र्यवरा वापि वृत्तस्था तं धर्मं न विचालयेत् ॥ १२-११० ॥

एवं वसिष्ठापस्तम्बादिसूत्रेषु बहवो निर्देशाः ।

आचारः प्रथमो धर्मः श्रुत्युक्तः स्मार्त एव च । म. १-१०८ ॥

एवमाचारतो दृष्ट्वा धर्मस्य मुनयो गतिम् ।

सर्वस्य तपसो मूलमाचारं जगृहुः परम् ॥ म. १-११० ॥

स्मृतिव्याख्याकृद्भिः पुराणानि धर्ममूलमिति मत्वा तदनुसारं व्याख्यायते । पुराणेषु विलसन्ति विविधा आख्यायिकास्ताभिः सदाचारोऽनुमातुं शक्यते । हेमाद्रिर्नारदपुराणश्लोकानुदाहरति —

वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिता देवि पुराणे नात्र संशयः ।

बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

इतिहासपुराणैश्च कृतोऽयं निश्चयः पुरा ।

यन्न दृष्टं हि वेदेषु तद् दृष्टं स्मृतिभिः किल ।

उभाभ्यां यत्र दृष्टं न तत्पुराणेषु गीयते ॥

सदाचारविषये प्रमाणानि —

केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः ।

शुक्तिहनिं विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥ बृहस्पतिः ।

धर्मं जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं प्रथमं श्रुतिः ।

द्वितीयं धर्मशास्त्रं तु तृतीयं लोकसंग्रहः ॥ महाभारते

लोकसंग्रहः शिष्टाचार इति यावत् — पराशरमाधवः ।

स्मृत्याचारयोर्विरोध आचारस्य श्रेष्ठत्वम् —

वैदिकैः स्मर्यमाणत्वात्तत्परिग्रहदाढ्यतः ।

संभाव्यवेदमूलत्वात्स्मृतीनां वेदमूलता ॥

तस्मात्कुलक्रमायातमाचारं त्वाचरेद्बुधः ।

स गरीयान् महाबाहो सर्वशास्त्रोदितादपि ॥ म. भा. ।

देशपत्तनगोष्ठेषु पुरग्रामेषु वादिनाम् ।

तेषां स्वसमयैर्धर्मः शास्त्रतोऽन्येषु तैः सह ॥ मनुः ।

देशधर्माज्ञातिधर्मान् कुलधर्माश्च शाश्वतान् ।

पाखण्डगणधर्माश्च शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्नुक्तवान् मनुः ॥

यस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारम्पर्यक्रमागतः ।

वर्णानां सान्तरालानां स सदाचार उच्यते ॥

यद्यदाचर्यते येन धर्म्यं वाधर्म्यमेव वा ।

देशस्याचरणं नित्यं चरितं तद्धि कीर्तितम् ॥ बृहस्पतिः ॥

आदौ तावद्देशधर्मो विचिन्त्यो देशे देशे या स्थितिः सैव कार्या ।

लोकद्विष्टं पण्डिता वर्जयन्ति दैवज्ञोऽतो लोकमार्गेण यायात् ॥ देवलः ॥

सर्वागमानामाचारः प्रथमं परिकल्पते ।

आचारप्रभवो धर्मो धर्मस्य प्रभुरच्युतः ॥ म. भा. ॥

आचारसंभवो धर्मो धर्मे वेदाः प्रतिष्ठिताः । म. भा. वनपर्व ॥

आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ॥ मनुः ॥

येषु देशेषु यत्तोयं धर्माचारश्च यादृशः ।

तत्र तान्नावमन्येत धर्मस्तत्रैव तादृशः ॥ देवलः ॥

अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविकृष्टं धर्ममप्याचरेन्न तु ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यः ॥

प्रत्यक्षावगमं धर्म्यं शास्त्रं च विविधागमम् ।

यस्तर्केणानुसंधत्ते स धर्मं वेद नेतरः ॥ मनुः ॥

धर्मशास्त्रविरोधे तु युक्तियुक्तो विधिः स्मृतः ।

व्यवहारो हि बलवान् धर्मस्तेनावहीयते ।

सूक्ष्मो हि भगवान् धर्मः परोक्षो दुर्विचारणः ।

अतः प्रत्यक्षधर्मेण व्यवहारगतिं नयेत् ॥

वशं प्राप्तस्य देशस्य व्यवहारदर्शनम् —

देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्माः प्राक् प्रवर्तिताः ।

तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजा प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथा ॥ बृहस्पतिः ॥

देशाचारधर्माः —

यस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारंपर्यक्रमागतः ।

तथैव परिपाल्योऽसौ यदा वशमुपागतः ॥ बृहस्पतिः ।

एतानि लोकगुण्यर्थं कलेरावौ महात्मभिः ।

निवर्तितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ।

समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद् भवेत् ॥ आदित्यपुराणे ॥

धर्मार्थशास्त्रविप्रतिपत्तिः ।

धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोर्विप्रतिपत्तावाह नारदः—

यत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः स्याद्धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रयोः ।

अर्थशास्त्रोक्तमुत्तुज्य धर्मशास्त्रोक्तमाचरेत् ॥ इति १-३९ ॥

धर्मशास्त्रयोर्विरोधे त्वाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

स्मृत्योर्विरोधे न्यायस्तु बलवान् व्यवहारतः ॥ २-२१ ॥

न्यायमनालोचयतो दोषमाह बृहस्पतिः—

केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः ।

युक्तिहीने विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥ इति ।

देशाचाराद्यप्यालोचयेदित्याह बृहस्पतिः—

देशजातिकुलानां च ये धर्माः प्राक् प्रवर्तिताः ।

तथैव ते पालनीयाः प्रजा प्रक्षुभ्यतेऽन्यथा ।

जनापरक्तिर्भवति बलं कोशश्च नश्यति ।

तथा च — उद्धृत्य दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैरित्यादि । अनेन कर्मणा नैते प्रायश्चित्तदमार्हाः । तत्तद्देशे प्रायश्चित्तं नास्ति अनाचारेषु । भिन्नदेशेषु तु प्रायश्चित्तं दमश्चास्ति । व्यासः—

वणिक्शिल्पिप्रभृतिषु कृषिरङ्गोपजीविषु ।

अशक्यो निर्णयो ह्यन्यैस्तज्जैरेव तु कारयेत् ॥

समालोचितेष्वेषु मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादिवचःस्वयमेवार्थो मतिपथमारोहति यत् श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणगतानि कर्माणि त्रिविध्यदृष्टानि केवलसदाचारप्राप्तानि

तत्तत्कालीनैरकामात्मभिर्धर्मकामैः शिष्टैः परिगृहीतानि तान्येव धर्मरूपेण परिगतानि ।

यानि वेदोक्तकर्माणि तान्येव स्मृतिषु पुराणेषु सन्ति वेदानामानन्त्यादु-
च्छिन्नशास्त्रत्वाच्च तेषां स्मार्तादीनि कर्माणि
वैदिककर्माण्येव स्मृत्यादिषु यथायथं वेदे सन्तीति मीमांसका वदन्ति ।
सन्तीति मतस्य विमर्शः । मन्वादयः परावरद्रष्टारः । श्रुत्यर्थं मनसा संस्मृत्य
स्वस्मृतीः प्रणयन्तीत्यपि तेषां मतम् । परन्तु
मन्वादय एव तत्र विसंवदन्ते । वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च ताद्वि-
ष्टम् 'इति श्रुतिभ्यः पार्थक्येन समुच्चायक'च'कारेण च स्मृत्यादिनिर्दे-
शात् । किं च मनुरेव—

श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः ।

ते सर्वार्थेष्वमीमांस्ये ताभ्यां धर्मो हि निर्बभौ इति तयोः सम-
कक्षतया मीमांसानर्हत्वं द्योतयति कारणं च तत्र दर्शयति 'ताभ्यां धर्मो हि
निर्बभौ' इति । एतावदेदं राद्धान्तन्तां यायात् यत् श्रौता धर्माः श्रुतिभ्यः
समाधिगन्तव्याः स्मार्ताश्च स्मृतिभ्यः । ततः परं हेमाद्रिणा संकलितास्मरद-
पुराणवाक्यात् 'उभाभ्यां यत्र दृष्टं न तत्पुराणेषु गीयते' इत्यादिरूपात्
श्रुतिस्मृत्योरदृष्टं धर्मजातं पुराणेषु कथ्यते । अथ च 'समयश्चापि साधूनां
प्रमाणं वेदवद् भवेत् । इति नारदवचसैव शिष्टाचारप्राप्ताः केचित्तकालीना
धर्मास्तेऽपि पूर्वोक्तप्रमाणकोटिमागताः । अत्रेत्यमपि वक्तुं धृष्णुमो यत्
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थमिति संकल्पेषु गीयते धार्मिकैस्तदनयैव
रीत्या स्वरसतया संगच्छते । तथा हि — श्रुतौ यत्फलमुक्तं तच्छ्रौत-
विधीनामेव, तथैव स्मृतौ स्मृतिगतानां, पुराणेषु पुराणोक्तानां, तेन च
तत्तत्फलप्राप्त्यर्थं पार्थक्येन सर्वेषां ग्रहणम् यदि श्रुतिगतमेव स्मृतिषु पुराणेषु
च तथैव प्रतिपाद्यते तर्हि श्रुत्युक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थमित्यनेनैव तदर्थसिद्धौ श्रुति-
स्मृतिपुराणोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थमिति पुनरुक्तभूतं वितथार्थकं स्यात् । किं च
याजकैः स्त्रीशूद्रयजमानकर्तृककर्मसु केवलं पुराणोक्तमित्येव प्रोच्यते तेषां
श्रुतिस्मृत्योरनधिकारादिति च 'तथा ब्रूम' इति जोष्यते । अथि विचार-
चातुरीचतुराः । यदि श्रौतमेव पुराणेष्वस्ति तर्हि पुराणोक्तफलप्राप्त्यर्थमिति
कथनेनैव केवलेन कथं कार्यसिद्धिरिति विचार्यमाणे सिकताकूपन्यायः
समापतति । अतस्त्यज्यतामयं पन्था यच्छ्रौतोक्तमेव सर्वं स्मृतिपुराणसदा-
चारेष्वस्तीति । मीमांसकानामयं वादः सुगृहीतश्रुतिप्रामाण्यवत् सर्वत्र
स्मृतिपुराणेष्वप्रातिहतं प्रामाण्यमस्तीति बोधयितुम् । यथा मनुस्मृतौ—

यः कश्चित्कस्यचिद्धर्मो मनुना परिकीर्तितः ।

स सर्वोऽभिहितो वेदे सर्वज्ञानमयो हि सः ॥ २-७ ॥

इत्यर्थवादः । यदीदं सत्यार्थकं तर्हि नैतन्मम मतमित्यादिना याज्ञवल्क्यो
नास्त्वप्यभिध्यत् ।

अधुना पूर्वोक्तवचनैर्बाध्यबाधकभावं पर्यालोचयामः । श्रुतेर्द्वैधे उदि-
तानुदितायुदाहरणेषु मनूक्तचनुसारं शास्त्राभेदेन
श्रुतिर्द्वैधविचारः व्यवस्था । उभयोः समप्रामाण्यात् । स्मृतेस्तु
प्रत्यक्षश्रुत्या बाधः । स्मृत्योः परस्परं विरोधे
विकल्पः । सदाचारः पुराणमिति चानर्थान्तरम् । यतः पुराणभारतेषु मह-
तामाचारा एव वर्णितास्तथैव च 'समाचारो बहूनाम्' इत्यादि द्रौपद्या
बहुपतिकत्वादिविषयेषु समुपलभ्यते । कुत्रचित् पुराणवाक्यैः स्मृतीनां बाधः
यथाऽऽदित्यपुराणस्थकलिवर्ज्यप्रकरणेन तत्तत्स्मृतीनां बाधः । आदित्य-
पुराणोक्तमेव नान्तिमम् । यतो मातुलकन्यापरिणयविषये तद्वह्निर्भूते अधुना
शिष्टाचारानुरोधान्माधवाचार्यादिभिर्बाधोऽङ्गीक्रियते । धर्मार्थशास्त्रयोर्विरोधे
तु धर्मशास्त्रं बलवत् इति आचारप्रायश्चित्तयोः काण्डयोः । व्यवहारकाण्डे
तु तत्तत्कालीनसमाचारानुरोधादर्थशास्त्रमेव बलीयः । अत एव समाचार-
विरोधं हेतुकृत्य विज्ञानेश्वरैः स्मृत्यर्थो विपरिवर्तितः । अत्र बहु वक्तव्यम् ।
ततश्च आचारश्चैव साधूनामित्येतदनन्तरं, आत्मनस्तुष्टिरेव चेति धर्म-
प्रयोजकं मनुना प्रादर्शितदुपयोगः कुत्रेति मीमांसायां संप्रवृत्तायामिदं
वक्तुं शक्यं यत्र श्रौतस्य स्मार्तस्य वा द्वैविध्यं तत्र येन पक्षेण स्वसुष्टिः स
एव स्वीकार्यः । अथवा यत्र श्रुतौ स्मृतौ वा न किमप्युक्तं तत्रात्मसंतोषावहं
परापीडाकरं च भोजनकाले जलं न पास्यामि' इत्यादि स्वीकार्यं तेन परा-
पीडकस्य स्वसंतोषावहस्य च कर्मणो धर्मत्वनिरासः ।

रूढितत्प्रयोजकविमर्शः—

यत्र न शास्त्रवचनं तत्र रूढेरङ्गीकार इत्युच्यते । सा रूढिः केषां,
सर्वतः प्रसृतानां शूद्रातिशूद्राणां किंवा ब्राह्मणानामेवाथवा केवल-
शास्त्रज्ञानां तेषामथवा याज्ञिकानामेव, के ते शिष्टा यदुक्ताया रूढेः
प्रामाण्यं तद्वक्तव्यमित्यनुयोगे तत्तत्संशयापाकरणार्थं तत्र तत्र विज्ञाना-
मत्तुक्षाणां धर्मज्ञानां समयः प्रमाणमित्युत्तरम् । पूर्वोक्ताचारप्रतिपादक-
वाक्यजातात् । सर्वलोकादरे तस्यैव समयस्योपयोगात् इति दिक् ।

धर्मशास्त्र-घटना

मगवता मनुना 'आचारः प्रथमो धर्मः श्रुत्युक्तः स्मार्त एव च' अ. १-
१०८ श्लो० इत्यत्र धर्मात्प्राक्तनत्वं प्रत्यपादि ततः 'एवमाचारतो दृष्ट्वा
धर्मस्य मुनयो गतिम्' सर्वस्य तपसो मूलमाचारं जगृहुः परम् ॥ १-११०
इति वाक्येनाचारं दृष्ट्वा धर्मनियमाः स्मृतिरूपेण प्रणीताः । अधुना स्मृतिषु-
पलम्बमानं वैविध्यं तत्तत्कालीनाचारवैविध्यमूलकमिति सुविशदं प्रत्ये-
तं शक्यं यथा च भाषाभिगतौ व्याकरणमुपयुज्यते तद्वत् तत्कालीनाचारोप-

लब्धौ धर्मशास्त्रमुपयुज्यते । एवं च श्रुतिस्मृत्यादि धर्मस्य ज्ञापकं न कारकं व्याकरणवत् । यथा व्याकरणेन न नवीनाः शब्दा उत्पाद्यन्ते किंतु लोक-सिद्धानां तेषां साधुत्वं ख्याप्यते तद्वत्तत्कर्माणि तदानींतनानामाचार इत्येव स्मृतिभिर्बोधयते न नवीनान्यनुष्ठाप्यन्ते । अत्रार्थे पतञ्जलिर्महाभाष्यकारः— सिद्धेषु लौकिकवैदिकेषु धर्मनियमार्थं व्याकरणम् । अन्यच्च तद्यथा घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन् कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह 'कुरु घटम्' कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति । न तद्वच्छब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्यमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वाह कुरु शब्दान् प्रयोक्ष्य इति ॥ अ. १-१-१, पृष्ठ ७ Kielhorn's Edition एतावतेदं सिध्यति पूर्वं श्रौतसूत्रेभ्यः परंपरया तत्तत्कर्मत्रिचिंकितसानिराकरणार्थं धर्मसूत्राणि प्राणीयन्त तेषां प्रणयने ब्राह्मणगता आख्यायिकाः पौराणिककथाश्च दृष्टान्तत्वेनोपयुक्ताः । यथा वैदिकसंस्कृतिलोपो न स्यात्तथा लौकिका-चाराणां वैदिकसंस्काराणां च संमिश्रणेन धर्मशास्त्रं समुदभूत् । एवमा-चारप्रायश्चित्तकाण्डयोः । व्यवहारकाण्डे त्वन्यादृशी गतिः । लौकिका-चाराणां नीतिनियमानां च संमिश्रणं नाम व्यवहारकाण्डम् ।

अधुना नेपालदेशेषु 'हिंदु कायदा' पदवाच्यः राजव्यवहारः समुपलभ्यते तं शुक्रनीतिं चाणक्यनीतिं च सम्यगभ्यस्य पुरुषः सम्यगव्यवहारज्ञानवान् भवेत् । किं च पूर्वव्यवहारोऽधुनोपलभ्यमानैस्ताम्रपट्टलेखैः कदाचित् कदा-चिदव्यवहारसमये न्यायालयं प्राप्नुवद्भिस्तत्तत्कालीनव्यवहारं दर्शयद्भिर्दा-यपत्रैर्ज्ञातुं शक्येत । तमालम्ब्य पूर्वतनव्यवहारस्य निर्णयः कर्तव्यः । व्यव-हारदृष्ट्या संस्कारेषु सूत्रधारणविवाहयोरेव माहात्म्यं तयोर्थथाक्रमं द्विजत्व-द्वारा गोत्रप्रवरविपरिवृत्तिद्वारा चाग्निमे दायभागादौ व्यवहारे प्राबल्यम् । किं च पूर्वराजपुरुषाणां विप्लवकारणानां राजकीयव्यवस्थानां च सम्यग-भ्यासेनैव ज्ञातुं शक्येत तदानींतनधर्मशास्त्रम् । अत इदं वक्तुं शक्यं यज्जन-समूहो यं समन्यते स एव राजव्यवहारः । बौद्धिकसमाजानां विचारेतिहास एव राजव्यवहारेतिहासः । एवं चैतत्सिद्धं वैदिकसंस्कृतेस्तत्कालीना-चारस्य च मिश्रणेन धर्मो नाम आचारप्रायश्चित्तकाण्डे भवतः । लौकि-काचाराणां चाणक्यादिनीतिनियमानां च संकरेण राजव्यवहारो नाम व्यवहारकाण्डं भवति । अधुना मन्वादिस्मृतीनां व्यवहारकाण्डेऽनुप-लभ्यमाना वारवर्नितानां वधद्वारा शरीरपरीक्षा चाणक्यशास्त्रे समुपलभ्यते । सतश्च चाणक्यादिनीतिशास्त्रं पाथक्येन व्यवहारकाण्डसहकारि भवति ।

अधुना धर्मस्योद्गमे ? सामान्यसिद्धिः २ विशेषसिद्धिरिति द्वयं लौकि-काचाराश्चपेक्ष्यन्ते तान् विवृणुमः । पूर्वोक्ता ब्राह्मणपुराणादिगता लौकिका-चाराः पूर्वं समालोच्य तेभ्यः सामान्यतः परपीडाभावादिं व्यभिचारा-

भावादिकं च तत्त्वं निष्कास्यते । एवमितः परं न वर्तितव्यमिति । यथा कचोपाख्याने शुक्राचार्यकथितो मद्यपाननिषेधः । इयं सामान्यसिद्धिः ।

पूर्वोक्ताचारे समुपलभ्यमाना या विशिष्टदेशकालजा सिद्धिस्तयोप-
लभ्यमानं तत्तद्देशकालविशिष्टा सिद्धिविशेषसिद्धिः ।

विशेषसिद्धिः

पर्व भारते वर्षे पूर्वकालिकानिर्णयानालोच्य व्यवहारार्थं सामान्यसिद्धिं निर्णय्य व्यवहारदर्शनं तत्तद्राजभिरक्रियत । जैमिनिना वेदेभ्यः सामान्यसिद्धिर्निष्कासिता । अत एव श्रौतविषयाण्यधिकरणानि स्मार्तेऽप्युपयोजयन्ति ।

धर्मव्यवहारयोः स्वरूपम्—

अधुना धर्मव्यवहारयोः स्वरूपविवेचनं कुर्मः । धर्मांशे चाचारप्रायश्चित्तयोर्महर्षिभिः शिष्टैः प्रणीता विलसन्ति नियमाः । व्यवहारे तु राजकृताः प्राचीनव्यवहारदर्शका नियमाः । धर्मानुष्ठाने राजभीत्यपेक्षया परलोकभीतिरधिका । व्यवहारविरोधे तु राजदण्डोऽवश्यंभावी । समधिगते राजदण्डे परलोकपीडा नास्ति । एवमेव व्यभिचारादावेनसि यत्र चान्द्रायणादि प्रायश्चित्तं राजदण्डश्च विधीयते तत्रानुभूते राजदण्डे प्रायश्चित्तं नापेक्ष्यते न ग्राह्यं च तथा परलोकपीडापि नास्ति । प्रपञ्चितं चैतन्मिताक्षरादौ ।

धर्मव्यवहारयोः सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये—

अधुना धर्मव्यवहारयोः सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये दर्शयिष्यामः ।

सालक्षण्यम्—

१ धर्मव्यवहारानुभावप्यैहिकपारलौकिकफलसाधकौ ।

२ धर्मव्यवहारयोरुभयोरपि मूलं निश्चितं लोकाचारतः संशोध्यम् ।

३ उभयोरपि सिद्धौ द्वयोः सामान्यविशेषसिद्धयोर्वैद्यकज्योतिष्यादि-
शास्त्रसमुपोद्बलकस्य चापेक्षा । विशिष्टानुमानानां चापेक्षा ।

४ तत्तत्कालिकसदाचारपरिवृत्त्योभयोरपि परिवृत्तिः । अत एव पृथक्स्मृतिनिबन्धानां प्रणयनम् ।

५ उभाभ्यामपि तात्त्विकं सत्यमन्यशास्त्रनिर्णयनिकषोपलपरीक्षित-
मुररीकार्थम् । अनयोस्तु स्वयं सत्यनिर्णायकत्वे प्रयोजकत्वं ना-

अनयोर्वैलक्षण्यम्—

१ धर्मपरस्य स्वभावरूपोऽर्थः । स्वभावपदेन जन्मसामयिको गुण इत्यर्थो निर्गच्छति तेन धर्म उत्पत्तिसिद्धौ गुण इति जना अभिमन्वते ।

२ व्यवहारो जनैराद्रियते तत्र कारणं राजदण्डस्यापाकरणं धर्मानुष्ठानं तु पारलौकिकं दुःखमपाकर्तुम् । आत्मतुष्टये वा । तच्च निष्कामकर्मबुद्ध्या कृतं चेत् मोक्षाय परंपरया ।

३ व्यवहारपदेन रूढा लौकिका आचारास्ते पूर्वराजस्वामिकशिलापट्टादिभिर्ज्ञायन्ते । धर्मस्तु व्यावहारिकसदाचारस्य मूलभूतं तत्त्वम् । अयं तत्त्वमूलभूतो धर्मः पूज्यग्रन्थेभ्यो वेदादिभ्यो निष्कासनीयो भवति । व्यवहारस्तु विशेषतो वेदादिषु नोपलभ्यते । केवलं राजप्रेरितो लोकाचारजन्यश्च लिङ्गेन ज्ञायमानश्च ।

यदि धर्मव्यवहारयोः प्रामाण्यमपेक्ष्यते तर्हि स्वतःप्रमाणभूतेन वेदेन तत्संबन्धोऽवश्यमेव स्वीकार्यः । अत एव मीमांसकैः श्रुतिमूलत्वादेव तदविरोधादेव च स्मृत्यादीनां प्रामाण्यमाहृतम् । प्राचीनानां सरणिरियं यन्महाभारतादिषु ते तांस्तान्नवीनाचारान् प्रकल्प्यापि 'एष धर्मः सनातनः' 'पूर्वैरिदमाचरितम्' इत्याद्युद्धोष्य वेदमूलकत्वं सर्वेषां प्रस्थापयन्ति । तेन वेदगतप्रामाण्यस्याप्रतिहतं प्रसरः सर्वत्राग्रिमग्रन्थेषु प्राचीनग्रन्थकृतः प्रत्याचारादिकं सर्वं मूलत एव निर्गतमिति वदन्ति । कदाचिदर्थान्तरमप्यङ्गीकुर्वन्ति ।

पूर्वमीमांसकैरेवं वेदादिगतं प्रामाण्यं पुराणेषु सदाचारादिषु मुक्तकण्ठमाद्रियते तदविरोधित्वेन हेतुना । एवं च यथान्यत्र तथा प्रामाण्यविषयेऽप्युच्यते मीमांसकैः *पूर्वमीमांसकमतमनुक्रियते । किं बहुना प्राच्यां मीमांसार्थां स्लेच्छशब्दानामपि वेदार्थकरणे साहाय्यमालम्बितमार्थशब्दार्थपरित्यागपुरःसरमिति प्रथमाध्यायस्थस्लेच्छाधिकरणसमालोचयितृणां नापरिचितमिति । किंच 'कृते तु मानवा धर्मा' इति यदि सार्थतया जनैराद्रियेत तर्हि नातिचिरं जायमानेन निर्णयसिन्धुप्रणेत्रा मन्वादिस्मृतिनिर्देशः प्रामाण्येन नाद्रियेत किं चायं श्लोकः पराशरस्यैव न मन्वादेरिति ।

*स्मृतिप्रामाण्यबोधकानि जैमिनिसूत्राणि—

अपि वा कर्तृसामान्यात् प्रमाणमनुमानं स्यात् १-३-२

विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति अनुमानम् १-३-३

हेतुदर्शनाच्च १-३-४

तृतीयं व्याख्यानम् ।

१ धर्मशास्त्रावाप्तरभेदाः ।

२ धर्मशास्त्रस्थविशिष्टग्रन्थानां परिचयः ।

द्वितीयव्याख्याने धर्मशास्त्रेतिपदान्तर्गतधर्मपदार्थस्य स्वरूपं तथा धर्मशास्त्रस्य च स्वरूपं समालोच्य तदुद्गमे बीजं तत्तत्कालिकं सदाचारं प्रतिपाद्य तत्संघटनां निर्णाय धर्मव्यवहारस्वरूपनिर्देशपूर्वकं तयोर्धर्मव्यवहारयोः सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये व्यवृण्वम् । अधुना धर्मशास्त्रमिति व्यवहियमाण ग्रन्थजातं विवृणोमि । तत्र त्रयोऽवान्तरभेदाः । आचारो व्यवहारः प्रायश्चित्तं चेति । तत्राचारप्रायश्चित्ते परलोकफलसंबद्धत्वान्मुनिभिः प्रणीते व्यवहारस्त्वैहिकफलप्रदत्वादिह लोकस्थव्यवस्थाकारिणा राज्ञा प्रणीत इति वक्तुं शक्यते । अयि विद्वांसः सकलमिदं ग्रन्थजातं सार्धद्विसहस्रेण हायनानां पूर्तिमगात् ।

ग्रन्थत्रैविध्यम् ।

एतस्य च त्रैविध्यं स्थूलतया प्रतिपादयितुं शक्यम् । प्रथमं धर्मसूत्राणां प्रणयनमथ च स्मृतीनां तदनन्तरं व्याख्यानिबन्धानाम् । कानिचिद्धर्मसूत्राणि मनोः प्राक्तनानि । कानिचिच्च तदुत्तरकालजानि । धर्मसूत्रकृद्भिः स्मृतिप्रणेतृभिश्च “ धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः । यत्स्याद्धारणसंयुक्तं स धर्म इति कीर्तितः ” इति महाभारतवचोऽनुसारं समाजभवं पुरस्कृत्य निखिलं धर्मजातमुपादिशि । अत एव तान्युभयाविधानि ग्रन्थजातानि जनानां संमानभाजनमभवन् । धर्मसूत्रस्मृतयश्च भिन्नशाखां तन्निवासदेशं च लक्ष्यीकृत्य प्रणीतत्वाच्चास्त्राख्यैस्तत्तज्जनपदवासिभिश्च संमान्यन्ते स्म । तदानीं सर्वग्रन्थस्य समन्वयः कर्तव्य इति वार्तापि नासीत् । निखिलस्य धर्मस्य धर्माशस्य वा मन्वादयः समनुगन्तव्याः प्रष्टव्याश्च संशीतिविषये । एतच्च ‘मनुमेकाग्रमासीनम्’ ‘योगीश्वरं याज्ञवल्क्यं संपूज्य मुनयोऽब्रुवन्,’ व्यासश्च निखिलस्मृतिजातं स्मरन्नपि तत्काले तद्धर्मेण स्वीयं कार्यमपारयन् नवीनधर्मजातमपृच्छदिति ‘श्रुता मे मानवा धर्मा वासिष्ठाः काश्यपास्तथा’ इत्यादि ‘श्रुता ह्येते भवत्योक्ताः श्रुत्यर्था मे न विस्मृताः । अस्मिन्मन्वन्तरे धर्माः कृतत्रेताविके युगे । सर्वे धर्माः कृते जाताः सर्वे नष्टाः कलौ युगे । चातुर्वर्ण्यसमाचारं किञ्चित् साधारणं वद ॥’ इति प्रथमाध्याये पराशरस्मृतौ १६ श्लोकपर्यन्तम् । एवं च प्रश्नप्रतिप्रश्नाभ्यां पूर्वोक्तस्मृत्युपक्रमगता-

भ्यामेवं प्रत्येतुं शक्यं यत् मनुयाह्नवल्क्याभ्यां वर्णानामान्तरप्रमवर्णां च धर्माः कथिताः पराशरेण तु चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य समाचारात्मकं किञ्चित्साधारणं धर्मजातं कथितं तथैव प्रभोपक्षेपात् । पूर्वमुक्तं यत् त्रिविधं ग्रन्थस्वरूपं तन्मध्ये धर्मसूत्रे स्मृतिषु चैकवाक्यता न दृश्यते । सूत्रेषु केचित् आचार्या इति निर्देशः केवलं मतान्तरस्य । निबन्धेषु व्याख्याग्रन्थेषु च सा सर्वत्रैव बहुशो दृश्यते । तत्र चैकवाक्यतायां स्वाभिमतसिद्ध्यर्थं पूर्वमीमांसाधिकरणानि समुपयोजितानि । दृश्यते चातोव बुद्धिकौशलं व्याख्यातृणां निबन्धकृतां च भेदप्रभेदप्रणयने । किंतु यथा धर्मसूत्रस्मृतिषु समाजधारण-बुद्धिस्तथा व्याख्यानिबन्धेषु न संदृश्यते केवलं पूर्वनिबन्धखण्डने बद्ध-परिकरत्वमनुभूयते । एतच्च सविस्तरं सनिदानं पञ्चमे व्याख्याने समालोचयिष्यामः ।

अधुना धर्मसूत्रग्रन्थपरिचयपूर्वकं तत्पौर्वापर्यं विविच्यते । धर्मसूत्राणि

‘अथातः सामयाचारिकाः’

इति समयाचारस्वरूपं
वर्णनीयम् ।

तत्तच्छास्त्रीयसामयाचारिकसिद्ध्यर्थं महर्षिभिः

प्रणीतानि । एतानि च गुरुशिष्यविवादपूर्वकं

सिद्धान्तसूत्ररूपेण निरमीयन्तेत्यादि प्रथम-

व्याख्याने कथितम् । अधुनोपलभ्यमानानि

धर्मसूत्राणि कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयतैत्तिरीयशास्त्रीयानि

आपस्तम्बबोधायनादीनि । गौतमसूत्रं तु सामवेदगतराणायनीयशाखागतं

शङ्खलिखितधर्मसूत्रं शुक्लयजुर्वेदगतशाखानुसारि । गौतमवसिष्ठविष्णुधर्म-

सूत्रैरेवमनुमातुं शक्यं यदाचारव्यवहारप्रायश्चित्तेति काण्डत्रयं तत्रा-

सीत् । मनुयाह्नवल्क्यादिस्मृतिषु विद्यमाना दायभागादिसर्वव्यवहारपदार्था-

स्तत्र समुपलभ्यन्ते । धर्मसूत्रप्रणयनकालः क्रिस्तशकात्प्राक्षट्शतमारभ्य

तदनन्तरं द्विशतपर्यन्तमिति वक्तुं शक्यम् । स्मृतिः तत्तच्छाखागतधर्म-

सूत्रस्य द्वितीयं रूपमिति वक्तुं शक्यमेवं च कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयमानवसूत्रमनु-

रुध्य मनुस्मृतिः प्राणीयतेति बहूनां विदुषां मतम् । ततश्च मानवसूत्रं

मनुस्मृतिप्राक्कालिकं, ततोऽन्यानि तदनन्तरजानि । शङ्खलिखितधर्मसूत्रा-

च्छङ्खलिखितस्मृतिः प्रादुरभूदिति यथा नामसादृश्याद्वक्तुं शक्यमेवं सर्वास्तु

किं बीजं स्यादिति विचार्यमाणे प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणं यद्यपि न वक्तुं शक्यं

तथापि श्राद्धवैश्वदेवादिषु येषां मन्त्राणां विनियोगस्तत्तत्स्मृतिषु आदृत-

स्तादृशो यत्र गृह्यसूत्रेऽधुनोपलभ्यते तच्छास्त्रीयधर्मसूत्रानुसारिणी सा

स्मृतिरिति वक्तुं शक्यम् । गृह्यसूत्रं श्रौतसूत्रवत्तत्तच्छास्त्रीयैः कण्ठे क्रियत-

एव । सूत्राणां पौर्वापर्यं चेदं वक्तुं शक्यं यद् बौधायनसूत्रं प्राचीनं ततः

प्राक्तनं मानवं ततः प्राक्तनमापस्तम्बं ततोऽपि प्राक्तनं गौतमं, वसिष्ठस्य

स्तथाषाढस्य च सूत्रमापस्तम्बसूत्रानन्तरजन्यं, विष्णुसूत्रं कदशास्त्रीयम् ।

धर्मसूत्रेषु विशेषतः सदाचारः, व्यवहारः, शिष्टाचार इत्यादि बोध्यते ।
कचित् कचित् गृह्यसूत्रेषु धर्मसूत्राणां निर्देशोऽस्ति ।

सूत्रस्मृतीनां सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्यविषये—

- १ सूत्राणि गद्यरूपेण, स्मृतयस्तु प्रायेण पद्यरूपेण प्रणीतानि ।
- २ धर्मसूत्राणि पुरातनभाषामयानि स्मृतयस्तु नवीनभाषाघटिताः ।
- ३ धर्मसूत्राण्यव्यवस्थितानि स्मृतयश्च व्यवस्थितप्रकरणघटिताः ।
- ४ तत्तच्छास्त्रीयधर्मसूत्रेषु तत्तद्वेदमन्त्राणां निर्देशस्तथैव स्मृतिष्वपि ।

अधुना विशेषतो मन्थविषयवर्णनं समुपक्रम्यते—

१ गौतमधर्मसूत्रम् ।

उपलभ्यमानेषु सर्वेषु धर्मसूत्रेषु प्राचीनतममेतद् धर्मसूत्रम् । सामं-
वेदराणायनीयशाखासंबन्धि । अत्र सामवेदगता मन्त्रा उद्धृताः । गौतमेन
स्वयं धृता विधयोऽत्र विलसन्ति । अत्र प्रकरणानामष्टाविंशतिः । अस्य
गद्यग्रन्थस्य भाषा पाणिनिस्मृत्यपरिपूर्ता । पाठभेदेषु हरदत्तेन टीकाकृता
संगृहीताः पाठा एव संमानिताः । गौतमनाम्ना निर्दिष्टानि मिताक्षराद्युद्धृत-
वचनानि बहूनि सांप्रतमुपलभ्यमाने गौतमसूत्रे न सन्ति । काश्चन वैदिक-
संहिताः सामविधानादि ब्राह्मणानि उपनिषदः वेदाङ्गानि पुराणानि च
तत्र निरवेक्ष्यन्त गौतमसूत्रेषु निर्दिष्टेनाचार्या इति पदेन कस्य ग्रहणं तद्वक्तुं
न शक्यते । गौतमोक्तमेकोनविंशत्यध्यायस्थं वृत्तं बोधायनेन संगृह्यते ।
वसिष्ठोऽपि तत् स्वीये द्वाविंशेऽध्यायेऽनुवदति । गौतमस्य वसिष्ठस्य च
बहूनि सूत्राणि समानानुपूर्विकाणि । गौतमेन यवननिर्देशः कृतस्तेनायं
क्रिस्तशकानुसारं षट्शतमितसंवत्सरादनन्तरं द्विशतसंवत्सरपर्यन्ते समये
समभूविति प्रतीयते । अस्य गौतमस्य निर्देशो याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ भविष्यपुराणे
शंकराचार्यग्रन्थे मेधातिथिग्रन्थे चास्ति । अत्र सूत्रे हरदत्तमस्कारिणो-
र्व्याख्या । तथाऽसहायस्यापि तत्र व्याख्या विलसति ।

२ बौधायनसूत्रम् ।

अयं बौधायनः कृष्णयजुर्वेदगततैत्तिरीयशास्त्रीयोऽपि सर्वैः शास्त्रिभिः
समान्यते । दक्षिणात्योऽयं क्रिस्तोत्तरद्वितीयशतके जन्म लेभे ।

३ आपस्तम्बसूत्रम् ।

अयमापस्तम्बोऽपि दक्षिणात्यस्तैत्तिरीयशास्त्रीय एव । तस्य सूत्राणि
विशेषतो वैदिकभाषानुपूर्वीकत्वात्कालः प्राचीनतम इति प्रत्याययन्ति ।
स नियोगपैशाचविवाहादिविषये बहु साटोपं वदति ।

अस्य च कालः क्रिस्तप्रथमशतकम् ।

४ वसिष्ठसूत्रम् ।

अयमपि वसिष्ठो दाक्षिणात्यस्तैत्तिरीय एव । बौधायनापस्तम्बवसिष्ठ-
सूत्राणि त्रीण्यपि बहुशः समानानुपूर्विकाणि । अस्य कालो वक्तुं न शक्यते ।

अत्रैव बहूनां धर्मसूत्राणां तत्कृतां च केवलं नामनिर्देशं कुर्मः ।

१ हिरण्यकेशी	२ विष्णुः	३ हारीतः
४ शङ्खलिखितौ	५ मानवम्	६ कौटिलीयम्
७ वैखानसः	८ आत्रिः	९ उशनाः
१० कण्वः काण्वो वा	११ कश्यपः काश्यपो वा	१२ गार्ग्यः
१३ च्यवनः	१४ जातुकर्ण्यः	

५ देवलधर्मसूत्रम् ।

कदाचिद् देवलसूत्रमासीदिति प्रतीयते । यतो मिताक्षरादिष्वाचार-
व्यवहारप्रायश्चित्तेति त्रिष्वपि काण्डेषु देवलवचांसि प्रमाणत्वेनोदाह्रियन्ते ।
अधुनोपलभ्यमानमानन्दाश्रममुद्रितं स्मृत्यात्मकं भिन्नम् । यतस्तत्र केवलं
श्लोकानां नवतिरेवोपलभ्यते तत्र च म्लेच्छसंसर्गप्रायश्चित्तमेव प्रतिपाद्यते ।
तद्वृत्ता एव केचन श्लोकाः (१७-२२) अपराक्रेण आपस्तम्बीयत्वेन
गृहीताः । (३०-११) इति द्वौ मिताक्षरापरार्काभ्यां विष्णुनाम्नैव निर्दिष्टौ ।
अपत्यकर्मविद्योति ज्योतिस्त्रयं देवलो वदतीति श्रीमन्महाभारते । नीति-
ग्रन्थस्य प्रणेता देवलः कात्यायनबृहस्पतिसमकालिक आसीदिति प्रतीयते ।
अधुना स्मृतिविषये किञ्चिन्निर्दिश्यते ।

स्मृतिपदेन वेदातिरिक्ता ग्रन्था ग्राह्याः । पाणिनिश्रौतसूत्रमहाभारताः

दयः श्रीशंकराचार्यैः स्मृतित्वेन व्यपाकियन्ते ।

स्मृतिसंख्या ।

तथा च पाणिनिस्मृतिरिति । मन्वादिग्रन्थाः

स्मृतयः । धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः । इति मनूक्या

धर्मशास्त्रस्यैव स्मृतिरिति संज्ञा । याज्ञवल्कीये विंशतिः स्मृतयः, पराशरीये
एकोनविंशतिः, तन्त्रवार्तिके अष्टादश धर्मसंहिताः कथ्यन्ते । अपराक्रेण
षट्त्रिंशत् (६३) स्मृतयः कथिताः । बृहद्गौतमेन सप्तपञ्चाशत् । धीरमित्रो-
दये अष्टादश स्मृतयः, अष्टादश उपस्मृतयः, एकविंशतिरन्यादृश्याः निर्णय-
सिन्धुमयूखायुद्धताः स्मृतयः शतसंख्याका भवेयुः । कुत्रचित् स्मृतीनां
काव्या पञ्चत्रिंशदुत्तरशतपरिगणिताऽस्ति । तत्र काश्चन गद्यात्मिकाः,
काश्चन केवलं गद्यात्मिकाः परं ता अल्पीयस्यः । पद्यात्मिकास्तु प्रभूताः ।
तत्र समाननामत्वेऽपि लघुबृहद्वृद्धेतिविशेषणाविशिष्टाः काश्चित् स्मृतयः

सन्ति । तत्र याज्ञवल्क्यवृहद्याज्ञवल्क्येत्यादौ भूयान् भेदो विषयेषु प्रकरणेषु च । तथापि हारीतशातातपात्रीतिनिर्दिष्टं स्मृतित्रयं लघुबृहद्वृद्धेतिविशेषणविलसितं समानार्थकमेव केवलं संक्षेपविस्तारविशिष्टं लघुबृहदिति विशेषणानुक्कलरचनात्मकम् । वृद्धेतिविशेषणसमय एवमपि वक्तुं शक्यं यदियं स्मृतिस्तत्तत्पण्डितैर्भिन्नकालजैर्वृद्धिं प्रापितेति । काश्चन हारीतादिस्मृतयो वैष्णवादिमतप्रतिपादिन्यो मतान्तरनिन्दावहाश्च दृश्यन्ते । अत्रोदाहरणं वृद्धहारीतस्मृतिः । अत्र प्रायश्चित्तमाचारश्चांशतः प्रतिपाद्यतेऽङ्कनादिरूपो, व्यवहारस्य तु नामापि न श्रूयते । अत्र सूत्रोपनिषत्प्रतिपादितभस्मधारणं निन्द्यते तद्धारकाश्च चाण्डालत्वेन निन्द्यन्ते । तेनैतासां प्रामाण्ये भवति विसंवादः सूज्ञानाम् । किं च यथोपनिषत्सु तथा स्मृतिषु न्यवयवकत्वं विलसति । तथा हि—

१ आख्यायिका २ तत्त्वज्ञानम् ३ उपासनाश्चेति त्रयं यासूपनिषत्सु ता

स्मृतीनां

न्यवयवकत्वम् ।

महोपनिषदः । यत्र केवलमंशद्वयमेकोऽंशश्च तत्रेशावा-

स्यादिषु लघूपनिषत्त्वं, तथैवाचारव्यवहारप्रायश्चित्तेति

काण्डत्रयं यत्र ता महास्मृतयः, १ मनुस्मृतिः २ याज्ञ-

वल्क्यस्मृतिः, ३ पराशरस्मृतिश्चेति । तत्र च विद्यतेऽंश-

त्रयम् । आचारव्यवहारप्रायश्चित्तान्तर्गतमंशद्वयमेको वा यत्र विद्यते देवला-

दिस्मृतिषु ता लघुस्मृतयः । एता लघुस्मृतय एव बहुसंख्याकाः । लघु-

स्मृतयो व्याख्याविशिष्टा न भवन्ति । महास्मृतयस्तु प्रभूतव्याख्यायुताः ।

तत्र, मनुस्मृतौ व्याख्याष्टकं, याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ च त्रिचतुरा व्याख्याः

पराशरस्मृतावुपबृंहणरूपं माधवीयं भाष्यम् । एवं चैता महास्मृतीर्यथाक्रमं

विवृणुमः । एतासां स्मृतीनां पद्येषु पाठभेदा दरीदृश्यन्ते । तत्र कारणं

व्याख्याकृतो निबन्धकृतश्च स्मरणेनैव निबन्धान्तरपुस्तकं च दृष्ट्वा तत्त-

त्स्मृतिवाक्यानि लिखन्ति । न स्मृतिपुस्तकमालोचयन्ति ।

मनुस्मृतिः— 'यन्मनुरवदत् तज्ज्ञेयजम्' इति तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणप्रथित-

माहात्म्यो मनुः (मनाधी धार्ये इति तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणम् ।) किंस्तजन्मनः

प्राक् द्वादशशतमारभ्य द्विशतपर्यन्तं कस्मिंश्चित् काले प्रादुरभूदिति बहूनां

पण्डितानां व्युल्लादीनां मतम् । स च मनुष्याणां जनक इत्युग्वेदादिषु ।

शातपथब्राह्मणे च मनु-जलप्रलययोराख्यायिका । निरुक्ते दायभागप्रणेतृ-

त्वेन मनोनिर्देशः । तथैव गौतमीये महाभारत आपस्तम्बीये च । नारद-

स्मृतावुपोद्धाते लक्षश्लोकात्मकं धर्मशास्त्रं मनुना प्रणीतं तच्च नारदाय

प्रादायीति कथितम् । एवमेवार्थवादो भविष्यपुराणे मनुविषयकः । मानव-

गृह्यसूत्रमनुप्राणीयत मनुस्मृतिरिति मते कौश्चिद्विवादः संभाव्यते । यतो

मानवगृह्यसूत्रे विनायकशान्तिः, वधूपरीक्षा च प्रोच्यते न ते मनुस्मृता-
बुध्यते इति । अत्रेवं ध्येयं मानवधर्मसूत्रमनुप्राणीयत मनुस्मृतिर्न मानव-
गृह्यमनु इत्यस्ति वादः । महाभारते मनुद्वयं वर्णितम् । एकश्च स्वायम्भुवो
मनुः प्रणेता धर्मशास्त्रस्य । अपरस्तु प्राचेतसो मनुर्धर्मशास्त्रस्य । अधुनो-
पलभ्यमाने मनुस्मृतिपुस्तके धर्मशास्त्रार्थशास्त्रेति द्वयमप्युपलभ्यते । प्रसक्ता-
नुप्रसक्त्येवमपि वक्तुं शक्यं यद् अधुनोपलभ्यमाने मनुस्मृतिग्रन्थे संस्करण-
ग्रयमस्ति यतस्तत्र तत्र परस्परविरुद्धानि नियोगशूद्रभार्याविवाहादि-
बोधकनिषेधकानि भूयांसि वचांसि दृश्यन्ते । तत्र द्वितीयं तृतीयं वा
संस्करणं याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृत्यनन्तरजमिति उभयस्मृत्योः पर्यालोचयितॄणां
मतिपथमारोहेत् । सामान्यतो मनोः श्लोकाः सरलार्थकाः पाणिनीय-
व्याकरणानुसृताश्च दृश्यन्ते । अधुनोपलभ्यमानमनुस्मृतिपुस्तके सुद्वितीभ्यः
श्लोकेभ्यो बहिर्भूताः स्मृत्यन्तरव्याख्यानिबन्धादिधृता मनुनामनिर्दिष्टा
प्रभूताः श्लोकाः सन्ति येषां परिगणनं ग्रन्थशरीराद् बहिर्भूतजरातर्पित्तिग-
सुद्वितीपुस्तके कृतम् । अन्यच्च बृहन्मनुर्वृद्धमनुरिति नाम्ना निर्दिष्टं मनुद्वयमस्ति
तत्प्रथितान्मनोः पश्चात्तन्मिथेवाङ्गीकार्यम् । मनुमौर्यसमये समुद्भूतम् ।

वैदिकमहर्षिषु याज्ञवल्क्यस्य नाम प्रथिततमम् । शतपथे याज्ञवल्क्य-
जनकसंवादः प्रासिद्धः । बृहदारण्यकेऽयं भैत्रव्यादिसंवादेऽ-
याज्ञवल्क्यः ध्यात्मवित्तम इति श्रूयते । याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृत्यन्तिमश्लोकै-
स्तेनैव महर्षिणाऽऽरण्यकं योगशास्त्रं च प्रणीतमिति
काथितम् । नवमशतके प्रादुर्भवताऽग्निपुराणेन नवशतात्मकाः श्लोका
याज्ञवल्क्यकृता इति परिगणितम् । विश्वरूपमिताक्षरापराकव्याख्यानां मूल-
श्लोकविषये महान् विसंवादः सोऽपि प्रायश्चित्तकाण्ड एव भूयान् । अस्याः
स्मृतेः प्रणयनकालः क्रिस्तप्रथमशतकादारभ्य तृतीयशतकपर्यन्तं कदाचित् ।
अस्य च स्मृतिः सर्वमान्या । अयं च शातवाहनकालिकः । व्यवहारदाय-
मागे मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोर्भूयान् भेदः । स च सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्यप्रघटके दर्श-
यिष्यामः ।

मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोः सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये ।

प्रथमसंस्करणात्मकस्य मनुग्रन्थस्यायं याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिरूपः सुयोग्यः
संक्षेप इत्युभयस्मृतिविदां मतम् । व्यवहारे तु राजपद्धत्यनुसारं भेदः ।

१ याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ विनायकशान्तिः, वृद्धशान्तिः, विद्यानि च । तथा
मनौ नास्ति । इदं कदाचिद्याज्ञवल्कीयेऽपि प्रक्षिप्तं स्यात् ।

२ जगदुत्पत्तिर्मनौ विद्यते याज्ञवल्कीये न । मनौ द्वितीयसंस्करण-
जन्यम् ।

३ बिष्णुधर्मसूत्रं याज्ञवल्कीयं तथा कौटिलीयमर्थशास्त्रं याज्ञवल्कीयं च समानम् । अत एव मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोर्व्यवहारे भेदः ।

४ मनुः शूद्रस्त्रीपरिणयमनुमनुते, याज्ञवल्क्यः श्रुतिप्रमाणमादृत्य निषेधति तम् ।

५ नियोगनिन्दा मनौ (कदाचित् द्वितीयसंस्करणे) समुपलभ्यते याज्ञवल्कीये च नियोगस्य विधिः । एवमेव द्यूतादावपि गतिः ।

६ मनुर्दायविषये स्त्रियो निषेधति याज्ञवल्क्यस्तु पितुर्भर्तुश्च धनं स्त्री लभेतेत्यनुमनुते । दायविषये याज्ञवल्क्यमतेन स्त्रियोऽधिक्रियन्ते किंतु मिताक्षरादयस्तन्नैवाद्रियन्ते तथैव न्यायालयाः ।

७ पुत्रदायविषये तत्तत्पुत्रदृष्ट्या मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोर्मतभेदः ।

८ कौटिल्यानन्तरजस्य याज्ञवल्क्यस्य विभक्तभ्रातृस्त्रीदायविषये मनुना सह विप्रतिपत्तिः । एतत्सविस्तरं स्त्रीधनविषये ब्रूमः ।

९ मन्वाद्यः सर्वे द्वादशसु पुत्रेषु बन्धुदायादा अवन्धुदायादाश्चेति विभज्य दायं व्यवहरन्ति । याज्ञवल्क्यस्तु सर्वत्र सममेव व्यवहरति ।

१० मातरि मृतायां बन्धवो भगिन्यश्च समांशका इति मानवं कौटिलीयं च मतम् । याज्ञवल्क्यस्य तत्र विप्रतिपत्तिः । स्त्रीणां कन्यादीनां दायविषये याज्ञवल्क्यस्य विशेषतः पक्षपातः ।

११ मनुः (९-२१५) न पुत्रभागं विषमं दद्यादित्याह । याज्ञवल्क्यस्त्वत्र स्त्रीविभागेन दायो विभजनीय इति ।

अन्यदपि प्रभूतं तारतम्यमास्ति तत् प्रतिप्रकरणं विचारे समालोचयिष्यामः । अनयोरेव स्मृत्योर्विशेषतस्तारतम्यं परीक्षणीयं न पराशरस्मृतेः । यतस्तत्राल्पीयान् व्यवहारो विवृतः । विस्तृतस्त्वनयोरेव स्मृत्योर्विशेषेण । पराशरीये आचारप्रायश्चित्तविषय एव बहु पराक्रान्तं न व्यवहारे । स्मृत्यन्तरेषु संक्षिप्ततथैव वर्णनम् ।

पराशरः—अयं प्राचीनतमस्तैत्तिरीयारण्यके बृहदारण्यके निरुक्ते च वर्ण्यमानो महर्षिः स्मृतिमिमां प्राणिन्ये । पराशरेणाल्पीयान् व्यवहारो वर्णितः । सोऽपि च राजाविषयक एव । तेन चत्वारः पुत्राः १ औरसाः २ क्षेत्रजाः ३ वृत्तकाः ४ कृत्रिमाः इति वर्णिता अन्ये तु न निषिद्धाः । तत्र 'नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते' इत्यादि प्राथितं स्त्रीणां पुनर्विवाहस्य विधायकं वाक्यं दृश्यते । तदग्रे अनुगमनस्य (देशभाषया सतीगमनस्य) स्तुतिः कृता । पराशरो मनुमतमनुवदति । कुत्रचिद्वेतयोः समानाक्षराः श्लोकाः सन्ति ।

अस्यावतारकालः—किंस्तजन्मनोऽनन्तरं प्रथमशतात् पञ्चमशतक-

पर्यन्तम् । बृहत्पराशरः कश्चिदेतदनन्तरजः स्मृतिकृत् । कलियुग उपयुज्य-
माना पराशरस्मृतिः ।

नारदः— त्रिकाण्डभूषितास्यापि स्मृतिः । अस्य जन्म किस्तोज्ज्वा-
दनन्तरं पञ्चमं षष्ठं वा शतकम् । अस्यां स्मृतावसहायस्य व्याख्या । एतद-
नन्तरं बृहस्पति, कात्यायन, अह्निरस्त, ऋष्यशृङ्ग कार्णाजिनि प्रभृतीनां
शतसंख्याकानां महर्षीणां स्मृतयः । परं ता विस्तरभयाच्च वर्ण्यन्ते ।

अधुना व्याख्याकृतां निबन्धानां च कालक्रमेण वर्णनम् । असहायस्य
व्याख्या नारदस्मृतादित्यनुपदमेवोक्तम् । भर्तृयज्ञो
व्याख्यानिबन्धाश्च । नाम भाष्यकारः । शंकराचार्यैर्बृहदारण्यकभाष्येऽस्य
निर्देशः कृतः । तथैव तस्य पारस्करगृह्यसूत्रे गौतम-
धर्मसूत्रे च व्याख्या ।

विश्वरूपः— अस्य च याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ बालक्रीडाख्या व्याख्या । यदि
सुरेश्वर एवायं यथा केचन मन्वते तर्ह्यस्य समयः किस्ताष्टमशतकम् ।
वस्तुतस्तु विश्वरूपोऽयं भिन्नः ।

भारुचिः—तत्त्वज्ञो भारुचिरयं च समान एवेति भाति । बहुषु स्थले-
ष्वनेन सह विज्ञानेश्वरस्य विमतिः ।

श्रीकरः—अयं मैथिलो भवितुमर्हति । (८००-१०५०) कालः ।

मेधातिथिः—वाक्षिणात्य इति केचित् । अयमौत्तराहः प्रायः काश्मीरा-
भिजनः । अयं प्राच्यां मीमांसायां प्रवीणः । यत्र तत्र विधिर्यवादमीमांसा-
मारचयति । विस्तरशः संन्यासपदेन अहंकारत्याग इत्येवार्थः कर्मत्याग-
रूपोऽर्थो न ग्राह्यः । क्षत्रियजोऽपि बालो ब्राह्मणेन पुत्रीकर्तुं शक्यत इति च
तन्मतम् । नष्टे मृते इत्यत्र पतिशब्दः पालकरूपमर्थं ब्रूते इति प्रतिपादयति ।
अस्य समयः किस्ताब्द (८२५-९००)

भारेश्वरभोजदेवः— धाराधिपेनानेन भोजदेवेन काव्यालंकारज्योतिष-
योगाविशास्त्रेषु ग्रन्थाः प्राणीयन्त । अनेन सह काचित् विज्ञानेश्वरो विरु-
ध्यते । धर्मप्रदीपस्तु केनचिदन्येन भारमल्लसुतेन भोजेन प्रणीतः ।

देवस्वामीः— (१०००-१०५०)

अथ जितेन्द्रियबालकबालरूपयोगेश्वराश्च ।

विज्ञानेश्वरः—अयं वाक्षिणात्यः कल्याणपुरनिवासी विक्रमार्कसमयजश्च
महामान्यो व्याख्याकृत् नैकमप्यक्षरं स्मृत्यवलम्बं विना कथयति । तथापि
मूलेन सह स्मृत्यन्तरालम्बाद् विरुध्यते यथायं राजकीयन्यायालयेषु महा-
मान्यो न तथा स्वयं स्मृतिकृत् । तत् प्रसङ्गानुसारं विवरिष्यामः । सपिण्ड-
पदार्थं सभासः पिण्डो देहारम्भकत्वेनेत्यादिरूपमर्थं स्वीकृत्य रक्तसाम्बा-
नुसारं दायविभागमनुमनुते । दाये सप्रतिबन्धो दायोऽप्रतिबन्धो दायश्चेति
विभागद्वयम् । सर्वेषु पदेषु जीमूतवाहनेन सहास्य विप्रतिपत्तिः । अत्र

टीकात्रयम् । विश्वेश्वरः, नन्दपण्डितः बालभट्टश्च । अस्य कालः । १०७०
११०० । अन्ये कामधेनु, हलायुध, भादेवभट्ट, प्रकाश, पारिजाताः ।
गोविन्दराजः कुल्लूकेनोद्धृतः । कल्पतरुः, लक्ष्मीधरः । जीमूतवाहनो वङ्ग-
देशीयो विज्ञानेश्वरस्य बहुशो विरोधी । अधुना न्यायालयस्थैर्दार्यभागो
वङ्गेषु, मिताक्षरा महाराष्ट्रादिषु सर्वत्र संमान्यते ।

अपरार्कः—याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिव्याख्याता ।

स्मृतिचन्द्रिका—अस्याः कर्ता दाक्षिणात्यो देवणभट्टः । विज्ञानेश्वर-
मतीव संमनुते । तथापि कुत्रचिद्विरुध्यते ।

हरदत्तः—दाक्षिणात्यः ।

हेमाद्रिः—दाक्षिणात्यः अस्य पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणिर्ज्ञानकोशवद्ग्रन्थः ।
बोपदेवसमकालीनः यादवराजसमयस्थः ।

कुल्लूकः—मेधातिथिं बहुशोऽनुकरोति क्वचिद्विरुध्यते । (११५०—१३००)

माधवाचार्यः—दाक्षिणात्यः । हेमाद्रिणा विरुध्यते । बुद्धसमकालिकः॥
मातुलकन्याविषये मीमांसान्यायमालाविस्तराख्येन स्वीयग्रन्थेनास्य विरोधः॥

मदनरत्नः—महानिबन्धः (१४२५—१४५०)

शूलपाणिः—याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतेर्व्याख्या दीपकलिका तत्प्रणेता । जीमूत-
वाहनवद्वङ्गीयेषु मान्यः । अस्य च स्मृतिविवेकादयो बहवो ग्रन्थाः ।

रुद्रधरः—मिसरुमिश्र, वाचस्पतिमिश्रः—मैथिलः । विवादचिन्तामणेः
प्रणेता । अन्येऽपि प्रभूता ग्रन्था निरमयिन्त ।

कमलाकरभट्टस्य विवादताण्डव इत्यादयः ।

नीलकण्ठभट्टः—व्यवहारमयूखस्य प्रणेता । अयं महामान्यो विवाद-
कुशलश्च । अतीव पाण्डित्यप्रचुरं लिखति । मिताक्षरां स्तौति च कुत्रचित्
विनिन्दति ।

अन्ये अनन्तदेव, नागोजीभट्ट, बालभट्ट काशीनाथोपाध्यायादयः ।

जगन्नाथतर्कपञ्चाननः—विवादभङ्गार्णवस्य प्रणेता (१८०६)

दत्तकचन्द्रिका दत्तकमीमांसादयोऽपि वर्ण्याः ।

इदं सूत्रस्मृतिग्रन्थानां सविस्तरं वर्णनं मया विशेषतः आहृतं येन
समन्वयापरपर्यायभूतैकवाक्यतायां पूर्वेषामेव ग्रन्थानामस्तूपयोगो न पश्चा-
द्भाविनां, यद्वि केनचिदङ्गीकृतस्तर्हि मास्त्वादरभाजनं सः ।

अत्र ये कालनिर्देशा उद्धृतास्ते सर्वे भर्मशास्त्रालोडनप्रमाणितमतीम्नं
प्रोफेसरकोणमहोदयायनौमीतहासिकग्रन्थगता एव यथायथं स्वीकृताः ।

॥ इति तृतीयं व्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ॥

APPENDIX I

List of Journals, Periodicals and Institutions on Exchange



(Upto 6th July 1933)

- 1 The "Man", Royal Anthropological Institute, 50, Great Russell Street, London (England).
- 2 Journal of the R. A. Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 74, Grossvenor Street, London (England).
- 3 Asiatic Review, 3, Victoria Street, London, S. W. I., England.
- 4 The Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 41, Great Russell Street, London, W. C. I., (England).
- 5 The Librarian, School of Oriental Studies, London Institution Finsbury Circus, London E. C. 2. (England).
- 6 "The Shrine of Wisdom", Aahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. II. (England).
- 7 Zeitschrift der Deutschen, Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, (Germany).
- 8 Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften N. W. 7, Unter de London 38, Berlin, (Germany).
- 9 Universitäts-Bibliothek, Gottingen, (Germany).
- 10 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munchen, (Germany).
- 11 Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus Oskar Schloss Verlag, Munchen Neubiberg, (Germany).
- 12 Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik, Deutschen Morgenlandischen, Gesellschaft, Leipzig, (Germany).
- 13 Berlin Academy of Science, Berlin, (Germany).
- 14 Bavarian Academy of Science, Munich, (Germany).
- 15 The Director of Indian Institute Oslo University Oslo, (Norway).
- 16 Oriental Institute Prague (Czechoslovakia).
- 17 The Editor "Indologica Pragensia" seminar fur Indologie der Deutschen Universitat Prague (Czechoslovakia).
- 18 Roesznick Orgentalistyczuy, Lwow, (Poland).
- 19 "The Journal Asiatique" Societe Asiatique, Rue Jacob No. 13 (VI*) Paris. (France).
- 20 Academie des Incriptions, et Belles-Letters, 82 Rue Bonaparte, 82 Paris (France).
- 21 Memoirs de la Societe, de Linguistique de Paris, 5, Qual Maloquais, Paris, (France).
- 22 L'Instruction Publique et Des Beaux-Arts Musee Guiment, 6 Place d'Iena 7 Paris (XVIe). (France).
- 23 Institut fur Volkerkunde der Universitat, Wien, (Austria).
- 24 L'Ecole Francaise, d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, (French Indo-China).

ii *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*

- 25 "Rays from the Rose Cross", The Rosicrucian Fellowship,
Oceanside, California (U. S. A.).
- 26 Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston, Massachusetts, (U. S. A.).
- 27 The Museum Journal, University Museum, Philadelphia Pa,
(U. S. A.).
- 28 The Political Science Quarterly, C/o The Academy of Political
Science, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, (U.S.A.).
- 29 The Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 104
South 5th Street, Philadelphia, (U. S. A.).
- 30 The Journal of the American Oriental Society, Yale University
Press, Connecticut, (U. S. A.).
- 31 The American Anthropologist, C/o American Anthropological
Association, 41. North Queen Str. Lancaster, (U. S. A.).
- 32 The Ohio Journal of Science, Ohio State University, Colum-
bus, (U. S. A.).
- 33 New Orient Society of America, 337 East Chicago Ave., Chicago.
(U. S. A.).
- 34 Linguistic Society of America, Philadelphia, (U. S. A.).
- 35 Social Science Research Council, New York, (U. S. A.).
- 36 The Journal of Society of Oriental Research, Trinity College,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- 37 "Nuova Cultura " Della R. Universita di Napoli, Via Sanita No.
131, Vapoli, (Italy).
- 38 Oriental School, University of Rome (Italy).
- 39 Sumptibus Pontifici Instituti Biblici Roma 101, (Italy).
- 40 Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien, Wien, (Austria).
- 41 Journal of Oriental Institute, Universitat, Wien, (Austria).
- 42 Archives Orientalis Uppsala, (Sweden).
- 43 Kungl Universitetes Bibliotek, Uppsala, (Sweden).
- 44 "Kern Institute ", Leiden, (Holland).
- 45 Section d'Etudes Orientales Societe des Sciences de Varsovie
Varsovie, Rue Sniadeckich 8 (Poland).
- 46 The Journal of the Java Institute Kweek-choollaan 3, Djokja-
karta (Java).
- 47 Royal Batavia Society, Museum, Konigsplein West 12, Batavia,
, (Java).
- 48 The Buddhist Chronicle, Ananda College, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 49 The Eastern Buddhist, C/o The Library, Otani University,
Muromaci-Kashira, Kyoto, Japan.
- 50 Fundamental Library of the Central Asian State University,
Tashkent, U. S. S. Russia.
- 51 Arhatamat Prabhakar Karyalaya, Poona No. 2.
- 52 "Progress of Education", C/o. Aryabhushan Press, Poona No. 4.
- 53 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
Town Hall, Bombay.
- 54 " Vividha-Jñāna-Vistāra ", 81, Phanaswadi, Bombay No. 2.
- 55 The Journal of the Anthropological Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

- 57 Journal of the K. R. Kama Oriental Institute, 172, Hornby Road
Sukhadwalla Buildings, Fort Bombay.
- 58 The Jain Hitaishi, C/o Manager, Jain Grantha Ratnakar Karya-
laya, Hirabag, Girgaon, Bombay.
- 59 The Iranian Association, Alice Buildings, Hornby Road, Fort,
Bombay.
- 60 University of Bombay, Bombay.
- 61 "Jain Gazette," Office, 21 Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street,
G. T. Madras.
- 62 Madras University Library, Madras.
- 63 The Indian Review, C/o G. B. Natesan and Co., Madras.
- 64 The "Kalpaka," The Latent Light Culture, Tinnevely, Madras.
- 65 Educational Review, No. 4 Mount Road, Madras.
- 66 "Vedanta Kesari," Shri Ramkrishna Matha, Mylapore, Madras.
- 67 Journal of Oriental Research, Mylapore, Madras.
- 68 The Indian Historical Quarterly, C/o The Calcutta Oriental
Press, 107 Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.
- 69 "The Sanskrit Sahityaparishat," Shyambazar, Calcutta.
- 70 Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta-University, Calcutta.
- 71 The Calcutta Review, Senate House, Calcutta.
- 72 Journal of the Mahabodhi Society, 4 A College Square, Calcutta.
- 73 "The People," 2, Court Street, Lahore.
- 74 The Central Museum, Lahore.
- 75 The Vedic Magazine, the Vedic Magazine Office, Lahore.
- 76 Journal of Indian History, History Department, Allahabad
University, Allahabad.
- 77 Allahabad University Journal, Department of English, Allaha-
bad University, Allahabad.
- 78 Mysore University Journal, Mysore.
- 79 Sanskrit College Magazine, Government Sanskrit College, Mysore.
- 80 The Journal of the Mythic Society, Mysore Road, Bangalore.
- 81 Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur, (S. India).
- 82 "The Philosophical Quarterly," C/o Indian Institute of Philo-
sophy, Amalner (East Khandesh).
- 83 Baroda Library, Baroda.
- 84 The Vishvabharati, Shantiniketan, Bolpur (Bengal).
- 85 Telugu Academy, Coconada.
- 86 Superintendent of Archaeology, Jammu and Kashmir State
Jammu.
- 97 "Yogamimansa" Kunjavana, Lonavala, G. I. P. Ry.
- 98 The "Prabuddha Bharata," Mayavati, Dist. Almora, Himalayas.
- 99 Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
- 100 Revue Historique de l'Inde Francaise, Pondicherry. (Fr. India).
- 101 Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. S. India.
- 102 Varandra Research Society, Rajshahi, (Bengal).
- 103 "Man in India," Church Road, Ranchi, B. N. Ry.
- 104 Journal of Burma Research Society, (Bernard Free Library),
Rangoon, Burma.

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- 106 The Tanjore S. M. Library, Tanjore.
 - 107 The Curator for the publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum.
 - 108 Secretary Bombay Historical Society, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
 - 109 Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Sadashiv Peth, Poona No. 2.
 - 110 Director of the Archaeological Researches in Mysore, Mysore.
 - 111 Karnataka Historical Quarterly, Dharwar.
 - 112 Government Oriental Library, Mysore.
 - 113 Journal of Uruswati Himalayan Research Institute of Roerish Museum, Naggar, Kulu (Punjab).
 - 114 " New Age " 15, N. I. Lines, Karachi.
 - 115 " Pravinya " 220, Kandewadi Naka, Bombay 4.
 - 116 " Lokashikshana " Near Training College, Poona 2.
 - 117 Director General of Archaeology, Simla.
 - 118 Imperial Library, Calcutta.
 - 119 Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. (U. S. A.)
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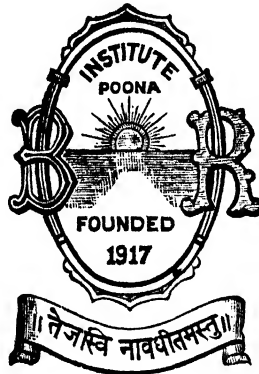
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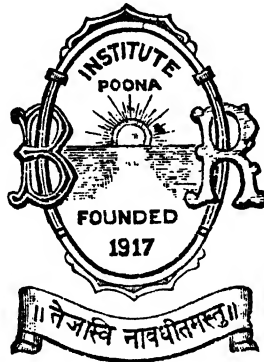
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[A TREATISE ON PRAKRIT METRES]

BY

PROF. H. D. VELANKAR, M. A.

INTRODUCTION

[Summary— (1) Introductory - a correction, (2) Mss. on which the edition is based. (3) Analysis of the Contents of the work, Vv. 1-39. (4) Analysis of the Contents, Vv. 40-62. (5) Analysis of the Contents, Vv. 63-75. (6) Analysis of the Contents, Vv. 76-96. (7) Vv. 76-96 did not form part of the original text. (8) Vv. 15 and 30 are similarly doubtful. (9) So are also Vv. 26-29 and (10) Vv. 39, 52 and 55. (11) The author. (12) Four points regarding the date of the author. (13) Detailed examination of the last point — Sanskrit and Prakrit, the languages of the learned and the masses respectively. (14) The Prakrits and the Jainas. — How they maintained the distinction between the learned and the masses. — The tendency of the masses and the cultivation of *their* language. (15) How the elevation of 'the language of the masses' to 'a literary language' takes place. (16) The rule illustrated by Prakrits and Marathi. (17) The origin and similar elevation of the Apabhraṃśa language. — The probable date of the latter. — (18) Apabhraṃśa is rather a stage through which every Prakrit has passed — but all Prakrits in this stage may not have become literary languages. (19) Thus the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhraṃśa may not have become a literary language. (20) The conclusion regarding the date of Nanditādhya, the author.]

1 After editing Virahāṅka's Vṛttajātisamuccaya, I directed my attention to another work on Prakrit Metres described by me

in my Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 37. My description of the work, however, is a little misleading. The facts regarding the Ms. are as follows :— The name of the work is Gāthālakṣaṇa ; that of the author is Nanditādhya. The commentary is not by the author himself but by some body else. Further our Ms. contains only the Avacūri but not the text. Ignorance and oversight are jointly responsible for the wrong description which I then gave and for which I now regret.

2 I was greatly disappointed when I discovered that our Ms. did not contain the text. But I referred to my Jinaratnakōśa (An alphabetical list of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. of Jainism to be published shortly) and found that there were two Mss. at Ahmedabad. I wrote to Mr. K. P. Mody, B. A., LL. B., who with his usual kindness promised to help me in the matter and secured these Mss. for me in a few days. One of these (A) contains Ratnacandra's commentary and ends exactly like Peterson's Ms. described by him at Report III, p. 224. This commentary is very brief. It does not give a Sanskrit rendering of the Prakrit illustrations but only explains a few words in them now and then. It is, however, very valuable in that it alludes to a so far unknown work (i. e. Svayāmbhū Chandas) on Prakrit metres in two places, (v. 21 and v. 30) the existence of which is further confirmed by the commentator of Kavīdarpaṇa, also a work on the same subject, which I soon intend to publish. It also tells us that v. 57 of the text is from Rohiṇīcarita, v. 59 and 60 from Puṣpāntacarita and v. 61 from Gāthāsahasra Śatapathālmkāra. All these works are mere names to us. A reference to my Jinaratnakōśa is in no way helpful. A few Mss. of the Rohiṇīcarita are known to exist but others are not known at all. The last looks like an anthology of a thousand Gāthās. The second Ahmedabad Ms. (B) contains a few useful footnotes which at any rate do not seem to be based on Ratnacandra. The Avacūri in the Society's Ms. (C) also is not materially different from that of Ratnacandra. Its text seems to contain two additional stanzas and many important variant readings. My edition is based upon these three Mss.

3 Gāthālakṣaṇa is a treatise, as its name signifies, on the Gāthā metre which is the oldest Prakrit metre. It is very

commonly employed in the Jain and the Buddhist Āgamas and shows various stages of its development. It is probably this fact i. e. that it is a sort of sacred metre of the Jainas, that has actuated Nanditādhya to write his treatise on the Gāthā, but more of this later on. The Gāthālakṣaṇa in its present form consists of 96 stanzas written mostly in the Gāthā metre. Of these, about 49 stanzas are given as illustrations while the remaining contain the definitions &c. of the different varieties of a Gāthā and other metres. In the introductory stanzas (1-2) the author tells us that he proposes to define the Gāthā and discuss the nature of short and long letters, which are employed in the Prakrit poems. In stanzas 3 to 5, short and long letters are explained while the next 11 stanzas (6-16) discuss the composition of a Gāthā. In this discussion, very peculiar terms are used. They differ considerably from those employed by Virahāṅka and Piṅgala. Thus Śara is a Caturmātra according to our author while it is a Pañcamātra according to Piṅgala and Virahāṅka. 'Kamala' is a long letter; Nabhas is IIII and Ghana or Megha is ISI, which is usually known as Narendra or Stana. Stanzas 17-20 give the three main varieties of a Gāthā viz. Pathyā, Vipulā and Capalā and the three sub-divisions of the last variety. When a word ends with the 12th Mātrā and does not extend beyond it in both the halves of a Gāthā, it is Pathyā, and when it does not so end but extends beyond it, it is Vipulā. In a Capalā, the second and the fourth Gaṇas in one or both the halves are Gurumadhyā (i. e. ISI) and are both preceded and followed by long letters. It is called Mukhacapalā when they are so only in the first half, Jaghanacapalā when only in the latter and Sarvacapalā when in both. Stanzas 21-25 contain the examples of these varieties, while 26-30 give the illustrations of Giti, Udgiti, Upagiti, Samkīrṇā and Gāthā in general. In v. 31 Nanditādhya declares that in the Prakrit language which he employs both for the definitions and the illustrations, such forms as 'Jiha', 'Kiha', 'Tiha' (i. e. according to the commentator Ratnacandra, Apabhraṃśa forms) will not occur. But the similes that he chooses in this connection are very strange. He compares his composition with a prostitute and a lustful person. Just as in the former there is no true love or in the latter no truth in speech so there are no Apabhraṃśa forms in his composition. We intend to discuss the

significance of this remark later on. In vv. 32-37, the other four divisions of a Gāthā based upon a different principle are given with their illustrations. They are (1) Viprā with both halves containing long letters (2) Kṣatriyā with the first half containing all long and the second half containing all short letters (3) Vaiśyā which is just the reverse of the Kṣatriyā and (4) Śudrā with both halves containing all short letters. The illustrations in vv. 35-36 look like quotations; but their source is unknown. In v. 38, all the ten varieties of a Gāthā discussed so far i. e. (1) Pathyā (2, Vipulā (3-5) the three kinds of Capalā, (6-9) the four varieties just mentioned and (10) the mixed are recounted. It is very difficult to understand what exactly the author means by a Miśra Gāthā. The possible mixture, so far as I can see is either of (1) and (2) with (3-5) or of (6-9) with any one of (1-5). But the example given in v. 39 does not contain any such mixture. It is a Pathyā all right; but the characteristics of any other variety are not noticeable in it. It is not Capalā nor is it any one of the last four. I am unable to understand how it is Miśrā. It is not probably an example given by the author himself as I will show later (Para 10), yet even when we grant that a reader inserted it, we are unable to see how and why he should have regarded it as an example of Miśrā.

4 The author next proceeds to discuss the other 26 varieties of Gāthā based upon a different principle. He enumerates in vv. 40-41 and explains the same in vv. 42-44. These verses are clearly the composition of our author and he is probably the originator of this 26-fold division. This is why he does not introduce these divisions as given by 'some' Ācāryas, as for instance is done by Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana (N. S. P. 1912) p. 27 b, line 15 ff. and the commentator of Kavidarpaṇa (Ms.). The first of these 26 divisions is Kamalā; it contains three short letters which must be compulsorily employed (cf. v. 10). In the next 25, one long letter is successively replaced by two short ones until we get 55 short letters in the 26th variety. In the following 11 stanzas (45-55) Nanditāḍhya gives some of the six Pratyayas in respect of the Gāthā. In vv. 45-46, he explains briefly the 'Laghu-guru-kriyā' i. e. the process of finding out the number of short or long letters in a Gāthā. In v. 47, he gives

the total number of Mātrās obtaining in a Gāthā. Here he gives the weight (!) of a Gāthā as equal to 57 Palas if one Mātrā is supposed to be one Karṣa in weight. Vv. 48-51 explain the Saṁkhyā i. e. the total number of possible permutations of a Gāthā. It is called the Prastāra (i. e. the Prastāra-Saṁkhyā the total number of the Prastāras i. e. Permutations). V. 52 gives the Prastārasaṁkhyā of other metres. The verse is doubtful as shown below (Para 10). V. 53 teaches how to find the total number of letters from the known number of short letters contained in it; while vv. 54-55 give the method of finding out the serial number of a Gāthā among its varieties from the same data i. e. the known number of short letters. The serial number is technically called Nakṣatra in v. 55. This shows perhaps that the 26 varieties of the Gāthā were at one time named after the 26 Nakṣatras. Our author, however, has different names (cf. vv. 40-41). This topic of the Gāthā is then closed with a discussion and illustration (vv. 56-62) of letters which become short or long by position. Here as said above, the author quotes from older works according to Ratnacandra.

5 Having thus explained the composition of the different varieties of a Gāthā proper and incidentally the letters which are short and long either naturally or by position, the author now turns his attention to those metres which are derived from the Gāthā by the addition or removal of a few Mātrās. These are six in number including the Gāthā, and are regarded as the varieties of Gāthā by the author. This view of the author seems well to accord with the names of these varieties. These names with the exception of the last, are all but slight variants of the name Gāthā. The first is Gāthā with two lines of 27 Mātrās each; the second is the Gāthā proper; the third is Vigāthā which is just the reverse of a Gāthā and has 27 Mātrās in the first line and 30 in the second. The fourth is Udgāthā with two lines of 30 Mātrās each. The fifth is Gāthini which has 30 Mātrās in the first and 32 in the second. The sixth and the last is the Skandhaka and has 32 Mātrās in each line. These appear to be the older names of these metres and are also employed by Piṅgala; cf. I. 48, 49, 60, 61, 62 and 63. Piṅgala, however, gives one more variety called Śimhīni, the two lines of which respectively contain 32 and 30

Mātrās and is just the reverse of Gāthini. The other and probably newer names of Gātha, Vigāthā and Udgātha are respectively Upagiti, Udgiti and Giti. These are used by Hemacandra and others. Hemacandra treats both Gāthini and Simhini as a mixture of Giti and Skandhaka, cf. p. 29a, l. 9. He employs the names Gātha, Vigāthā and Udgātha for those varieties of a Gāthā, the first lines of which respectively contain 38, 54 and 46 Mātrās while the second contain 27 Mātrās only. To proceed, Nanditādhya gives the definitions of these six varieties in vv. 63-65 and their illustrations in vv. 66-71. Mss. A and B do not contain the illustration of Vigāthā, but C seems to have it though I am unable to reconstruct it from the Avacūri; cf. the notes. Two instances of Udgātha are given. The second is interesting. Ordinarily as in v. 68, the first and third Pādas of an Udgātha or Giti contain 12 mātrās each while the second and the fourth have 18 each (also cf. v. 16). But in the second example of Udgātha given in v. 69, each of the four Pādas contains 15 Mātrās as is clear from the Yati and the rhyme (see notes). V. 72 corresponds to v. 53 and teaches how to find out the total number of letters in a given permutation of the Skandhaka metre which has 28 permutations in all. The author of course casually suggests that the least number of letters in Skandhaka is 34 as it is 30 in a Gāthā. V. 73 explains how there must exist at least four short letters in the Skandhaka metre. These four compulsory short letters are the first and the last of the sixth Gaṇa in both halves. This Gaṇa must either be IIII or ISI. No other Caturmātra is allowed in this place; cf. V. J. S. IV. 9 and Hemacandra p. 28 b, l. 14 ff. Vv. 74 and 75 contain two illustrations of the Skandhaka containing 6 and 4 short letters respectively. The purpose of the first is not clear; that of the second is to show where the four short letters must occur since this is not given in v. 73.

6 Here really the work ought to end, since all about Gāthā and its varieties has been said, and this alone was promised by the author. But all the three Mss. agree in giving what follows. In this portion the definitions of a few other metres mostly employed in the Apabhramśa poems are given along with their illustrations. In this manner Paddhati is defined and illustrated in vv. 76-77, Candrānana or Madanāvātāra in vv. 78-79; Dvi-

padī in vv. 80-81, Vastuka and Sārdhacchandās in vv. 82-83, Dūhā, its varieties and derivatives in vv. 84-94 and Śloka in the last two verses of the text.

7 The treatment of these metres appears to be foreign to the intentions of Nanditāḍhya who merely promises in the beginning of his work, to define and discuss Gāthā alone. Indeed, the treatment of Gāthā would be incomplete if all its varieties and particularly the metres derived from it are not thoroughly discussed, but by no stretch of imagination can the treatment of Gāthā include the discussion of metres that have hardly any connection with it. This is, however, not the only ground which leads to the conclusion that vv. 76 to 96 did not form part of the original text of Nanditāḍhya's Gāthālakṣaṇa. There are others also. In v. 31 Nanditāḍhya expresses his contempt for the Apabhramśa language in very strong terms. We therefore cannot expect him to define, much less to illustrate, the metres usually employed in the Apabhramśa language. But we actually find that vv. 76-77 and 83-94 are composed entirely in the Apabhramśa language. It is clear that they cannot be fathered upon Nanditāḍhya. There is also a third reason which shows the same thing. Nanditāḍhya does not address his work to any particular person. There is not a single reference to a particular addressee either at the beginning or in the sequel. He merely says 'Now I will describe or speak out &c.'; cf. vv. 1, 2, 20, 32 and 63. Moreover, Nanditāḍhya was probably a monk and hence address to a wife is particularly impossible. But this is what we find in vv. 78, 79, 84 and 86. Of these stanzas, v. 79 is clearly a quotation from Virahāṅka's Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya (I. 17). It is addressed to his wife. It seems to have been given in our work to explain some technical terms in v. 78. But it is entirely opposed to Nanditāḍhya's nomenclature (cf. Śara is Caturmātra in v. 8 but Pañcamātra here, being the name of a weapon; also see above Para 3). Only v. 80 seems to bear some relation to v. 8 and v. 48 (see notes) through the term Kamala (= long letter). It is thus inevitable to conclude that originally the work ended with v. 75.

8 Nor can it be said with certainty that the first 75 stanzas are all genuine. Many of these look rather suspicious and may

have been added by some reader. Thus v. 15 does not appear to be quite necessary. As a rule, the illustration follows the definition and therefore v. 15 ought to have followed v. 16 where the definition of a Gāthā is completed. It should also be noted that v. 30 is another illustration of a Gāthā. Two are obviously unnecessary but even one is questionable, since all instances of the different varieties of a Gāthā given in vv. 21-25 are also the instances of a Gāthā in general.

9 The examples of Gīti, Udgīti and Samkīrṇā given in vv. 26-29 are obviously a reader's addition, of course, of a rather early date since all the three Mss. uniformly give these stanzas in this place. They are not the varieties of a Gāthā in the proper sense, but varieties derived from Gāthā and slightly differing from it. They are called Viśeṣagāthās by some. Our author gives these varieties with their definitions and illustrations only after finishing the 10 or 26 varieties of a Gāthā proper, but he employs different and perhaps older names; see above Para 5 and vv. 63 ff. Samkīrṇā of v. 29 is the Gāthini of v. 70. Some impatient reader must have added these here thinking that the varieties ought to be illustrated here as is done by Hemacandra for instance; see p. 27 b. He obviously forgot that the author had not defined them yet and the illustrations for that reason would be quite uncalled for. This difficulty is felt by Ratnacandra who says that the definitions of these varieties should be known from 'Svayambhū Chandas'.

10 An example of Miśrā which is mentioned as one of the ten varieties in v. 38 is surely expected and v. 39 proposes to give it but as said above (Para 3) it is not really an example of Miśrā, for which see for example Hemacandra, p. 27 b, l. 4 ff. It was probably added by a reader who thought that an example of Miśrā was necessary though not given by the author and who understood by it a Gāthā in general. V. 52 appears to be a clear interpolation since the names Gīti, Udgīti and Upagīti were unknown to Nanditāḍhya as said above. V. 55 is not found in B, nor is it very necessary since it is almost the repetition of v. 54.

11 The author of the Gāthālakṣaṇa is Nanditāḍhya. He is mentioned twice i. e. in v. 31 and v. 63. The Prakrit form of the

name is Nandiyaddha and the corresponding Sanskrit form is Nanditāḍhya according to Ratnacandra or Nanditārdha according to the Avacūri in C. He both composed the definitions and gave the illustrations of the different varieties of the Gāthā. This is clear from vv. 20 and 32. Some of the illustrations seem to have been composed by Nanditāḍhya himself (see for example 21-25 where the conscious effort to introduce the name of the particular variety by Mudrālaṃkāra is clear) though the others may have been quoted by him from older writers. Thus in the opinion of Ratnacandra, he quotes from Rohipīcarita (v. 57), Puṣpadantacarita (vv. 59 and 60) and Śatapathālaṃkāra. Neither the authors nor the dates of any of these three works are known.

12 The date of our author cannot be fixed with any certainty. Yet the following facts may be offered for consideration. (1) The name Nanditāḍhya :— This appears to be one of the ancient names of the Jain Yatis which are very rarely employed in later days. We cannot assign any reasons for this fact but names like Samantabhadra, Sthūlabhadra, Bhadrabāhu, Akalaṅka and Umāsvāti are hardly assumed by the later Yatis. Nanditāḍhya looks like one of such names, (2) The metre chosen by him for discussion is one of the most ancient metres and the metre which is extensively used in the Jain Āgamas. The fact that he restricts himself to it indicates that he was a Jain Yati (also see vv. 1, 21-25, 36-37, 57, 62, 67-68, 70-71) anxious to explain the sacred metre used for his sacred Āgamas and no other. He seems to avoid studiously the discussion of the Prakrit metres of a purely popular origin. This would perhaps show that these metres had not yet secured recognition among the Jain Monk-Pandits, and this is possible only in the early centuries of the Christian Era. (3) Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana (p. 27 b, l. 15 ff.) seems to have quoted vv. 40-42 from our book. He does not mention either our work or its author but merely says that these divisions are given by 'some' writers. But as there is no ground to suppose that those stanzas were also borrowed from some other source by our author it may be safely assumed that they were composed by him and were quoted from our work by Hemacandra. V. 56 again is quoted by Ratnaśekhara in his Chandaḥkośa (v. 3). It is true, of

course, that the verse is not given as a quotation by him. It forms part of his text and Ratnaśekhara probably wants us to believe that it was composed by him ; but it can be conclusively proved that Ratnaśekhara unscrupulously reproduces entire stanzas or parts of them from older works such as Piṅgala and others. It is not improbable, therefore, that the said stanza was reproduced by him from our work. Candrakīrti, a lineal descendant of Ratnaśekhara and the commentator of his *Chandaḥkośa* also quotes v. 9 and v. 12 in his commentary on the 53rd stanza. Even he does not mention the name of either the work or the author, but there appears to be no ground for a reasonable doubt regarding the source of these stanzas. They are quite in their place in our work and have not in the least, the appearance of a borrowed quotation. Ratnaśekhara belonged to the 15th and Candrakīrti to the 17th century of the Samvat Era. Hemacandra belonged to the 12th century of the same era and if our assumption is correct, Nanditāḍhya must have flourished much earlier. (4) Lastly, the reference to the purity of his Prakrit in v. 31 by Nanditāḍhya is very significant. After giving examples of the first five varieties of the Gāthā, he declares in the next verse i. e. v. 31 that such forms as Jiha, Kiha and Tiha shall not occur in his Prakrit language. The occasion for this declaration is, I think, obvious. In vv. 21-25 he has composed his own instances to illustrate the Pathyā and other varieties. He wants to say that, in these and also in other illustrations that are to follow he shall not use such Apabhraṣṭa forms as Jiha &c. Ratnacandra is right in interpreting these forms as an Upalakṣaṇa of the Apabhramśa language in general. That these are the Apabhramśa forms is clear from Hemacandra, Grammar, VIII. 4. 401. Now this contemptuous allusion to the Apabhramśa language is a clear indication of an early date for our author as will be shown below.

13 From time immemorial, the Sanskrit language is regarded as the language of the learned in India. Literature written in this language alone could lay any claim to the attention of the Pandits. The Prakrits were regarded as the languages of the masses only. Hence when a philosophical or a scientific work was conceived, it had to be written in the Sanskrit language, as otherwise there was no hope of its being discussed or read by the

Pandits who alone could pronounce an opinion on a literary or scientific production. It is for this reason that we do not find any compositions of a serious nature written in Prakrit language by the Hindus. Even the Grammars of the Prakrit languages were written in Sanskrit.

14 The case was slightly different with the Jain Pandits. The Sanskrit, no doubt, was regarded as the language of the learned even by them. While combating the indigenous non-Jain philosophical systems, which were all written in Sanskrit, the Jain Pandits had necessarily to resort to the Sanskrit language. As a further step of this, they had to write in Sanskrit, independent treatises expounding their philosophical doctrines or commentaries on the original Prakrit Sūtras, so as to make them accessible to their Sanskrit-knowing opponents, who had as it were, formed an 'inner circle' of the learned, to which only the Sanskritists could hope to get an admission. It is on account of this fact, that we find a very large proportion of Jain literature written in Sanskrit. For the same reason, we also hear of the attempts of earlier Jain writers like Siddhasena Divākara to rewrite the whole Jain Āgama Literature into Sanskrit. Bhadrēśvara records a tradition in his Kathāvali, according to which Siddhasena Divākara was once ashamed at the public scandal that the Jain Siddhānta was merely in Prakrit and offered to translate the same into Sanskrit, but was severely reprimanded by the Saṅgha for this impious thought (cf. Apabhraṃśakāvya-trayī, Gaek. O. Series Vol. 37, Intro. p. 74). But after all, Prakrit was the sacred language of the Jainas and had to be respected by them along with Sanskrit. The tendency to differentiate between 'the language of the learned' and 'the language of the masses' however, is unmistakably noticeable even in the Jain Pandits. As a rule, Jain Pandits were Yatis and in many cases had adopted the robes of a Śramaṇa at a very tender age. From that early age they were taught Sanskrit and Prakrit and as a result of this deep devotion to study became steeped in the knowledge of Jain and non-Jain philosophical doctrines. It appears that this distinction between the Śramaṇas who were solely devoted to learning and the Śrāvakas who pursued with equal devotion 'the art of earning' was scrupulously maintained from the beginning

in the Jain community. The Śrāvakas were as a rule persuaded to cultivate the knowledge of secular subjects and were not allowed nor encouraged to study and explain even their own Āgamas. The Yatis had in this manner, secured a higher intellectual plane for themselves where they were highly respected and from which they could look down with contempt upon the Śrāvakas who were virtually doomed to intellectual inferiority since they had no access to the most respectable and rich languages i. e. the Sanskrit and the Prakrit. This was not resented by the Śrāvakas apparently for two reasons :— Firstly because the Jains as a community belong to the trading classes, and secondly because, those among them whose tendency lay in the opposite direction and were devoted to learning could follow their inclinations without any obstructions by embracing the order of monks. The difficulty indeed was for those Śrāvakas who could not renounce their earthly connections and yet were deeply devoted to learning. Such persons usually directed their literary energies towards the study and cultivation of the lower languages which were the languages of the masses. They wrote their poems in the popular language and for the ordinary people. Such literary productions naturally dealt with popular subjects which were either love or religious stories. These productions when they contained high literary qualities become popular not only among the masses for whom they were originally meant, but also among the learned who, inspite of their prejudices against the language, were not slow to recognise high poetical merit where-so-ever it existed.

15 It is indeed in this manner, that 'a language of the masses' assumes the status of a literary language. In its earlier stages the language is generally despised by the learned, who in every country and every period of history are always anxious to keep up their superiority by carrying on their activities in a language which is beyond the reach of the ordinary masses. But as persons, who cannot become technically 'learned' owing to circumstances, yet have the special aptitude for writing poetry — either devotional or lyric — come forward to enrich their language by means of their literary activities, it gains in importance and force itself upon the attention and admiration

of the learned. Such literature naturally possesses high literary merits since it is usually the product of natural poetic genius and not of laboured erudition, and has little difficulty in establishing the claim of its language to a place among 'the languages of the learned'. When this recognition is thus secured, the learned do not think it derogatory to handle the language and gradually begin to write in it.

16 That such a fate was shared by the Prakrits is clear as shown above, from the story of Siddhasena Divākara. The name 'Bālabhāṣā' deridingly given to the Prakrit points in the same direction. Bāla is an ignorant man (cf. Manu. II. 153) and Bālabhāṣā is the language of the uneducated. In the same manner, the vernaculars are known to have passed through this ordeal. For a long time, Marathi was considered to be unfit for being employed in high literary works. Jñāneśvara, who wrote his Jñāneśvarī (commentary on Bhagvadgītā) of high literary value in Marathi, and was thus a pioneer of Marathi literature, shows his consciousness of such contemptuous treatment meted out to that language by the learned men of his times. It was after the composition of this work, that the Pandits could admit that the Marathi language was capable of expressing the thoughts of the learned. Before the Jñāneśvarī, the Mahānubhāvas no doubt produced a considerable literature in Marathi, but it obviously did not help to elevate the language as it was written in a secret script and was meant only for the followers of the Mahānubhāva Sect. But even Jñāneśvara could not elevate Marathi to the status of a literary language. For a considerable time after him, only religious and devotional poetry was written in it and this was meant for ordinary masses alone. It was only when educated persons like Ekanātha, Mukteśvara and Vāmana Pandit began to write more varied kinds of literature in Marathi that it fully and definitely became a literary language.

17 Naturally the Apabhramśa language could not be an exception to this general rule. On the other hand, it seems to have suffered most in this direction. The name Apabhramśa or Apabhrāṣṭa (cf. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. V, new series, p. 88) is highly significant. It bears no connection with any country as most

of the Prakrits and Vernaculars do ; but is merely a name which glaringly indicates the obvious contempt which was felt among the learned for it. Daṇḍin calls it the speech of such tribes of lower culture as the Ābhīras. It appears that while yet the Prakrits were spoken languages, the Ābhīras and similar nomadic tribes that were long regarded as Mlecchas distorted the same as they could not well pronounce the Prakrit words, adding at the same time some words of purely local origin to the Prakrit vocabulary. This distorted form of the language current among the Ābhīras and other lower tribes in course of time became a separate language altogether, and obtained a significant name at the hands of the speakers of Prakrit and Sanskrit languages. As the Ābhīras were 'a hated tribe, free-booters and Mlecchas' &c. (cf. Gune, Intro. to Bhavisayattakahā, p. 59), the form of the Prakrit language which they spoke was contemptuously called 'the degraded' or 'the degenerated'. Even today the distorted form of English spoken by (') the fruitwalla of Byculla receives the nickname 'Byculla English' and the Marathi that is spoken to their servants (' Rāmas ') by their Gujarati and Parsee employers is popularly known as the ' Rāmā Marathi '. This 'degraded form' of the Prakrit or even of Sanskrit (cf. Kāvyaḍarśa, I. 36) included many different dialects which in course of time were raised to the status of a literary language. At this time the name lost its former significance and came merely to signify a particular kind of Prakrit. It is indeed difficult to say when this transformation actually took place ; but already in the latter half of the sixth century A. D., Guhasena of Valabhi is described as 'clever in composing works in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramśa languages' (cf. I. A. X, p. 284). Works written in the language available today, however, are from the 8th or 9th century A. D. and afterwards. In the 12th century of the Christian Era, Hemacandra had already assigned a part of his grammar to it, treating it at great length and with due respect. In his Chandonuśāsana again, he defines a very large number of Apabhramśa metres. In this connection, however, it is worth noting that Hemacandra does not quote from existing Apabhramśa literature as might be expected, but composes his own illustrations of the different metres. There may have been various reasons for this. The first and the most probable one is that he thought it de-
~~re-~~

gatory for a man of his ability to compose poetry, merely to quote from older writers. Besides, according to his peculiar method adopted throughout his Chandonuśāsana, it was necessary that the illustration of every metre should contain its name by what is known as 'Mudrālamkāra'. This meant that the illustrations of the Apabhramśa metres had to be composed by him like those of the Sanskrit and Prakrit ones. But it is also possible to think that Hemacandra had no access to a sufficiently large number of works written in Apabhramśa either because there did not exist many or — which is a more probable hypothesis — because they did not enjoy a sufficiently wide circulation among the learned Pandits of Jainism on account of their prejudice against the Apabhramśa language. It is evident any how, that this prejudice among the Jain Pandits who were Yatis as a rule, seems to have gradually disappeared after the time of Hemacandra who as it were gave an official recognition to the language so far as the Śvetāmbaras were concerned. It is after Hemacandra alone that we find Jain Yatis writing freely in this language.

18 My conclusions in this respect appear to be generally borne out by the fact that before Hemacandra, Śrāvakas alone are found to write in the Apabhramśa language, particularly the Jain Apabhramśa which is a direct descendant of Ardhamāgadhi or Śaurasenī. We certainly have to assume that nearly every form of Prakrit has passed through what we may call the Apabhramśa stage before it finally became transformed into a vernacular. But it is questionable whether in its Apabhramśa stage it ever became a literary language through the process described above (Paras 14-15). It is quite possible that some Prakrits in their Apabhramśa stage never attained to the status of a literary language. As said above (Para 15), it is only through persons who have a literary bent of mind but who are virtually prevented from writing in the 'language of the learned' or through persons who have an extreme devotion to their mother-tongue, that the 'language of the masses' becomes a literary language. If, however, owing to peculiar circumstances, no such necessity exists for men to write in it, it is perfectly obvious that the language will not live and will be entirely lost to posterity for want of any literature written in it.

19 At present, literary records written in the Apabhramśa language by the Jainas alone are found. Those written in the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhramśa are not yet discovered and I venture to assert that they may never be discovered since I believe they do not exist, at least on a large scale. The Vernacular descended from the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhramśa is Marathi. It is generally spoken by the Hindus (non-Jains); the inference is that the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhramśa too was usually spoken by the Hindus. And since the literary-minded Hindus were not as much prevented from using the literary languages as their brothers the Jain Śrāvakas were (see above Para 14), there was not a sufficiently strong motive for them to employ their Mother-tongue i. e. the Mahārāṣṭrī Apabhramśa as a medium for expressing their literary thoughts.

20 From the above discussion it will be clear that the Apabhramśa like other Prakrits and Vernaculars was regarded as unfit to be employed by the learned for a long time in the early centuries of the Christian Era. It is at this time that our Nāḍitāḍhya must have flourished.

॥ अथ नन्दिताढ्यकृतं गाथालक्षणम् ॥

[Verses marked with asterisks are doubtful, see Introduction Sections 7-10]

नमिऊण चलणजुअलं नेमिजिणिंदस्स भावओ पयओ ।
गाढालक्खणमेयं वुच्छामि गुरुवएसेणं ॥ १ ॥

[नत्वा चरणयुगुलं नेमिजिनेन्द्रस्य भावतः प्रयतः ।
गाथालक्षणमेतद्वक्ष्यामि गुरुपदेशेन ॥ १ ॥]

गुरुलहुअक्खराणं छेइत्थं माइयं च वुच्छामि ।
पुव्वायरियकयाणं पाइयक्खोवओगीणं ॥ २ ॥

[गुरुलघ्वक्षराणां छेदार्थं मातृकां च वक्ष्यामि ।
पूर्वाचार्यकृतानां प्राकृतकाव्योपयोगिनाम् ॥ २ ॥]

आईऊणओअं एए गुरुअक्खरा मुणेयव्वा ।
अइउत्ति य लहुयाई संजोयपरो य जो वन्नो ॥ ३ ॥

[आईऊणओअं एतानि गुर्वक्षराणि ज्ञातव्यानि ।
अइउ इति च लघूनि संयोगपरञ्च यो वर्णः ॥ ३ ॥]

एओक्कारपराइं अंकारपरं च पाइए नत्थि ।

वसयारुमज्झयाणि य कचवग्गतवग्गनिहणाइं ॥ ४ ॥

[एओक्कारपरे अंकारपरं च प्राकृते नास्ति ।

वसकारमध्यगते च कचवर्गतवर्गनिधनानि ॥ ४ ॥]

दीहं साणुस्सारं संजोयपरं च अंतिमेहं च ।

एयाइं जाण गुरुअक्खराइं सेसाइं लहुयाइं ॥ ५ ॥

[दीर्घं सानुस्वारं संयोगपरं चान्तिमं च ।

एतानि जानीहि गुर्वक्षराणि शेषाणि लघूनि ॥ ५ ॥]

सव्वाए गाहाए सत्तावन्ना हवंति मत्ताओ ।

अग्गद्धंमि य तीसा सत्तावीसा य पच्चद्धे ॥ ६ ॥

[सर्वस्या गाथायाः सप्तपञ्चाशद्भवन्ति मात्राः ।

अग्राधे च त्रिंशत् सप्तविंशतिश्च पञ्चार्धे ॥ ६ ॥]

सव्वाए गाहाए सोलस अंसा अवस्स कायव्वा ।

तेरस चउरोमत्ता दोय दुमत्तेगमत्तो य ॥ ७ ॥

[सर्वस्या गाथायाः षोडशांशा अवश्यं कर्तव्याः ।

त्रयोदश चतुर्मात्रा द्वौ च द्विमात्रावेकमात्रश्च ॥ ७ ॥]

सत्त सरा कमलंता नहधणछट्ठा विभेहया विसमे ।

तह बीयद्धे गांहाछट्ठंसो एगमत्तो य ॥ ८ ॥

[सप्त शराः कमलान्ता नभोधनषष्ठाः विमेघा विषमे ।

तथा द्वितीयार्धे गाथाषष्ठांश एकमात्रश्च ॥ ८ ॥]

जा पढमतइयपंचमसत्तमअंसेसु होइ गुरुमज्झा ।

गुद्विणिग्या विणु पइणा गाहा दोसं पयासेइ ॥ ९ ॥

[या प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमसप्तमांशेषु भवति गुरुमध्या ।

गुर्विणी विना पत्या गाथा दोषं प्रकाशयति ॥ ९ ॥]

जीसे न एगवीसा न य चउवीसा न एगवन्ना सा ।

मत्ता भवेइ लहुई सा जाण विणस्सए गाहा ॥ १० ॥

[यस्या नैकविंशतितमी न च चतुर्विंशतितमी नैकपञ्चाशत्तमी सा ।

मात्रा भवाति लघ्वी सा जानीहि विनश्यति गाथा ॥ १० ॥]

जह वाणी तह पाणी वियरइ छंदंमि गुरुयलहुएहिं ।

अत्थ विलंबए वाणी पाणीवि विलंबए तत्थ ॥ ११ ॥

[यथा वाणी तथा पाणिर्विचरति छन्दसि गुरुलघुभिः ।
यत्र विलम्बते वाणी पाणिरपि विलम्बते तत्र ॥११॥]

पदमइय(?)तइयपंचमसत्तमअंसा चउत्विहा हुंति ।
दोगुरुनिहणाइगुरु सव्वलहू चेव अविरुद्धा ॥१२॥

[प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमसत्तमांशाश्चतुर्विधा भवन्ति ।
द्विगुरुनिधनादिगुरवः सर्वलघुश्चैवाविरुद्धाः ॥१२॥

एए चेव वियप्पा बीयचउत्थेसु मज्झगुरुसहिया ।
छट्ठोत्थ नवरि अंसो गुरुमज्झो सव्वलहुओ वा ॥ १३ ॥

[एते चैव विकल्पा द्वितीयचतुर्थयोर्मध्यगुरुसहिताः ।
षष्ठोत्र केवलमंशो गुरुमध्यः सर्वलघुर्वा ॥ १३ ॥]

गाहासुं च समाइं खंधयकव्वेसु तह य विसमाइं ।
नत्थि लहुअक्खराइं छंदंमि ठविज्जमाणाइं ॥ १४ ॥

[गाथासु च समानि स्कन्धककाव्येषु तथा च विषमानी ।
न सन्ति लघ्वक्षराणि छन्दसि स्थाप्यमानानि ॥ १४ ॥

* गाहाउदाहरणं जहा —

वीरवर सभमराणं कमलदलाणं च तुम्ह नयणाणं ।
मुणिवइ मुणियविसेसा अच्छीसु तुहं रमइ लच्छी ॥ १५ ॥

[वीरवर सभ्रमराणां कमलदलानां च युष्माकं नयनानाम् ।
मुनिपते ज्ञातविशेषा अक्षणोर्युष्माकं रमते लक्ष्मीः ॥ १५ ॥]

पदमो बारहमत्तो बीओ अट्टारसासु मत्तासु ।
जह पदमो तह तइओ पत्तरसविभूसिया गाहा ॥ १६ ॥

[प्रथमो द्वादशमात्रो द्वितीयोष्टादशसु मात्रासु ।
यथा प्रथमस्तथा तृतीयः ; पञ्चदशविभूषिता गाथा ॥ १६ ॥]

गाहत्ति ताव सिद्धं होइ विरामेण सा पुणो बुविहा ।
पच्छा विउला अंसयवसेण चवलावि सा तिविहा ॥ १७ ॥

[गाथेति तावत्सिद्धं भवति विरामेण सा पुनर्द्विविधा ।
पथ्या विपुला अंशकवशेन चपलापि सा त्रिविधा ॥ १७ ॥]

जीसे बारसमत्तो पदमो तइओ य दो समा पाया ।
सा पच्छा; विउला उण उणाहियपायसंजुत्ता ॥ १८ ॥

[यस्या द्वादशमात्रः प्रथमस्तृतीयश्च द्वौ समौ पादौ ।
सा पथ्या विपुला पुनरूनाधिकपादसंयुक्ता ॥ १८ ॥]

गुरुमज्झा मज्झगया गुरुयाणं दुण्ह दुण्ह जत्थं सा ।
बीयचउत्थ य जुत्ता दोसुवि अद्धेसु सा चवला ॥ १९ ॥

[गुरुमध्यौ मध्यगतौ गुर्वोर्द्वयोर्द्वयोर्यत्र सा ।
द्वितीयश्चतुर्थश्च युक्तौ द्वयोरप्यर्थयोः सा चपला ॥ १९ ॥]

जीसे दो पुरिमद्धे मुहचवला नाम सा भवे गाहा ।
जहणचवला य निहणे वुच्छामि निदरसणाइं से ॥ २० ॥

[यस्या द्वौ पूर्वार्धे मुखचपला नाम सा भवेद्गाथा ।
जघनचपला च निधने वक्ष्यामि निदर्शनान्यस्याः ॥ २० ॥]

पच्छोदाहरणं जहा —

निउणं जिणषयणसुइं जे विय जाणांति जे विय करिंति ।
सा तेसिं पुरिसाणं निययं पच्छा हवइ पच्छा ॥ २१ ॥

[निपुणं जिनवचनश्रुतिं ये चैव जानन्ति ये चैव कुर्वन्ति ।
सा तेषां पुरुषाणां नियतं पश्चाद्भवांति पथ्या ॥ २१ ॥]

विउलोदाहरणं जहा —

जरमरणरोगकलिकलुसविविहसंसारसागराहि नरं ।
तारिज्ज नवरि जिणसत्थवाहवयणं तरी विउला ॥ २२ ॥

[जरामरणरोगकलिकलुषविविधसंसारसागराक्षरम् ।
तारयेत्केवलं जिनसार्थवाहवचनं तरी विपुला ॥ २२ ॥]

सव्वचवलोदाहरणं जहा —

तेसिं न दुल्लहाइं सुहाइं जे वीरसासणपवन्ना ।
वंता तवेण जुत्ता सुए य धित्तव्वए चवला ॥ २३ ॥

[तेषां न दुर्लभानि सुखानि ये वीरशासनप्रपन्नाः ।
दान्तास्तपसा युक्ताः श्रुते च ग्रहीतव्ये चपलाः ॥ २३ ॥]

मुहचवला जहा —

भइं द्दमीसराणं जिइंदिया जे जिणंदवयणन्नू ।
वयणाइं कुहम्मिणं हणांति नयहेउमुहचवला ॥ २४ ॥

[भद्रं द्दमीश्वराणां जितेन्द्रिया ये जिनेन्द्रवचनज्ञाः ।
वचनानि कुधर्माणां भ्रान्ति नयहेतुमुखचपलाः ॥ २४ ॥]

जहणचवला यथा—

जिणवयणमुवगयाणं न हरइ हिययाइं महलिया कावि ।
 णिच्चंपि जा सुरूवा हविज्ज जा जहणचवलावि ॥२५॥
 [जिणवचनमुपगतानां न हरति हृदयानि महिला कापि ।
 नित्यमपि या सुरूपा भवेद्या जघनचपलापि ॥२५॥]

***गीई जहा—**

हा हियय किं विसूरसि रूवं दट्ठण परकलत्ताण ।
 पावेण नवरि लिप्पसि पावं पाविहिसि तं न पाविहसि ॥२६॥
 [हा हृदय किं खिद्यसे रूपं दृष्ट्वा परकलत्राणाम् ।
 पापेन केवलं लिप्यसे पापं प्राप्स्यासि तां न प्राप्स्यसि ॥२६॥]

***उगगीई जहा—**

थणदोहलिया बाला भरइव लावन्नसलिलोहं ।
 रमणालवालनिग्गयरोमावलिवल्लरिं च सिंचेइ ॥२७॥
 [स्तनाद्विघटा बाला विधर्तीव लावण्यसलिलौघम् ।
 रमणालवालनिर्गतरोमावलिवल्लरिं च सिञ्चाति ॥२७॥]

***उवगीई जहा—**

जाओ हरइ कलत्तं वट्ठतो भोयणं हरइ ।
 अत्थं हरइ समत्थो पुत्तसमो वेरिओ नत्थि ॥२८॥
 [जातो हरति कलत्रं वर्धमानो भोजनं हरति ।
 अर्थं हरति समर्थः पुत्रसमो वैरी नास्ति ॥२८॥]

***संकीणोदाहरणं जहा—**

अप्पिज्जउ जणयसुया अणुणिज्जउ राहओ पयत्तेण ।
 आयट्ठियचावकरा जाव न पारिविंति इज्जया रामसरा ॥२९॥
 [अपर्यतां जनकसुता अनुनीयतां राघवः प्रयत्नेन ।
 आकृष्टचापकरात् यावन्न प्राप्नुवन्ति दुर्जया रामशराः ॥२९॥]

***गाथोदाहरणं जहा—**

पुत्वं कहासु सुव्वइ लक्खं किर देइ विक्रमाइच्चो ।
 पणयकुवियाइ सुन्दरि सवायलक्खं तप दिअं ॥३०॥
 [पूर्वं कथासु श्रूयते लक्षं किल ददाति विक्रमादित्यः ।
 प्रणयकुपितया सुन्दरि सपादलक्षं त्वया दत्तम् ॥३०॥]

जह वेसाण न नेहो जह सच्चं नत्थि कामुयजणस्स ।
तह नंदियद्वभणिए जिह किह तिह पाइए नत्थि ॥३१॥

[यथा वेद्यानां न स्नेहो यथा सत्यं नास्ति कामुकजनस्य ।
तथा नन्दिताढ्यभणिते जिह किह तिह प्राकृते नास्ति ॥३१॥]

विप्पी खत्तिणि वइसी सुद्धीसहिया य हुंति चत्तारि ।
छंदं निदरिसणं विय वुच्छामि अओपरं तासिं ॥३२॥

[विप्रा क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रासहिता च भवन्ति चत्वारि ।
छन्दो निदर्शनमपि च वक्ष्याम्यतः परं तासाम् ॥३२॥]

सव्वगुरुणहि विप्पी आइमगुरुणहिं खत्तिणी होई ।
अंतिमगुरुहिं वइसी सुद्धी सव्वेसु लहुएसु ॥३३॥

[सर्वगुरुकैर्विप्रा आदिगुरुभिः क्षत्रिया भवति ।
अन्तिमगुरुकैर्वैश्या शूद्रा सर्वेषु लघुकेषु ॥३३॥]

बिप्पी जहा--

पंचावन्ना वन्ना गाहाणं नेय हुंति उट्ठेणं ।
तीसाए हिट्ठेणं सक्को सक्कोवि नो काउं ॥ ३४ ॥

[पञ्चपञ्चाशद्वर्णा गाथानां नैव भवन्ति ऊर्ध्वम् ।
त्रिंशतोऽधस्तात् शक्तः शक्नोपि न कर्तुम् ॥ ३४ ॥]

खत्तिणी जहा—

कुंभारी लोहारी वाणीए चेव होइ बंधारी ।
जह किल कलववहरियय नहु हसिरय अवरकलगहणे ॥ ३५ ॥

[कुम्भकारी लोहकारी वाण्यैव भवति बन्धकारिणी ।
यथा किल कलाव्यवहारिक न खलु हसनशीलापरकलाग्रहणे ॥ ३५ ॥]

वइसी जहा—

वरकरिवर-वरहयवर-वररहवर-विलयनिवह-सुहसुहयं ।
भोत्तुं राया रज्जं पच्छा दिक्खं गहिस्सामो ॥ ३६ ॥

[वरकरिवर-वरहयवर-वररथवर-विलयानिवह-सुखसुखदम् ।
भुक्त्वा राज्ञो राज्यं पश्चाद्दीक्षां ग्रहीष्यामः ॥ ३६ ॥]

सुद्धी जहा—

विमलजसकिरणधवलियमहियल सुरनिवहनमियकमजुअल ।
ति यणसिरिवरकुलहर मणहरगुणनिलय जिण जयहि ॥ ३७ ॥

[विमलयशःकिरणधवलितमहीतल सुरनिवहनमितक्रमयुगल ।
त्रिभुवनश्रीवरकुलगृह मनोहरगुणानिलय जिन जय ॥ ३७ ॥]

मुहजहणसयलचवला पच्छा विउला य विप्पिखात्तिणिया ।
वइसी सुद्धी मिस्सा दस गाहा हुंति छंदंमि ॥ ३८ ॥

[मुखजहनसकलचपला पथ्या विपुला च विप्री क्षत्रिया ।
वैश्या शूद्रा मिश्रा दश गाथा भवन्ति छन्दसि ॥ ३८ ॥]

* मिस्सोद्वाहरणं जहा—

ठाणच्चुयाण सुंदरि मंडलरहियाण विहवचत्ताण ।
थणयाण सुपुरिसाण य को हत्थं देइ पडियाण ॥ ३९ ॥

[स्थानच्युतानां सुन्दरि मण्डलरहितानां त्यक्तविभवानाम् ।
स्तनकानां सुपुरुषाणां च को हस्तं ददाति पतितानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥]

अथवा छवीसं भेया गाहाणं जहा—

कमला ललिया लीला जुण्हा रंभा य मागही लच्छी ।
विज्जू माला हंसी ससिलेहा जण्हावी सुद्धा ॥ ४० ॥

[कमला ललिता लीला ज्योत्स्ना रम्भा च मागधी लक्ष्मीः ।
वियुत् माला हंसी शशिलेखा जाह्नवी शुद्धा ॥ ४० ॥]

काली कुमरी मेहा सिद्धी रिद्धी य कुमुदणी धरणी ।
जक्खिणि वीणा बंभी गंधव्वी मंजरी गोरी ॥ ४१ ॥

[काली कुमारी मेधा सिद्धिर्ऋद्धिश्च कुमुदिनी धरणी ।
यक्षिणी वीणा ब्राह्मी गन्धर्वी मञ्जरी गौरी ॥ ४१ ॥]

कमला तिहिलहुण्हिं ललिया पंचेहिं एवमाईओ ।
बिहिबिहिं बह्वंतेहिं कमेण सेसाउ जायंति ॥ ४२ ॥

[कमला त्रिलोकैर्ललिता पञ्चभिरेवमादयः ।
द्वाभ्यां द्वाभ्यां वर्धमानाभ्यां क्रमेण शेषा जायन्ते ॥ ४२ ॥]

इक्कक्खरवुद्धी छंदा छव्वीसयं मुणेयव्वा ।
गाहाणं तीसाए पणवक्का वड्डिया जाव ॥ ४३ ॥

[एकैकाक्षरवृद्ध्या छन्दांसि षड्विंशतिर्ज्ञातव्यानि ।
गाथानां त्रिंशतेः पञ्चपञ्चाशद्यावद्बर्धितानि ॥ ४३ ॥]

तीसा जा पणवक्का वड्ढंतेगक्खरेहिं जा गाहा ।
झिज्जइ गुरुयं इक्कं दो दो वड्ढंति लहुआइं ॥ ४४ ॥

[त्रिंशतेःपञ्चपञ्चाशत् यावत् वर्धमानैकाक्षरेण या गाथाः ।
छिद्यते गुरुकमेकं (तत्र) द्वे द्वे वर्धते लघुके ॥ ४४ ॥]

तीसाए जं अहियं दुगुणं काऊण तिप्पिण दिज्जासु ।
जित्थियमेत्तो पिंडो तित्थियमित्ताइं लहुयाइं ॥ ४५ ॥

[त्रिंशतेर्यदाधिकं तद्विगुणं कृत्वा त्रीणि देहि ।
यावन्मात्रः पिण्डस्तावन्मात्राणि लघूनि ॥ ४५ ॥]

मत्तापमाणमज्झा हरित्तु सव्वक्खराइं गाहाणं ।
अवसेसं जं चिट्ठइ तित्थियमित्ताइं गुरुयाइं ॥ ४६ ॥

[मात्राप्रमाणमध्यात् हृत्वा सर्वाक्षराणि गाथानाम् ।
अवशेषो यस्तिष्ठति तावन्मात्रा गुरवः ॥ ४६ ॥]

मत्ता भञ्जइ करिसो करसचउक्कं पलं वियाणाहि ।
चउदसपलाइं गाहा तोलिज्जंतो सकारिसाइं ॥ ४७ ॥

[मात्रा भण्यते कर्षः कर्षचतुष्कं पलं विजानीहि ।
चतुर्विंशपलानि गाथा तोल्यमाना सकर्षाणि ॥ ४७ ॥]

उभओअंतगुरूहिं रहिया छठंसएण बीयद्धे ।
सेसा तेरस अंसा विसमसमा तेसु अहिगारो ॥ ४८ ॥

[उभयतोन्तगुरुभ्यां रहिताः षष्ठांशेन (च) द्वितीयार्द्धे ।
शेषास्त्रयोदशांशा विषमसमास्तेष्वधिकारः ॥ ४८ ॥]

पढमाई चउभेया; बीओ तुरिओ अ हुंति पंचविहा ।
छठंसो दुविगप्पो गणणविही इत्थ कायव्वो ॥ ४९ ॥

[प्रथमाद्यश्चतुर्भेदाः; द्वितीयश्चतुर्थश्च भवतः पञ्चविधौ ।
षष्ठांशो द्विविकल्पो गणनविधिरित्थं कर्तव्यः ॥ ४९ ॥]

जो जस्स होइ उवरिं सो गुण्णो हिट्ठिमो गुणायारो ।
हिट्ठिमउवरिमगणणा नेयव्वा जाव तेरसमे ॥ ५० ॥

[यो यस्य भवत्युपरि स गुण्योऽधस्तनो गुणाकारः ।
अधस्तनोपरितनगणना नेतव्या यावत्त्रयोदशम् ॥ ५० ॥]

पत्थारवित्थराणं गाहाणं हुंति अट्ठकोडीओ ।
एकूणवीसलक्ख्वा वीससहस्साइं सव्वगं ॥ ५१ ॥

[प्रस्तारविस्तृतानां गाथानां भवन्त्यष्टकोट्यः ।
एकोनविंशतिर्लक्षा विंशतिसहस्राणि सर्वाग्रम् ॥ ५१ ॥]

*पत्थारमाणमेयं गाहोगीर्णिखं धण्डुगुणं ।

दुगुणं गीर्णिखं उवगीर्णिखं अद्धयं होई ॥ ५२ ॥

[प्रस्तारमानमेतद्गाथोद्गीतीनां स्कन्धकेष्टुगुणम् ।

द्विगुणं गीतावुपगीतावर्द्धकं भवति ॥ ५२ ॥]

लहुअक्खरेहिं रूवूणएहिं अद्धीकयंमि जं सेसं ।

रूवूणं तीसजुअं अक्खररासी मुण्येव्वा ॥ ५३ ॥

[लघ्वक्षरै रूपोनिर्तैरर्द्धीकृतैर्यच्छेषम् ।

रूपोऽनं त्रिंशयुतं (तत्) अक्षरराशिर्ज्ञातव्यः ॥ ५३ ॥]

एकं हाऊण लहुं तत्तो अद्धं हरित्तु सेसेण ।

अद्धेण समं भणियं नक्खत्तं सव्वगाहाणं ॥ ५४ ॥

[एकं हित्वा लघुं ततोऽर्धं हत्वा शेषेण ।

अर्धेन समं भणितं नक्षत्रं सर्वगाथानाम् ॥ ५४ ॥]

*लहुअक्खरेहिं रूवूणएहिं अद्धीकयंमि जं सेसं ।

लब्भइ गाहाण घरं तह नामं किं वियप्पेण ॥ ५५ ॥

[लघ्वक्षरै रूपोनिर्तैरर्द्धीकृते यः शेषः ।

लभ्यते गाथानां गृहं तथा नाम किं विकल्पेन ॥ ५५ ॥]

छंदवसा वीहपरा कत्थवि लहुया हवन्ति पयअंते ।

एओइहिं बिंदूविय रहवंजणजुत्तपुव्वो य ॥ ५६ ॥

[छन्दोवशाद्दीर्घपरा कुत्रापि लघवो भवन्ति पदान्ते ।

एओ इहिविन्दुरिव रहव्यञ्जनयुक्तपूर्वश्च ॥ ५६ ॥]

एयारो जहा—

सायारंपिव परमेसरेण नाणं जुगाइवेवेण ।

बंभीए पयडियं नियकरेण बंभी लिवी जयइ ॥ ५७ ॥

[साकारमिव परमेश्वरेण ज्ञानं युगादिवेवेन ।

ब्राह्म्या प्रकटितं निजकरेण ब्राह्मी लिपिर्जयति ॥ ५७ ॥]

ओयारो जहा—

बालाओ हुंति कोऊहलेण एमेव चवलचित्ताओ ।

वरल्हसियथणीओ पुण धरंति मयइद्धयरहस्सं ॥ ५८ ॥

[बाला भवन्ति कौतूहलेन एवमेव चपलचित्ताः ।

ईषल्हसितस्तन्यः पुनर्धारयन्ति मकरध्वजरहस्यम् ॥ ५८ ॥]

इयारो बिन्दुजुओ जहा—

जाई लसंति गुणेहिं दोसासंगं च जाई न सहंति ।

ताई तामरसाइव जयंति सुयणाण चरियाई ॥ ५९ ॥

[यानि लसन्ति गुणैर्दोषासङ्गं च यानि न सहन्ते ।

तानि तामरसानीव जयन्ति सुजनानां चरितानि ॥ ५९ ॥]

हियारो बिन्दुजुओ जहा—

उत्तमतिलयाहिं असोगसरलपुन्नागविहियसोहाहिं ।

जं रेहइ बाहिं वाडियाहिं अंतो कुलवहूहिं ॥ ६० ॥

[उत्तमतिलकाभिरशोकसरलपुन्नागविहितशोभाभिः ।

यद्राजते बहिर्वाटिकाभिरन्तः कुलवधूभिः ॥ ६० ॥]

रव्वंजणसंजोए जहा—

सहि वट्टियावि गेहंमि पइखणं लालियावि दुद्धेण ।

सप्पन्व दुहंति खणेण दुज्जणा अहह अकयन्नू ॥ ६१ ॥

[स्वयं वर्धिता अपि गृहे प्रतिक्षणं लालिता अपि दुग्धेन ।

सर्पा इव द्रुह्यन्ति क्षणेन दुर्जना अहह अकृतज्ञाः ॥ ६१ ॥]

हव्वंजणसंजोए जहा—

मेरुसिहरंमि न्हाणं बत्तीसिंदेहि कणयकलसेहिं ।

किज्जंतं वीरजिणस्स तुम्ह दुरियाइं पम्हसउ ॥ ६२ ॥

[मेरुशिखरे स्नानं द्वात्रिंशदिन्द्रैः कनककलशैः ।

क्रियमाणं वीरजिनस्य युष्माकं दुरितानि प्रमार्ष्टु ॥ ६२ ॥]

गाहो गाहविगाहो उग्गाहो गाहिणी य खंधो य ।

छव्विहगाहाभेओ निदिट्ठो नंदियट्ठेण ॥ ६३ ॥

[गाथो गाथाविगाथे उद्गाथो गाथिनी च स्कन्धश्च ।

षड्विधगाथाभेदो निर्दिष्टो नन्दिताढ्येन ॥ ६३ ॥]

गाहो चउवन्नाए सत्तावन्ना य भन्नए गाहा ।

विवरीया य विगाहा उग्गाहो सट्ठिमत्तो य ॥ ६४ ॥

[गाथश्चतुःपञ्चाशता सप्तपञ्चाशच्च भण्यते गाथा ।

विपरीता च विगाथा उद्गाथः षष्टिमात्रश्च ॥ ६४ ॥]

गाहिणि बासट्ठीए चउसट्ठीए य खंधओ भणिओ ।

एए छव्व विगप्पा गाहाछंदे विणिट्ठिहा ॥ ६५ ॥

[गाथिनी द्विषष्ट्या चतुःषष्ट्या च स्कन्धको भणितः ।

एते षडेव विकल्पा गाथाछन्दसि विनिर्दिष्टाः ॥ ६५ ॥]

गाहो जहा—

वट्टंति गमणद्विहा जं भणियं तं खमिज्जासु ।

अम्हंचिय नत्थि गुणा दोषाचिय संभरिज्जासु ॥ ६६ ॥

[वर्तन्ते गमनदिवसा यद्गणितं तत्क्षमस्व ।

अस्माकमेव न सन्ति गुणा दोषानेव संस्मर ॥ ६६ ॥]

गाहोदाहरणं जहा—

जिणधम्मो मोक्खफलो सासयसुक्खो जिणेहिं पन्नत्तो ।

नरसुरसुहाइं अणुसंगयाइं इह किसि पलालं व ॥ ६७ ॥

[जिनधर्मो मोक्षफलः शाश्वतसौख्यो जिनैः प्रज्ञातः ।

नरसुरसुखानि अनुसंगतानि इह कृषौ पलालमिव ॥ ६७ ॥]

उग्गाहो जहा—

थोसामि सव्वजगजीवबंधवं अट्ठकम्मनिम्महणं ।

सुरअसुरनागमहियं संतिजिणं सयललोयसतिकरं ॥ ६८ ॥

[स्तोष्ये सर्वजगज्जीवबान्धवमष्टकर्मनिर्मथनम् ।

सुरासुरनागमहितं शान्तिजिनं सकललोकशान्तिकरम् ॥ ६८ ॥]

अन्नं च—

जइ वाससयं गोवालिया कुसुमाणिय बंधइ मालिया ।

ता किं सहावधियगंधिया कुसुमेहिं होइ सुगंधिया ॥ ६९ ॥

[यदि वर्षशतं गोपालिका कुसुमानां च बध्नाति मालिकाम् ।

तर्त्तिकं स्वभावघृतगन्धिता कुसुमैर्भवति सुगन्धिता ॥ ६९ ॥]

गाहिणी जहा—

निवडियधारा निवहो जस्स निरुद्धो फणिदमउडेहिं ।

तं सुरमुइंदमुहलियणागिणिगिज्जंतमंगलं पासजिणं ॥ ७० ॥

[निपतितधारानिवहो यस्य निरुद्धः फणीन्द्रमुकुटैः ।

तं सुरमृदङ्गमुखरितनागिनीगीयमानमङ्गलं पार्श्वजिनम् ॥ ७० ॥]

खंधओ जहा—

नमह भुयंदंभासुरवियडफडाडोयखलियविसहरसलिलं ।

पहयमुइंदमुहलियणागिणिगिज्जंतमंगलं पासजिणं ॥ ७१ ॥

[नमत भुजगेन्द्रभासुरविकटफटाटोपस्खलितविषधरसलिलम् ।

प्रहृतमृदङ्गमुखरितनागिनीगीयमानमङ्गलं पार्श्वजिनम् ॥ ७१ ॥]

खंधअक्खरपमाणं जहा—

लहुअक्खरं दुरहियं अद्धं च कलायवज्जियं सेसं ।

ओत्तीसक्खरजुत्तं जायइ खंधक्खरपमाणं ॥ ७२ ॥

[लघ्वक्षरं द्विरहितमर्द्धं चैककलावर्जितं शेषम् ।

चतुस्त्रिंशदक्षरयुक्तं जायते स्कन्धाक्षरप्रमाणम् ॥ ७२ ॥]

धुय लहुअक्खर चउरो खंधे सव्वत्थ हुंति कायव्वा ।

इहरासमंजसत्तं छंदविरोहो फलमणिद्वं ॥ ७३ ॥

[ध्रुवाणि लघ्वक्षराणि चत्वारि स्कन्धके सर्वत्र भवन्ति कर्तव्यानि ।

इतरथासमंजसत्वं छन्दोविरोधः फलमनिष्टम् ॥ ७३ ॥]

उदाहरणं—

बिंबोद्वीपे तीरे थोरा गोरा समुच्चया वक्खोआ ।

तारुण्ये संपुणे किं किं दुःखं न दिंति कामीण ददं ॥ ७४ ॥

[बिम्बोद्वीपास्तस्याः स्थविरौ गौरौ समुन्नतौ वक्षोजौ ।

तारुण्ये संपूर्णे किं किं दुःखं न ददति कामिनां ददम् ॥ ७४ ॥]

अहवा—

लेहाए संनद्धो जीमूओ सव्वओ मसीसारिच्छो ।

गज्जंतो गंभीरं मत्तो हत्थिव्व एस सो पच्चक्खो ॥ ७५ ॥

[लेखया संनद्धो जीमूतः सर्वतो मषीसदृशः ।

गर्जन्गम्भीरं मत्तो हस्तीव एष स प्रत्यक्षः ॥ ७५ ॥]

*पद्धडियलक्खणं जहा—

सोलसमत्तउ जहिं पउ दीसइ । अक्खरमत्तु न किंपि गवीसइ ।

पायउ पायउ जमकविसुद्धउ । पद्धडिय ताहिं छंद पसिद्धउ ॥ ७६ ॥

[षोडशमात्रो यत्र पादो दृश्यते । अक्षरमात्रा न किमपि गवेष्यते ।

पादः पादो यमकविशुद्धः । पद्धडिका तत्र छन्दः प्रसिद्धम् ॥ ७६ ॥]

*तुय पुष्पिमचंदसमाणवयणि । गोरंगि चांगि सारंगनयणि ।

थणमंडलउप्परि पियह हत्थु । तं कलसि दिन्नु पंकउ पसत्थु ॥ ७७ ॥

[तव पूर्णिमाचन्द्रसमानवदने । गौराङ्गि सुन्दरि सारङ्गनयने ।

स्तनमण्डलोपरि प्रियस्य हस्तः । तत्कलशे दत्तं पङ्कजं प्रशस्तम् ॥ ७७ ॥]

चंदाणणछंदो । गंथंतरे मयणावयारदुइयनामं । लक्खणं जहा—

*निसुणि चंदमुहि चंदाणणो रूवओ

सधणु करंवालुं विरएइ तह बीअओ ।

तइयठाणेसु विज्जुज्जलो मुग्गरो
ललियगयगमणि निहणंगओ तोमरो ॥ ७८ ॥

[निशामय चन्द्रमुखि चन्द्राननो रूपकः
सधनुः करवालं विरचय तथा द्वितीयम् ।
तृतीयस्थानेषु विद्युज्ज्वलो मुद्गरो
ललितगजगमने निधनं गतस्तोमरः ॥ ७८ ॥]

*गयरइतुरंगपाइक्कजोहनामोहिं जाण चउमत्ता ।
बहुविविहपहरणाणं पंचगमत्तं पिहुलसोणि ॥ ७९ ॥
[गजरथतुरङ्गपदातियोधनामभिर्जानाहि चतुर्मात्रान् ।
बहुविविधप्रहरणानां पञ्चकमात्रं पृथुलश्रोणि ॥ ७९ ॥]

दुवईलक्खणं जहा —

*पढमगणे कलछक्कं चउक्कला पंच हुंति कमलंता ।
गुरुमज्झसव्वलहुआ दुवईए बीयछठंसा ॥ ८० ॥
[प्रथमगणे कलाषट्कं चतुष्कलाः पञ्च भवन्ति कमलान्ताः ।
गुरुमध्यसर्वलघवो द्विपद्या द्वितीयषष्ठांशाः ॥ ८० ॥]

उदाहरणं जहा —

*उब्भडभिउडिभंगतटवियडवियप्पकरालभालयं
निहुरदंतदट्टउट्टद्वियसोणियपंकिलालयं ।
दिढवट्टियसरोसहुंकारपुरःसरकेसकट्टणं
कुणउ नारिंद तुज्झ बहु संगमसंगरमिद्विवट्टणं ॥ ८१ ॥
[उद्भटभृकुटिभङ्गतटविकटविकल्पकरालभालं
निहुरदन्तदट्टौष्ठस्थितशोणितपङ्किलालम् ।
द्वदवर्धितसरोषहुंकारपुरःसरकेशकर्षणं
करोतु नरेन्द्र तव बहु संगमसंगरं ऋद्विवर्धनम् ॥ ८१ ॥]

*वत्थुओ जहा—

दो वेया सिहिजुयलं जुयाइं दुन्निउ दुगं च वत्थुयओ ।
[द्वौ वेदौ शिखियुगलं युगानि द्वे द्विके च वस्तुकम् ।]

दिवट्टुछंदलक्खणं जहा—

पनरसतेरसपनरसतेरसजुत्तो दिवदछंदो ॥ ८२ ॥
[पञ्चदशत्रयोदशपञ्चदशत्रयोदशयुक्तं सार्धछन्दः ॥ ८२ ॥]

*वत्थुओदाहरणं जहा--

कुम्भिकुम्भविम्भमह कवण थणकलसह उप्पम
 इंदीवरदलसमह कवण नयणह सारिच्छम ।
 पारिजायलयनिभह भुअह काहि कवणह चांगिम
 सीअदेवि रूवस्स तुज्झ कसु वन्निण अग्गिम ॥
 इइ भणइ राउ दसरहतणउ । वणिवाणि विलवंतउ करुणु ॥
 अहवा न वुज्ज जं जीवियउ । जं जि तं जि विम्भियकरण ॥८३॥
 [कुम्भिकुम्भविभ्रमयोः का स्तनकलशयोरुपमा
 इन्दीवरदलसमयोः किं नयनयोः सहशम् ।
 पारिजातलतानिभयोर्भुजयोः कुत्र (वक्ष्ये) कस्य सम्यक्त्वं
 सीतादेवि रूपस्य तव कस्य वर्णनामग्रे ॥
 इति भणति राजा दशरथतनयो । वनेवने विलपन्करुणम् ।
 अथवा नाश्चर्यं यत् जीवति । यदेव तदेव विस्मयकरणम् ॥८३॥]

*दूहालकखणं जहा--

चउदहमत्ता दुन्निपय । पढमइ तइयइ हुंति ।
 बारहमत्ता दोचलण । दूहालकखण कंति ॥ ८४ ॥
 [चतुर्दशमात्रा द्वयोः पादयोः प्रथमे तृतीये भवन्ति ।
 द्वादशमात्रा द्वयोश्चरणयोर्दूहालक्षणं कान्ते ॥ ८४ ॥]

*उदाहरणं यथा—

लद्धउ मित्तु भमंतएण । रयणायरु चंदेण ॥
 जो झिज्जइ झिज्जंतएण । वट्ठइ वट्ठंतेण ॥ ८५ ॥
 [लब्धं मित्रं भ्रमता । रत्नाकरश्चन्द्रेण ॥
 यो हीयते हीयमानेन । वर्धते वर्धमानेन ॥ ८५ ॥]

*उवदूहालकखणं जहा--

तेरहमत्ता दुन्निपय । पढमइ तइयइ हुंति ॥
 बारहमत्ता अन्नइइ । उवदूहउ इहु कंति ॥ ८६ ॥
 [त्रयोदशमात्रा द्वयोः पादयोः । प्रथमे तृतीये भवन्ति ।
 द्वादशमात्रा अन्यद्विकयोः । उपदूहक इह कान्ते ॥ ८६ ॥]

*उदाहरणं—

नंदउ वीरजिणेसरह । धरखुत्ती नहपंति ।
 दंसंती इव संगमह । नरय निरंतर गुत्ति ॥ ८७ ॥

[नन्वह वीरजिनेश्वरस्य । धरानिमन्नापदपङ्क्तिः ॥
दर्शयन्ती इव संगमस्य । नरको निरन्तरं स्थानम् ॥ ८७ ॥]

* बारहमत्ता विसमपय । समपय चउदह मत्त ॥
इहु अवदूहउ पंडियहु । अन्न म करिस कुवत्त ॥ ८८ ॥
[द्वादशमात्रा विषमपदयोः । समपदयोश्चतुर्वशमात्राः ॥
इति अवदूहकः पण्डिताः । अन्या मा कुरुत कुवार्ताम् ॥ ८८ ॥]

*उदाहरणं जहा—

एक सलूणा सावलि । तुय थण जे संमुहःपथिय ।
जेहिं न वंकइ वयणइ । लगंतेहिं नहेहिं कय ॥ ८९ ॥
[शृणु सलावण्ययोः श्यामले । तव स्तनयोर्ये सन्मुखाः पथिकाः ।
(तै) र्यथा (तथा) न वक्राणि वदनानि । लभैर्नखैः कृतानि ॥ ८९ ॥]

अथोपदूहकनामान्याह—

*भमरुभामरु समरु संचालु । मयरंदउ मकडउ ॥
नलु मरालु मयगलु पयोहरु ॥ ९० ॥
× × × ×
ए नामाहं दोहाहं मयरु । मच्छु कच्छुषउ गोहरु ॥ ९१ ॥

*होइ हु छत्वीसखरउ । दोहउ बिहुलहुएहिं ॥
अक्खरि अक्खरि वे चडाहि । भमराइयनामेहिं ॥ ९२ ॥
[भवति खलुःषड्विंशत्यक्षरो । दोहको द्वाभ्यां लघुभ्याम् ।
अक्षरे अक्षरे द्वौ वर्धते । भ्रमरादिकनामभिः ॥ ९२ ॥]

*आद्योदाहरणं—

बे गोरा बे सामला । बे रत्ता निप्पंक ।
बे नीला हेमप्पदा । सेसा मायामुक्क ॥ ९३ ॥
[द्वौ गौरौ द्वौ श्यामलौ । द्वौ रक्तौ निष्पङ्क्तौ ।
द्वौ नीलौ, हेमप्रभौ । शेषा मायामुक्ताः ॥ ९३ ॥]

*अन्त्योदाहरणं जहा—

वियसियजरुहदलनयण । हिमकरकरसरिसतणु ॥
सरसइससहरसमवयण । पणमहु जिण ज(जि?)णियतणु ॥ ९४ ॥
[विकसितजरुहदलनयनं । हिमकरकरसद्विशतनुम् ।
सरसिज-शशधरसमवदनं । प्रणमत जिनं जिततनुम् ॥ ९४ ॥]

*सिलोयलक्षणं जहा—

पंचमं लहुयं सत्त्वं सत्तमं दुचउत्थए ॥

छट्टं पुण गुरुं सत्त्वं सिलोयं विंति पंडिया ॥ ९५ ॥

[पञ्चमं लघुकं सर्वं सत्तमं द्विचतुर्थयोः ।

षष्ठं पुनर्गुरुकं सर्वं श्लोकं ब्रुवन्ति पण्डिताः ॥ ९५ ॥]

*उदाहरणं जहा—

पोसेउ पंचमो चक्की सोलसो मे जिणो जसं ।

चकं च धम्मचक्रं च जस्साइच्चोव्व सेवइ ॥ ९६ ॥

[पुष्पातु पञ्चमश्चक्री षोडशो मे जिनो यशः ।

चक्रं च धर्मचक्रं यस्यादित्य इव सेवेते ॥ ९६ ॥

॥ इति नन्दियद्वसूत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥

NOTES

[N. B. :— VJS. = Vṛttajātisamuccaya, JBBRAS. New Series, Vol. V. Hemacandra = Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana, printed at N. S. Press, Bombay, 1912, by Devakarana Mulaji. Pīṅgala = Prakrit Pīṅgala, Kāvya-mālā edition.]

V. 3 :— संयोगेन परः प्रकृष्टः क्षमया परः क्षमापर इतिवत् । सोपि लघुर्ज्ञेयः ।
— Com. in A. संयोगपरः here means 'a conjunct consonant' and not 'a letter which precedes conjunction.' In v. 5, the word is used in this latter meaning. Perhaps we should supply सोपि गुरुः in the last line.

V. 4 :— The letters ऐ, औ (एओकारपराइ), अः, शः, ष (वसयारमञ्जयाइ) and ङ, झ, न are not employed in Prakrit.

V. 8 :— शराश्रतुर्मात्रारूपा अंशाः । कमलान्ता दुर्धन्ताः । नभोधनषष्ठाः चतुर्लघु-
मध्यगुरुषष्ठाः । विमेषकाः विगतमध्यगुरुवः विषमस्थाने । — A.

Vv. 9-10 :— A गुरुमध्य चतुर्मात्र (ISI) should not be used in uneven gaṇas of a Gāthā. 21st and 24th Mātrā must be short i. e. must consist of a short letter. Since the sixth Gaṇa is either IIII or ISI. See above v. 8, so also the 51st Mātrā must be short as the sixth gaṇa of the second half is made up of a single short letter.

V. 11 :— पाणिशब्दोऽशवाच्येव न हस्तवाची — A.

V. 12 :— This explains V. 9.

V. 14 :— The number of short letters in a Gāthā is always odd and not even ; that in a Skandhaka is always even and never odd ; cf. VJS. III. 3-5, 10.

V. 16 :— B reads दसंपंचविधसिया for पञ्चरस०.

V. 19 :— चपला i. e. सर्वचपला.

V. 21 :— पूर्वपथ्यापरपथ्याभेदः स्वयम्भूच्छन्दसो ज्ञेयः — A.

Vv. 21-25 :— It should be noted that the illustrations contain the name of the particular variety by Mudrālamkāra. In. V. 24, B reads वयणेन for वयणन्तः.

Vv. 26-30 :— See Intro., Para 9 ; in v. 26, A reads जं कज्जं तं न पाविहिसि. This reading is not metrically correct. In V. 27, C seems to read सरइव for भरइव. On V. 29, it remarks :— ' मन्दोदरी रावणं प्रति कथयति ' ; this would show that the source of the quotation was known to the author of the Avacūri. On the same verse, A says :— एतल्लक्षणं स्वयम्भूच्छन्दसो ज्ञेयम् । B reads °चावसरा for चावकरा in second line.

V. 30 :— सवायलक्षं = सपादलक्षं = सालक्तकं पदं.

V. 31 :— ननु गाथाच्छन्दः शास्त्रमिदम् । गाथा च शुद्धप्राकृतएव भवति । ततश्च जिह किं तिहेत्यादयोऽपभ्रंशाः स्युर्नवा इत्याशङ्कां परिहर्न्नाह — A.

V. 35 :— The meaning of the verse is not quite clear. I give the two interpretations of the two Avacūris :— ' शब्द-मात्रेणैव आसां विजातित्वं न त्वपरकलाग्रहणे । एता अपि सुजातय इव शोभन्ते । तस्मादुत्तमजातिरिति स्मयो न न्याय्यः कलाकौशलमेव प्रमाणम् । कलाव्यवहारिक हसनशील इत्यामन्त्रणद्वयं कस्याप्यात्मबहुमानिनः । — A.

'कुम्भारिका लोहारिका तत्समानवाण्या भाषया जल्पन् सन् पुमान् पापसंबन्धकारी भवति । यथा किल व्यवहियते सत्यर्थं तथैव अपरकला-रहिता लोकैरुपहस्यते — C. In V. 36, C reads निलयनिबह for विलयनिबह.

Vv. 45-46 :— These verses give the method of finding out the number of short and long letters in any one of the above-mentioned varieties. Count the letters of the

Gāthā; take out 30 from the number and multiply the remainder by 2 and add 3 to it. The total number thus obtained is the number of *short* letters in the Gāthā. To find out the number of *long* letters in a Gāthā, count the number of Mātrās and deduct from it the total number of letters in the Gāthā; the remainder represents the total number of *long* letters.

- V. 48 :— उभओअंत 'Except the long letters at the end of each half and the sixth Amśa in the second half'. For this line, there is another reading noticed by the Avacūri in A. It is 'उभओअंतिमकमलयरहिया छट्स बीयअद्धांनि'. उभ-यस्मिन्नर्धद्वयेत्यन्तिमकमलाभ्यां षष्ठांशेन च । प्राकृतत्वाद्दालोपः । क द्वितीयार्धे &c. द्वितीयपाठस्तु न्याय्य इति गाथार्थः । on V. 49, the Ava. in C. quotes :— चउपंचचारिपंच य चउदोचत्तारि इक्कचउ-पंच । चउपंचचारिइक्काचउइक्का हंति गाहाणं । See above Vv. 7-13.

- Vv. 50-51 :— These stanzas give the total number of the kinds of Gāthās. It is 81920000 and is obtained by multiplying the figures representing the possible varieties of each of the 13 Amśas.

- V. 52 :— The total number given above is naturally that of Gāthā and Udgitī. In a Skandhaka it is eight times as much. In Gīti it is twice as much and in Upagīti it is only half as much. The verse is not found in Ms. B; see Intro. Para 10.

- V. 53 :— This gives a method to find out the number of letters in a Gāthā. Deduct 1 from the number of *short* letters in a given Gāthā and divide the remainder by 2. Again deduct 1 and add 30; the number that is obtained is that of the letters. रूप = 1.

- Vv. 54-55 :— It appears that the names of the Nakṣatras are given to these different varieties of the Gāthā. That which contains the smallest number of *short* letters is Āśvinī and so on. Thus the Nakṣatra-name of a Gāthā is found out by deducting 1 from the number of *short* letters and dividing the remainder by 2. The number obtained is the number of the Nakṣatra

whose name the Gāthā has. Cf. अयं भावार्थः । त्रिंशदक्षराणां गाथायां नियमेन त्रयोऽलघवस्तेषामेकोपसार्यते; शेषो द्वौ तयोरप्यधमेकस्तेन लब्धमायमश्विनीनक्षत्रमेवं सर्वास्तु गाथास्तु । — A. V. 55 is not found in B. It merely says that by the same method (i. e. given in V. 53) we find the serial number and the name (viz. कमला, ललिता &c.) of a Gāthā.

Cf. घरं = गृहं प्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयादिसंख्यास्थानं नाम च कमलाललिया इत्यादि — A. किं वियप्येण — 'why doubt'?

V. 56 :— This is really an exception to V. 5. It says that for the sake of metre, the following six letters, which are ordinarily long must be regarded as short when they stand at the end of a word (पयअंते) and are preceded by a long letter (दीर्घपराः). The six are ए, ओ, इं, हिं (इविन्दु and हिविन्दु) रव्यजनयुक्तवर्णपूर्वं and हव्यजनयुक्तवर्णपूर्वं i.e. letters preceding the conjunct consonants formed by र and ह.

V. 57 :— Here the ए in वंभीए is to be pronounced as short. The Verse according to Avacūri in A is from रोहिणीचरित.

V. 58 :— Here ओ in बालाओ is short. For दरल्हसियथाणिओ पुण, A reads दरउल्हसियथाणिओपुण, where ओ in थाणओ is short.

V. 59 :— For सहति A reads हसन्ति. Here इं in जाइं (2) and तामरसाइं is short. The Verse, acc. to A is from पुष्पदन्तचरित.

V. 60 :— Here हिं in तिलयाहिं and in वाडियाहिं is short. Even this Verse is from पुष्पदन्तचरित acc. to A.

V. 61 :— Here व्व though it precedes the conjunct consonant द्रु, is short. The verse is from शतपथालंकार गाथासहस्र, acc. to A.

V. 62 :— Here मि though it precedes ह्र is short. For पल्लसउ C reads पण्डुडउ, as is clear from 'प्रस्फोटयतु दूरीकरोतु.' B reads पम्हुसइ.

V. 66 second half :— 'There are no virtues in us; you may remember even our faults.'

V. 67 :— A reads मुक्ख for मोक्ख and B reads अह for इह. After the example of गाहा we expect that of बिगाहा before

उग्गाह. Neither A nor B contains it. C seems to contain it; the Avacūri runs as follows :--“ विगाथा यथा— षण० । जिगाण चलण पुनः पुनः प्रणमत । किं० चलणे । प्रणत-
सुरेश्वरशीर्षे मुकुटकोटिमिश्रीकृते । किं० जिनानां संसारसमुद्र पात-
प्राप्तानाम् । ”—

Vv. 68-69 :-- V. 68 is an example of ऊद्गाथ or गीति. V. 69 also is an example of the same metre. In the second case, however, it appears to consist of four equal lines of 15 Mātrās each, instead of the usual 12+18; 12+18. The author, however, thinks that a Gāthā,— hence a Giti — consists of two halves only (cf. v. 6), and not of four Pādas as is done by some (but also cf. v. 16, 18). Any metre, therefore, having two halves with 30 Mātrās in each must be regarded as गीत irrespective of the यात. In the present example the यति occurs after the 15th Mātrā. Four metres of this type have been noticed by Hemacandra on p. 43b. line 11 ff. They are (1) हरिणीकुल with the यति after the 12th and 20th Mātrās; (2) गीतिसम with the यति after the 10th and 18th Mātrās; (3) भ्रमररुत with the यति as in गीतिसम but the line made of 5 षणमात्रs; and (4) हरिणीपद, the line of which is made up of 1 षणमात्र and the remaining चतुमात्रs. It should, nevertheless, be noted that our example must be regarded as a metre with four lines as is clear from the rhyme and the Yati and in this respect may be compared with the पङ्क्तिनी-द्विपदी of विरहाङ्क. Cf. VJS. III. 10. कुसुमाणिय--
कुसुमा आणिय ? कुसुमा णिय ? or कुसुमाण य ? C remarks :--
' तस्या मनो घृतगन्धेन युज्यते न कुसुमेषु । '

V. 70 :-- Supply नमत. A notices another reading, i. e. ' धारा पडंति । नवहा ' Cf. इत्यत्र निष्ठान्तं पूर्वं । नपततीति प्राहप्राकृतत्वादिलोमः पदन्यासः । न्याय्यस्तु पाठो ' निवडियधारानिवहोति । स चार्थात्कमठ-
मेघट्टद्विरिति । मुद्दं — drum.

V. 71 :-- C. reads णमह for नमह.

V. 72 :-- The Verse gives the method to find out the total number of letters in a Skandhaka metre. Deduct २ from the number of short letters and the remainder

should be halved; again 1 should be deducted from the sum which is thus obtained and 34 added to it. The resulting figure is the required number of letters. Our author does not give the different varieties of स्कन्धक. Cf. E. g. VJS. IV. 9-12; Pingala I. 63-65; Hemacandra, p. 28 b, line 14 ff. C. has a Verse after V. 72; the commentary on this is as follows :—
'स्कन्धककाव्ये' लघ्वक्षरप्रमाणमाह -- चउ० । यावन्त्यक्षराणि सर्वाणि भवन्ति स्कन्धे तेषां मध्याच्चतुस्त्रिंशदक्षराणि दूरीक्रियन्ते । यानि शेषाणि तिष्ठन्ति तानि द्विगुणीक्रियन्ते । चत्वारि मध्ये क्षिप्यन्ते । एवं कृते सति लघुकाक्षरनिर्देशो भवति ।'

V. 73 :— In any स्कन्धक variety, the least number of short letters that is possible is 4; since in each half we have a नरेन्द्र group; cf. note on VJS. IV. 9-12.

Vv. 74-75 :— Two examples of स्कन्धक. The first contains 6 short letters, while the second has only 4. In V. 73 B and C read थेरा for थोरा, and in V. 74 हेलाए for लेहाए.

V. 76 ff :— See introduction. This and the following stanzas do not seem to belong to the original text. B reads v. 75 after v. 76.

V. 76 :— पद्मात Metre; cf. Hemacandra, p. 26 b, line 6 ff. and 43 a, line 9 ff. The metre consists of four rhymed lines with 16 Mātrās in each.

V. 78 :— The author defines the चन्द्रानन metre which is also called by the name मदनावतार in other works. Here Ratnacandra quotes the following :— 'मयणावयार छंदो पचकल गणाहं चउहिं नायःखोसि' । I am unable to trace the source of the quotation. For the metre, cf. Hemacandra, p. 33 b, line 2 ff. &c.

V, 79 :— This is quoted from VJS. I. 17; the address to a wife (पिहलसोणि) is appropriate in the original. Acc. to VJS. गज, रथ, तुरङ्ग or पद्मात are all names of a चतुर्मात्र in general; irrespective of letters of which it is made up. Ratnacandra, however, comments thus :— अत्रैतत्पञ्च-
(चतुर्)मात्रकसज्ञां दशयन्नाहं गयरह० । तद्यथा सर्वयुरुर्गजः । आदि-
युरु रथः । अन्तगुरुस्तुरङ्गः । मध्ययुरुः पद्मातिः । सर्वयूरुयायः । &c.

- V. 80 :-- This gives the definition of a द्विपदी. Cf. Hemacandra p. 32 a, line 15 ff. The metre has four lines. In each we get 6 + five 4s + S. Of these seven Aṁśas, the 2nd and the 6th are either of the युरुमध्य (ISI) or of the सर्वलघु (IIII) type.
- V. 81 :-- In the first line, C reads कडप्प for वियप्प ; कडप्प means कटाक्ष.
- V. 82 :-- वस्तुक is also called वस्तुवदनक, cf. Hema. p. 37 a, line 1 ff. The special restrictions regarding the metre given in Hemacandra are not mentioned by our author. Acc. to him 24 Mātrās alone are necessary in a line. वेद = 4 ; शिखि = 3 ; यग = 4 ; द्विक = 2. The second half of the stanza defines the दिवद or सार्धच्छन्दः which is made up of a वस्तुक and a कुंकुम or a कर्पूर उल्लालक. Cf. K. D. II. 33 and Hemacandra, p. 34 a, line 4 ff. and 7 ff.
- V. 83 :-- वुज्ज (B reads वुज्जु and C ज्ज) = श्रयं (?) . I do not know the word. The stanza looks like a quotation.
- V. 84 ff. :-- The author gives the definitions of दोहा V. 84 ; उपदाहक V. 86 and अवदोहक V. 88ff.
- V. 87 :-- C. comments on this verse thus :-- ' वीरजिनेन्द्रस्य कायोत्सगास्थतस्य धरायां पृथ्व्यां निर्लीना नखपङ्क्तिर्नन्दतु । उत्प्रेक्ष्यते । संगमकाभिधानस्याभव्यस्य नरके निरन्तरं गुप्तिं नरक निश्चलवासं दर्शयन्तीव । अभव्यत्वात् । ' संगमक is a proper name. But in what context does the stanza occur ?
- V. 89 :-- A has a variety of readings for this stanza. सामालि for साबालि ; तूय for तुय ; समुहपथिय for समुहयथिय of C and B ; जेह for जेहि of B ; and नहेहि for न तेहि.
- Vv. 90-92 :-- V. 91 is incomplete. The names are slightly different from those of Piṅgala I. 67.
- V. 93 :-- ' Out of the 24 तायकर, the complexion of two is white ; that of the other two is dark-blue ; that of the third pair is red ; that of the fourth is blue and that of the remaining 16 is golden, '

V. 94 :— A reads जणियतण् for जणियनाण् of B and C. A's reading is surely the correct one since in the example no long letter is expected. But what is जणियनण्? It should be जणियतण् = जित-वशीकृत-तदुः।

v. 95 :— The author gives the definition of श्लाक last of all.

ŚAMKARA'S AUTHORSHIP OF THE GĪTĀ-BHĀṢYA

BY

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Tradition has it that Śrī Śamkarācārya, the well-known exponent of the Advaita Vedānta and author of an illuminating commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, is also the author of a commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā*. It has, however, fathered on him a plethora of works such as he could never have been guilty of; and modern critical scholarship has been cautious to scepticism in admitting the genuineness of the works attributed to the Ācārya. The enormity of the offence committed against Śamkara by his pious followers can easily be judged from the fact that no less than four hundred works have been ascribed to Śamkara of which upwards of seventy five per cent are obviously unworthy of the great master. When, therefore, modern critical scholarship set its face against the large mass of 'Śamkara-apocrypha' and dismissed hosts of them as spurious, traditional scholars were visibly alarmed. No doubt, traditional scholars were quite right in opining that criticism must proceed with caution—that conclusions should not be drawn all too hastily. For, the craze for speculation and the inward self-satisfaction arising out of adumbrating a new and startling theory in the field, had critical scholars too much by the throat to permit them take a level-headed view of things. Except for glaring instances, it is still impossible to pass any judgment off-hand whether or not some of the major works attributed to Śamkara are really his. Competent scholars like Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya and Dr. Belvalkar have repudiated Śamkara's authorship of works such as the commentaries on the *Nṛsiṃha Tāpanī*, *Māṇḍūkya* and *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads*, the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, *Upadeśa Sāhasrī*, and the *Stotras*. Madhusūdana Sarasvati seems to have taken for granted Śamkara's authorship of the *Daśaśloki*. Something like the weighty support of orthodoxy seems to have been given in sign of their genuineness to the works of Śamkara published in

twenty volumes under the aegis of the Svāmiji of the Śringeri Mutt, at the Vāṇī Vilas Press, Srirangam. But, modern scholars of a Wentworthian type would seem to think that not much of a success in the matter of fixing the genuine works of Śaṅkara could come out of orthodox quarters.

However that may be, opinion seems still to lurk in certain quarters that Śaṅkara never wrote the commentary on the *Gītā* attributed to him. It is given for a reason that the language and style of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* are not such as could have creditably emanated from the illustrious author of the *Śārīraka Bhāṣya*. Though, so far, no serious divergences in the philosophical theories and doctrinal details between the two commentaries have been brought to light, a difference in a methodology is discernible. It is this. Śaṅkara, for reasons best known to himself, has not cared to give a benedictory stanza at the beginning of his *Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya*. The *Gītā-Bhāṣya*, however, begins in the usual manner with a benedictory stanza ; hence the incompatibility in the same author being responsible for two such works.

As against this it must be pointed out that the omission of the benedictory verse by itself is neither a virtue nor a vice and constitutes no valid argument. Śaṅkara himself, to judge from the astonishing development of his style, as disclosed in his *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* in comparison with the *Gītā Bhāṣya* and other works, appears to have gradually discarded the wooden formalities of 'commentary-making' not only in the matter of the observance of the benediction but also in the elevation of style. The *Gītā Bhāṣya* is not the only work of Śaṅkara where we have the benedictory verse nor the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* the only one where we have it not !

A few extracts at random from the *Gītā Bhāṣya* would clearly demonstrate the amusing simplicity of its style which may be advantageously contrasted with the 'grand manner' of the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* :--

देवक्या वसुदेवादंशेन कृष्णः किल संबभूव ॥

स भगवान् वैष्णवीं स्वां मायां प्रकृतिं बलीकृत्य, अजोऽव्ययो भूतानामीश्वरः स्व-
मायया जात इव लोकानुग्रहं कुर्वन् लक्ष्यते ॥

अतस्तदर्थविवरणे यत्नः क्रियते मया¹ ॥

अहं विवेकतोऽर्थनिर्धारणार्थं संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि ॥

न शोच्या अशोच्याः ॥ अन्वशोचः अनुशोचितवानामि । देहादन्यः देहान्तरं तस्य प्राप्तिः
देहान्तरप्राप्तिः ॥

न मुह्यति न मोहमापद्यते ॥

रागः अस्यास्तीति रागी ॥

धर्म्यं धर्मादनपेतं धर्म्यं ॥

अधमायुर्जीवितं यस्य सोऽघायुः ॥

चिकीर्षुः कर्तुमिच्छुः ॥

तान्विद्धि जानीहि नष्टान्नाशं गतान् अचेतसः अविवेकिनः ॥

बुद्धिनाशः बुद्धेर्नाशः ॥ सोढुं सहितुं, प्रसहितुम् ॥

साधुरेव स मन्तव्यो ज्ञातव्यः ॥ अंशुमान् रश्मिमान् ॥ मन्यसे चिन्तयासि । दर्शयामास
दर्शितवान् ॥ पार्थाय पृथासुताय ।

अनेकवक्त्रनयनं — अनेकानि वक्त्राणि नयनानि च यस्मिन् रूपे तदनेकवक्त्रनयनम् ॥

अनेकाद्भुतदर्शनं — अनेकानि अद्भुतानि विस्मापकानि दर्शनानि यस्मिन् तत् अनेका-
द्भुतदर्शनं रूपं तथा अनेकदिव्याभरणमनेकानि दिव्यान्याभरणानि यस्मिन् तदनेकदिव्याभरणं
तथा दिव्यानेकाद्यतापुधं दिव्यान्यनेकानि अस्यादीन्युद्यतान्यापुधानि यस्मिन्स्तत् दिव्यानेको-
यतापुधं दर्शयामासेति पूर्वेण संबन्धः ।

किं च, दिव्यमाल्याम्बरधरं दिव्यानि माल्यानि !!!

दृष्टानि रोमाणि यस्य अयं हृष्टरोमाः ॥

किरीटिनं किरीटं नाम शिरोभूषणविशेषः । तदस्यास्तीति किरीटी तं किरीटिनं ।
तथा गदिनं गदास्य विद्यत इति गदी तं गदिनं तथा चक्रिणं चक्रमस्यास्तीति चक्री तं
चक्रिणं च ॥

अष्टुचीनि व्रतानि येषां तेऽष्टुचिव्रताः ॥

मोक्षकाङ्क्षिभिः मोक्षार्थिभिर्मुमुक्षुभिः ॥

देहभृद्देहं बिभर्तीति देहभृत् ॥

मां नमस्कुरु ममेव नमस्कारं कुरु ॥

1. Cf. Śaṅkara's use of the first person plural in the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* :

वयमस्यां शारीरकमीमांसायां प्रदर्शयिष्यामः ॥

The elaborate *vigraha vākyas* of the simplest of compounds as गदिन्, चक्रिन् etc., and the explanation of such terms as सोढुम् by सहितुम् and प्रसहितुम्, of दर्शयामास by दर्शितवान् etc., answer very nearly to Bhoja's caustic comment on commentators: स्पष्टार्थेऽपि विस्तृतिं विदधति व्यर्थैः समासादिकैः¹ ॥

The *Gītā Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara must therefore be put down as his *primitiae* whilst the *Śārīraka Bhāṣya* has been rightly regarded as his *magnum opus*. It is interesting to note that Śaṅkara clearly anticipates in his *Gītā Bhāṣya* some of the views to be expressed and elaborated in the *Vedānta Sūtra Bhāṣya* later on. A close parallelism in matter and method is clearly discernible in various cases. A decided improvement both in the manner of expression of the same idea as well as in the perfection of the argument distinguishes the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* in all cases.

- (1) तस्माद्गीताशास्त्रे केवलादेव तत्त्वज्ञानान्मोक्षप्राप्तिर्न कर्मसमुच्चितादिति निश्चितोऽर्थः । यथा चायमर्थः तथा प्रकरणशो विभज्य, तत्र तत्र दर्शयिष्यामः ॥

Gītā Bhāṣya

एवमयमनादिरनन्तः नैसर्गिकोऽध्यासः सर्वलोकप्रत्यक्षः अस्यानर्थहेतोः प्रहाणाय सर्वे वेदान्ता आरभ्यन्ते । यथा चायमर्थः सर्वेषां वेदान्तानां, तथा वयमस्यां शारीरकमीमांसायां प्रदर्शयिष्यामः ॥ *Sūtra Bhāṣya*

- (2) न ह्यात्मा नाम कस्यचिदप्रसिद्धो भवति ॥ *G. B.*

सर्वो ह्यात्मास्तित्वं प्रत्येति, न नाहमस्माति ॥ *S. B.*

- (3) योयं लौकिको वैदिकश्च व्यवहारः स उत्पन्नविवेकज्ञानस्य अविद्याकार्यत्वात्, अविद्यानिवृत्तौ निवर्तते ॥

तमेतमविद्याख्यमध्यासं पुरस्कृत्य सर्वे प्रमाणप्रमेयव्यवहारा लौकिका वैदिकाश्च प्रवृत्ताः सर्वाणि च शास्त्राणि विधिनिवेधमोक्षपराणि ॥

- (4) यथा प्रतिमादौ विण्वादिबुद्धिः ॥

अन्यत्वेपि तादात्म्यदर्शनं शास्त्रात्कर्तव्यं प्रतिमादिष्विव विण्वादिदर्शनम् ॥

- (5) तस्मात्सम्पद्यदर्शनं सर्वकर्मणां निर्बीजत्वे कारणं इत्याभिप्रायः । सामर्थ्यात्, येन कर्मणा शरीरमारब्धं तत् प्रवृत्तफलत्वात् उपभोगेनैव क्षीयते “तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्ष्येऽथ संपत्स्ये” इति श्रुतेः ।

1. अस्थानेऽनुपयोगिभिश्च बहुभिर्जल्पैर्भ्रमं तन्वते ।

भ्रान्त्युपायमिति वस्तुविप्लवकृतः सर्वेपि टीकाकृतः ॥

अप्रवृत्तफले एवं पूर्वे जन्मान्तरसंचिते अस्मिन्नपि जन्मनि प्राग् ज्ञानोत्पत्तेः संचिते कृतदुष्कृते ज्ञानाधिगमात् क्षीयेते । न त्वारब्धकार्ये सामिभुक्तफले यस्यामेतद्ब्रह्मज्ञानायतनं जन्म निर्मितं । कुत एतत् 'तस्य तावदेव चिरं यावन्न विमोक्षेऽथ संपत्त्ये' इति शरीरपातावधिकरणाक्षेपप्राप्तेः ॥

- (6) नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभावं सर्वभूतात्मानं निर्गुणं ॥

अस्ति तावद्ब्रह्म नित्यशुद्धबुद्धमुक्तस्वभावं सर्वज्ञं सर्वशक्तिसमान्वितम् ॥

- (7) तत्रैवं सति, कर्तृत्वभोक्तृत्वलक्षणः संसारो ज्ञेयस्थः ज्ञातरि' अविद्याध्यारो-
पितः इति नानेन ज्ञातुः किञ्चिदुच्यते ॥ यथा बालैः अध्यारोपितेन आका-
शस्य तलमलिनत्वादिना ॥

अप्रत्यक्षेपि ह्याकाशे बालास्तलमलिनतामध्यस्यन्ति ॥

- (8) अत्राह । साविद्या कस्येति । यस्य दृश्यते तस्यैव । कस्य दृश्यते । अत्रोच्यते ।
अविद्या कस्य दृश्यत इति प्रश्नो निरर्थकः... ..
अप्रत्यक्षेणाविद्यावता अविद्यासंबन्धे ज्ञाते किं तव स्यात्? अविद्याया अनर्थ-
हेतुत्वात् परिहर्तव्या स्यात् । यस्याविद्या स तां परिहरिष्यति । ननु ममैवा-
विद्या । जानासि तर्हि अविद्यां तद्वन्तं चात्मानम्
हन्त तर्हि आत्मनि क्रियाकारकफलात्मतायाः स्वतः अभावे अविद्यायां चा-
ध्यारोपितत्वे कर्माण्यविद्वत्कर्तव्यान्येव न विदुषामिति प्राप्तं । सत्यमेवं प्राप्तं ।
एतदेव हि न हि देहभूताशक्यमित्यत्र दर्शयिष्यामः ॥

कस्य पुनरयमप्रबोध इति चेत्? यस्त्वं पृच्छसि तस्य त इति वदामः । नन्व-
हमीश्वर एवोक्तः श्रुत्या । यद्येवं प्रतिबुद्धोऽसि नास्ति कस्यचिदप्रबोधः ॥

- (9) इत्याकाङ्क्षायाम् ॥

इत्याकाङ्क्षायाम् ॥

- (10) मुनीनां मननशीलानां अहं व्यासः ॥

मननान्मुनिरिति च व्युत्पत्तिसंभवात् । मुनीनामप्यहं व्यास इति च प्रयोग-
दर्शनात् ॥

- 11) क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोः विषयविषयिणोः भिन्नस्वभावयोः इतरेतरतद्धर्माध्यास-
लक्षणः संयोगः क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञस्वरूपविवेकाभावनिवन्धनः रज्जुशुक्तिकादी-
नां तद्विवेकज्ञानाभावादध्यारोपितसर्परजतादिसंयोगदत् । सोऽयमध्यास-
स्वरूपः क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञसंयोगो मिथ्याज्ञानलक्षणः ॥

युष्मदस्मत्प्रत्ययगोचरयोर्विषयविषयिणोस्तमः प्रकाशवद्विरुद्धस्वभावयोरित-
रेतरभावानुपपत्तौ सिद्धायां तथा च लोकेऽनुभवः शुक्ति-
काहिरजतवदवभासत इति ॥ केचित्तु यत्र यदध्यासः तद्विवेकाग्रहनिबन्ध-
नो भ्रम इति । एवमयं अध्यासो मिथ्याप्रत्ययरूपः ॥

- (12) क्षेत्रज्ञं यथोक्तलक्षणं चापि मां परमेश्वरं असंसारिणं विद्धि ॥

कः पुनरयं शारीरो नाम परमात्मनोऽन्यः, यः प्रतिषिध्यते अनुपपत्तस्तु न शारीर इत्यादिना ? श्रुतिस्तु नान्योऽतोऽस्ति द्रष्टा इत्येवंजातीयका परमात्मनोऽन्यं आत्मानं वारयति । तथा स्मृतिरपि, क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत ॥

- (13) तत्रैवं सति, क्षेत्रज्ञस्य ईश्वरस्यैव सतः अविद्याकृतोपाधिभेदतः संसारित्वमिव भवति । क्षेत्रज्ञेश्वरयोर्भेदानभ्युपगमात् गीताशास्त्रे ॥

अत्रोच्यते सत्यमेवैतत् पर एवात्मा देहेन्द्रियमनोबुद्ध्युपाधिभिः परिच्छिद्यमानो बालैः शारीर इत्युपचर्यते ॥

- (14) ननु, सर्वक्षेत्रेष्वेक एवेश्वरो नान्यस्तद्व्यतिरिक्तो भोक्ता ॥ तत ईश्वरस्य संसारित्वं प्राप्तं । ईश्वरव्यतिरेकेण वा संसारिणोऽन्यस्याभावात् संसाराभावप्रसङ्गः । तत्रोभयमानिष्टम् । बन्धमोक्षतद्धेतुशास्त्रानर्थक्यप्रसङ्गात् प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणविरोधाच्च ॥

नन्वेवं संसारित्वाभावे शास्त्रानर्थक्यादिदोषः स्यादिति चेन्न । न च शास्त्रानर्थक्यं यदुक्तमीश्वरस्य क्षेत्रज्ञैकत्वे संसारित्वं प्राप्नोति । क्षेत्रज्ञानां चेश्वरैक्यत्वे संसारिणोऽभावात् संसाराभावप्रसङ्ग इति ॥

- (15) ईश्वरस्य च संसार्यात्मत्वे ईश्वराभावप्रसङ्गः । ततः शास्त्रानर्थक्यं । संसारिणोपीश्वरात्मत्वे अधिकार्यभावाच्छास्त्रानर्थक्यमेव । प्रत्यक्षादिविरोधश्च यदप्युक्तं, अधिकार्यभावः प्रत्यक्षविरोधश्चेति । तदप्यसत् । यदुक्तं ईश्वरस्य क्षेत्रज्ञत्वे संसारित्वं प्राप्नोति क्षेत्रज्ञानां चेश्वरैक्यत्वे संसारिणोऽभावात् संसाराभावप्रसङ्ग इति । एतौ दोषौ प्रत्युक्तौ । विद्याविधयोर्वैलक्षण्याभ्युपगमात् । कथं ? अविद्यापरिकल्पितदोषेण तद्विषयं वस्तु पारमार्थिकं न दृश्यतीति ।

यत्कृतं न विरुद्धगुणयोरन्योन्यात्मत्वसंभव इति । नायं दोषः । विरुद्धगुणताया मिथ्यात्वोपपत्तेः ॥

Śaṅkara again gives the same interpretation to the term पुराण occurring in the *Gītā* and in the *Kaṭhapaniṣad*.

The two commentaries have thus many things in common. The commentary on the *Gītā* dimly foreshadows many an idea or phrase which is later on immortalised in the *Sūtra Bhāṣya*. That it is not a borrowal or a copy of the *Sūtra Bhāṣya* is evident from its lack of refinement and its inferiority in quality. It cannot

thus be regarded as the work of a later Śaṅkara who imitated the style of his master for the simple reason that such conscious imitation would necessarily have given us a far better specimen than we have. For, in fairness to any imitator with a minimum degree of efficiency for the task he has essayed, it must be admitted that the copy will not limp behind the original to any miserable extent.

II

Indian literary tradition is unanimous in ascribing to Śaṅkara the commentary on the *Gītā*. Śaṅkara's commentators and followers are not alone in their opinions of his authorship of the commentary on the *Gītā* attributed to him.

The critics of Śaṅkara, especially Rāmānuja and Madhva, have credited Śaṅkara with the authorship of his *Gītā-Bhāṣya*. The evidence of such powerful opponents of Śaṅkara as these is more deserving of attention than all the assurances of his followers put together-- the majority of whom are again later than both Rāmānuja and Madhva.

That Rāmānuja and Madhva actually wrote their commentaries on the *Gītā* as a counterblast to the work of their predecessor is quite obvious even as it is in the case of their respective *Sūtra-Bhāṣyas*. It is not without significance therefore that the commentaries on the *Gītā* in the case of everyone of them were the earlier works. It is claimed in regard to Madhva that the *Gītā Bhāṣya* was his earliest work.¹ A cogent and successful Bhāṣya on the *Gītā* seems to have been, in those days, regarded as the primary qualification for one aspiring to write a Bhāṣya on the *Vedānta Sūtras* or found a new system. Rāmānuja's first literary debut must certainly have been the *Gītā Bhāṣya* wherein he undertook a searching criticism of the Monistic tenets adumbrated by Śaṅkara in his *Gītā Bhāṣya*. Nor could the case have been different with Śaṅkara. He too, must have signalled the beginning

1. Cf. गीतभाष्यं चकारादौ प्रथमं तुष्टिदं हरेः ।

(*Granthamālikā Stotra*)

and also,

प्रतियुस्य पुनोवरगीताभाष्यमर्पयदुपायनमस्यै ।

(*Madhva Vijaya*)

of his philosophico-literary career by first undertaking a critical refutation of the dogmas of his predecessors and their interpretations of the *Gītā*. The existence of commentaries on the *Gītā* prior to Śaṅkara need not be startling news to any one. Śaṅkara himself at the outset of his *Gītā Bhāṣya* refers to several earlier commentators on the *Gītā*.

तदिदं गीताशास्त्रं दुर्विज्ञेयार्थं । तदर्थविष्करणाय अनेकैः विवृतपदपदार्थवाक्य-
वाक्यार्थन्यायमपि, अत्यन्तविरुद्धानेकार्थत्वेन लौकिकैर्युह्यमाणमुपलभ्याहं विवेकतोऽर्थ-
निर्धारणार्थं संक्षेपतो विवरणं करिष्यामि ॥

And, in the course of his commentary on certain verses of the *Gītā*, states and vehemently repudiates their erroneous interpretation at the hands of his predecessors. Instances are :—

(a) अत्र केचिदाहुः सर्वकर्मसंन्यासपूर्वकादात्मज्ञाननिष्ठामात्रादेव केवलात्केवत्ये
न प्राप्यत एव किं तर्हि ? अग्निहोत्रादिश्रौतस्मार्तकर्मसहिताज्ज्ञानात्केवल्यप्राप्तिरिति
सर्वासु गीतासु निश्च्युतोऽर्थ इति । ज्ञापकं चाहुरस्यार्थस्य * * * * तदसत्¹ ॥

(b) अत्र केचित्पण्डितमन्या वदन्ति जन्मादिभावविक्रियारहितः अविक्रियः
अकर्ता एकोहमात्मेति न कस्यचित् ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते, यस्मिन्सति सर्वकर्मसंन्यास उपदिश्यत
इति तन्न² ॥

(c) केचित्तु, अर्जुनस्य प्रश्नार्थमन्यथा कल्पयित्वा तत्प्रतिकूलं भगवतः प्रतिवचनं
वर्णयन्ति, यथा चात्मना संबन्धग्रन्थे गीतार्थो निरूपितः तत्प्रतिकूलं चेह पुनः प्रश्नप्रति-
वचनयोरर्थं निरूपयन्ति । कथं ? * * * * तत्रैतत्स्यात्³ ॥

(d) अयं श्लोकोऽन्यथा व्याख्यातः कैश्चित् । कथं ? * * * * नैतद्युक्तं
स्याख्यानम्⁴ ॥

(e) अत्र केचिदनादि मत्परमिति पदं छिन्दन्ति बहुव्रीहिणा सह उक्तेऽर्थे मनुष्य
आनर्थक्यमनिष्टं स्यादिति । अर्थविशेषं च दर्शयन्ति * * * * सत्यमेवं
न पुनरुक्तं स्यादर्थश्चेत्संभवति । नत्वर्थः संभवति⁵ ॥

(f) अन्ये तु वर्णयन्ति, नित्यानां कर्मणां फलाभावात् 'सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च' इति
नोपपद्यते । अतः एतान्यपीति यानि काम्यानि कर्माणि नित्येभ्योऽन्यानि एतान्यपि कर्त-
व्यानि । किञ्चित् यज्ञदानतपांसीति । तदप्यसत्⁶ ॥

Jayatirtha's gloss on Madhva's *Gītā Bhāṣya* has very great value for purposes of critical and historical research; and modern

1. Śaṅkara on *Gītā* II, 11.

2. Ibid., II, 21.

3. Ibid., III, 1.

4. Ibid., IV, 18.

5. Ibid., XIII, 12.

6. Ibid., XVIII, 6.

scholarship is alone the worse for it-if it has not fully explored the inexhaustible resources of this excellent commentary of the Dvaita school.

It would appear from Jayatīrtha's gloss on Madhva's commentary that Bhāskara, the author of an extant commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* also wrote one on the *Gītā*.¹ A well-known contemporary of Śaṅkara, Bhāskara severely criticises Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *Sūtras*. It appears, on Jayatīrtha's showing, that Bhāskara refuted Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *Gītā* in a separate commentary of his own. Jayatīrtha throws considerable light on the interrelation between the two. The occurrence of actual statements attributed to Śaṅkara (extracted by Jayatīrtha) by Bhāskara in the extant commentary of the former fully establishes the identity of our present text with the one which Bhāskara had in view. To cite but a few instances, it appears that Bhāskara objected to Śaṅkara's introducing his commentary on the *Gītā* with an account of the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa and its objects. Bhāskara, again, is reported to have rejected Śaṅkara's opinion under III,1, that Sin will not ensue from mere non-performance of action -- essentially an *abhāva* -- as well as his citation of the *Śruti*: 'कथमसतः सज्जायेत' in support. Bhāskara, on the other hand, is reported to have held that the *Śruti* cited by Śaṅkara has reference only to substances and not to *guṇas* which could certainly be produced from *abhāvas*. That Bhāskara credited Śaṅkara with the authorship of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* is clear from these two instances.

Abhinavagupta, the veteran Ālamkārika and protagonist of the Śaiva Siddhānta, for some reason or other, felt himself justified in writing a commentary on the *Gītā* -- an essentially Vaiṣṇavite treatise. Abhinavagupta too, had his own differences with Śaṅkara. Though very sparing in his criticisms of earlier writers, he was occasionally obliged to repudiate the erroneous interpretations of his predecessors. Two prominent instances at least deserve mention in this connection.

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1. Vide my paper on 'Bhāskara a Forgotten Commentator on the *Gītā*' -- contributed to the Haraprasad Sastri Commemoration Volume.

Abhinavagupta does not accept Śaṅkara's explanation of the term *मात्रास्पर्शाः* in II, 14. Śaṅkara here renders *मात्रा* by 'senses' whilst Abhinavagupta renders it by 'objects' in which he is followed by Madhva.

Secondly, Abhinavagupta objects to the interpretation of all his predecessors including Śaṅkara, of the verse *आब्रह्मभुवनल्लोकाः पुनरावर्तिनोऽर्जुन* (VIII, 16); according to which all the worlds including that of Brahma are regarded as transitory sojourns of the aspirant. Abhinavagupta, therefore, protests against the inclusion of 'ब्रह्मभुवन' in the list and adds : *ब्रह्मलोकप्राप्तानामपि पुनरावृत्तिरस्तीति सर्वैर्व्याख्यातं । एतदभ्युपगमे च, तदुपरितनलोकगतिर्मुक्तिरित्यभिहितं स्यात्तच्च न हृदय-गमम् ॥* which again is endorsed by Madhva.

III

We will now bring together the important references to Śaṅkara's interpretations which are usually discarded after examination in the commentaries of Rāmānuja and Madhva and in the glosses thereto of Vedānta Deśika and Jayatīrtha. Neither Rāmānuja nor Madhva refers to Śaṅkara by name; but nevertheless they repudiate his interpretations of particular verses in significant terms and their commentators always help to clarify such references and identify them in Śaṅkara's extant commentary. Both Vedānta Deśika and Jayatīrtha, on the other hand, mention Śaṅkara by name only occasionally but normally refer to him by such terms as *अपरे*, *केचित्*, *कश्चित्*, *अन्य* etc., usually adopted by commentators. An emphatic protest must here be lodged against the distorted spelling -- *संकर* -- for the rightful *शंकर* found in the orthodox manuscripts and printed editions of Jayatīrtha's commentary which clearly owes its origin to sheer theological odium. It is time that the exclusions concerned realise the disreputable folly of such procedure. But to return to our point, commentators of the type of Jayatīrtha and Deśika can implicitly be trusted when they refer the implicit criticisms of their masters to definite statements in the Bhāṣya of Śaṅkara and others.

As references to Śaṅkara in these commentaries are extremely numerous, mention will be made in the following pages of only the most important of them. Precedence will be given to the references under particular verses in Rāmānuja's Bhāṣya

and the commentary of Deśika on chronological grounds. The references to Śaṅkara, in the commentary of Madhva and of Jayatīrtha will be dealt with after. Page references are to the Ananda Press Edition of the *Gītā* with the commentaries of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva with the glosses.

शंकरादिपक्षे शास्त्रोपदेशारम्भाद्यनुपपत्तेर्वक्ष्यमाणायाः स्वपक्षे प्रसङ्गाभावात्, *
* * * * प्राक्तनोदन्तं गतिोपदेशेन संगमयति¹ ॥

शंकरः कृष्णावतारपुरस्कारेण गीतायाः संगतिमाह । तदातिक्रमेण व्यासावतार-
पुरस्कारे को हेतुरिति चेत्² ॥

Rāmānuja makes a direct hit against Śaṅkara that the Lord's reference to plurality of Selves gives the lie to the latter's doctrine of identity: एवं भगवतः सर्वेश्वरात् आत्मनां परस्परं च भेदः पारमार्थिक इति भगवतेवोक्तमिति प्रतीयते³ ॥ on which Deśika comments: देहभेदाभिप्रायेण बहुवचनं नात्मभेदाभिप्रायेणेति शंकरोक्तं दूषयति⁴ ॥

Similarly, Śaṅkara's explanation of the plurality of Selves referred to by the Lord in जनाधिपाः etc., as pertaining merely to the bodies : देहभाषानुवृत्त्या बहुवचनं नात्मभेदाभिप्रायेण is negatived by Jayatīrtha : अत्र भगवताः जीवानां परस्परमीश्वराच्च भेदे प्रतिपादितेऽपि बहुवचनं शरीरापेक्षया न त्वात्मापेक्षयेति वदतो भविष्यत्युत्तरं ॥

Reference has already been made to Madhva's dismissal of Śaṅkara's explanation of the terms 'मात्रास्पर्श' and 'आब्रह्मभुवनात्.'

Madhva sees no point of eulogy in the term प्रज्ञावाद (II, 11); and he therefore discards Śaṅkara's interpretation of it, attributing a note of euphemism to the Lord's remark.

Under II, 26, Jayatīrtha has: अस्वेवमात्मनो नित्यत्वमिति वदता 'आत्मनोऽनित्यत्वमभ्युपगम्येदमुच्यते' इति मायावादिनो व्याख्यानं निरस्तं भवति । पुनं जन्म मृतस्य चेत्युत्तरवाक्यविरोधात् ॥

1. *Tātparyā Candrikā* of Vedānta Deśika, p. 2, Ananda Press, Madras, 1910.
2. *Prameyadīpikā* of Jayatīrtha, p. 18.
3. *Rāmānuja Bhāṣya*, p. 51.
4. *Tātparyā Candrikā*, p. 52.

Under II, 29, Vedānta Deśika remarks with reference to an alternative explanation¹ offered by Śaṅkara:—

एतेन, कर्तृदृष्टान्ततया.शंकरोक्तं योजनान्तरमपि दूषितम् ॥

Referring to Śaṅkara's remark:— तस्मात्प्राग्ज्ञाननिष्ठाधिकारप्राप्तेः कर्मण्यधिकृतेन रूपतटाकाद्यर्थस्थानीयमपि कर्म कर्तव्यम् (II, 46), Jayatīrtha says : ज्ञानिनः कर्माभावमुक्त्वा, इदानीमज्ञानिनः कर्मोच्यते इत्यन्यथाव्याख्याननिरासायाह ॥ and wonders at the temerity of Śaṅkara's assertion : सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा, ईश्वरो मे तुष्यत्विति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा (II, 48).

Says Jayatīrtha under II, 54: यथाह शंकरः लब्धसमाधिप्रज्ञस्य लक्षण-मुमुक्षया अर्जुन उवाचेति तदसदिति भावेनाह उक्तमिति and has the following with reference to Śaṅkara's 'आत्मन्येव प्रत्यगात्मस्वरूप एव आत्मना स्वेनेव' (II, 55) --आत्मानमात्मनेति पदद्वयेन जीव एवात्रोच्यते इति कश्चित् । तदसदिति भावेनाह ॥

Jayatīrtha dismisses Śaṅkara's note on the term मत्पर (II, 61), as fanciful : मत्पर इत्यद्वैतज्ञानमित्यन्यैर्व्याख्यातं तन्नाक्षरानुसारि ॥

Śaṅkara's introductory remarks on III, 5 : कस्मात्पुनः कारणात्कर्म-संन्यासमात्रादेव केवलात् ज्ञानरहितात् सिद्धिं नैष्कर्म्यलक्षणां पुरुषो नाधिगच्छतीति हेत्वा-काङ्क्षायामाह are set aside by Jayatīrtha : ज्ञानरहितात्कर्मत्यागरूपार्थव्याभ्रमात् सिद्धिं न समधिगच्छतीति किं पूर्वमुक्तं तत्र हेत्वाकाङ्क्षायां ' न हि कश्चिदित्युच्यते ' इति व्याख्यानमसदिति भावेनाह नन्विति ॥

Vedānta Deśika rejects the reading सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा (III, 10) adopted by Śaṅkara with the remark : सहयज्ञा इति शंकरयादवप्रका-शीयपाठस्वप्रसिद्धेरनादृतः ॥ We may note incidentally that Rāmānuja has सहयज्ञैः in lieu of सहयज्ञाः favoured not only by Śaṅkara and Yādavaprakāśa but also by Abhinavagupta and Madhva ; so that the latter reading seems to have been much more widely current than the former, Deśika's verdict notwithstanding.

Śaṅkara's rendering : ब्रह्म पुनर्वेदाख्यं अक्षरसमुद्भवं, अक्षरः परमात्मा समु-द्भवो यस्य is discarded by Madhva : अक्षराणि प्रसिद्धानि तेभ्यो ह्यभिव्यज्यते ब्रह्म whereupon Jayatīrtha comments : ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवमित्यत्र ब्रह्मवेदः अक्षरा-त्परब्रह्मणो जायते इति परेषां व्याख्यानमसदिति भावेनाह ॥

1. Cf. अथवा योगमात्मानं पश्यति स आश्चर्यतुल्यः यो वदति, यश्च श्रुणोति ... ॥

Deśika flares up in a violent protest against Śaṅkara's interpretation of the term *माया* in IV, 6 :—एतेन प्रकृतिशब्दस्यात्र त्रिगुणात्मकप्रकृति-विषयत्वं मायाशब्दस्य मिथ्यार्थपरत्वं च शंकरोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ॥

Jayatīrtha rejects Śaṅkara's special pleading in IV, 13 : यद्यपि मायासंयवहारेण तस्य कर्मणः कर्तारमपि मां परमार्थतो विद्वच्चर्तारम् with the remark : क्रियाया मिथ्यात्वात्कर्ताव्यकर्तेति परद्वारुह्यां प्रत्याख्याति and objects to Śaṅkara's rendering of *ब्रह्मकर्मसमाधिना* into *ब्रह्मेवकर्म*, *ब्रह्मकर्मणि समाधिर्यस्य सः* ॥

Śaṅkara's rendering of *संन्यास* into *परित्यागं कर्मणां शास्त्रीयाणामनुष्ठेय-विशेषाणां* (V, 1), is, at the outset, rejected by Jayatīrtha : तथा च, कर्मणां संन्यासं त्यागमिति व्याख्यानमसादिति सूचितम् ॥

Vedānta Deśika takes exception to Śaṅkara's rendering of the term *संन्यास* in V, 6 into *प्रकृतः संन्यासः ब्रह्मोच्यते, न्यास इति ब्रह्मेति श्रुतेः* । Says he : एवमव्यवहितात्मप्राप्तिसाधनत्वं वदता प्रकृतः संन्यासो ब्रह्मशब्देनोच्यत इति शंकरोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ॥ And in the next verse dismisses Śaṅkara's : *विजितात्मा = विजितदेहः* as puerile.

Under VI, 13 Deśika quotes Śaṅkara with approval : मनस्यन्तर्मुखे नासासंप्रक्षेपस्यासंभवाच्चक्षुषो दृष्टिसंनिपातमात्रमिह विवक्षितं । अतः संप्रेक्ष्येत्यत्र 'इवशब्दो लुप्तो द्रष्टव्य' इति शंकरम्, but is not at all satisfied with the latter's rendering of *ब्रह्मचारिव्रतं* into *ब्रह्मचर्यं गुरुशुश्रूषाभिधान्भुक्त्यादि* and therefore adds : शंकरोक्तप्रक्रियया वा, ब्रह्मचर्यगुरुशुश्रूषाभिचर्यादिभिः स्यादिति, तद्व्यवच्छेदायाह । ब्रह्मचर्यं च स्तनवति पिशितपिण्डे भोग्यताधीर्गर्भरमरणालोकनादिरहितत्वमत्र विवक्षितम् ॥

Referring to Śaṅkara, Deśika points out under VII, 4 *केचिदाहुः अष्टा प्रकृतय इति श्रुतेरिह, भूम्यादिशब्दैः तन्मात्राणि गृह्यन्ते । मनःशब्देन मनसः कारणभूतोऽहकारः अहंकारशब्देन त्वहंकारवासनास्पदं अव्यक्तं मूलकारणमिति । एवं समस्तपदमुख्यार्थमङ्गलैकशास्त्रदृष्ट्यपेक्षया प्रकृतित्वं वरामिति भावः ॥* There is some slight discrepancy here. For, in the text of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* which runs : *भूमिरिति पृथग्वातन्मात्रमुच्यते, न स्थूला, 'भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टमेति' वचनात् । तथावाद्योगि तन्मात्राण्येवोच्यन्ते । मन इति मनसः कारणमहंकारो गृह्यते, बुद्धिरित्यहंकारकारणं महत्तत्त्वमहंकार इत्यविद्यासंयुक्तमव्यक्तम् * * * etc.*, the alleged quotation from the *Śruti* does not occur. Deśika's citation is faithful in other respects. Jayatīrtha too, differs from Śaṅkara and quotes him faithfully. In the passage which he extracts from Śaṅkara there is no *Śruti* text—अष्टौ प्रकृतयः such as is attributed to Śaṅkara by Deśika.

Reference is made by Jayatīrtha to Śaṅkara's comment: यस्मान्मम प्रकृतियोनिः कारणं सर्वभूतानामताहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभव उत्पत्तिः प्रलयो विनाशश्च under VII, 6, thuswise: एतेन, यस्मान्मम प्रकृतियोनिस्सर्वभूतानां ततोऽहं कृत्स्नस्य जगतः प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथेति व्याख्यानमपहस्तितं भवति ॥

Deśika rounds up the 8th chapter with a trite note on परं स्थान-मुपैति चायं wherein Śaṅkara's interpretation of आयं स्थानं as आदौ भवं कारणं ब्रह्म is deplored : आदौ भवं कारणं ब्रह्मेति परोक्तं तु स्थानशब्दवैयर्थ्या-दयुक्तम् ॥

At the beginning of IX chapter, Madhva has in explanation of the term — प्रत्यक्षावगमम्—प्रत्यक्षं ब्रह्मावगम्यते येन तत् in lieu of Śaṅkara's :—प्रत्यक्षेणावगमो यस्य तत् and Jayatīrtha remarks : प्रत्यक्षेणाव-गमो यस्येति व्याख्यानमसत् । भगवन्माहात्म्यस्य शास्त्रैकसमधिगम्यत्वात् ॥

Deśika, referring to Śaṅkara's : आध्यक्षेण सर्वतो दृशिमात्रस्वरूपेण अविक्रि-यात्मना अध्यक्षेण मया, writes : तेन, अध्यक्षशब्दस्यात्र अविक्रियाद्दृशिमात्रपरतां षडन्तः प्रत्युक्ताः (IX, 10).

Jayatīrtha rejects गतिः कर्मफलं of Śaṅkara on IX, 18, in view of Madhva's गम्यते मुमुक्षुभिरिति गतिः ॥

Under X, 4 both Deśika and Jayatīrtha have something to say against Śaṅkara whose renderings of दम as बाह्येन्द्रियोपशम and शम as अन्तःकरणस्योपशमः are set aside by Jayatīrtha while Deśika rejects those of भवं and भावः—अत एव, भवो भव्यता भावोऽभिप्राय इत्यादि परव्याख्यानं मन्दम् ॥

Madhva has quite an interesting note on. महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वे (X, 6), which Śaṅkara understands as a reference to Bhṛgu etc. Madhva, however, understands by the 'seven sages' Marici, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasistha and cites *Mokṣadharmā* in support. It is interesting to note that Jaya-
tīrtha makes a pointed reference to Śaṅkara's : महर्षयः सप्त-सुरवाद्य इति शंकरः तदसत्, 'पूर्वे' इति विशेषणेन प्रथममन्वन्तरस्थानामेव ग्रहणस्योचितत्वात् मोक्ष-धर्मसंवादाच्चेति भावेनाह even though Rāmānuja also follows Śaṅkara's explanation. Śaṅkara himself, in the beginning of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* refers² to Marici etc.; and Jayatīrtha presumably alludes to this apparent self-contradiction in Śaṅkara.

1. मरीचिरत्र्यंगिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ।

वासिष्ठश्च महानेजास्ति हि चित्रशिखण्डिनः ॥

Mokṣadharmā, 343, 30.

2. सु भगवान्मरीच्यादीनमे सृष्ट्वा प्रजापतीम् P, 6.

Jayātīrtha, again, accords passing notice to Śaṅkara's explanation of जनार्दन (X, 18) as अर्दतेः गतिकर्मणोरूपं असुराणां देवप्रतिपक्षभूतानां नरकादिगमयितृत्वाज्जनार्दन । अभ्युदयनिःश्रेयसपुरुषार्थप्रयोजनं सर्वैर्जनैर्याच्यत इति वा and dismisses it as unsound : अर्दगती याचने चेतिवचनात् जनैर्याच्यत्वाद्वा जनार्दन इति शंकरः तदप्रामाणिकं व्याख्यानम् ॥

Deśika dismisses Śaṅkara's *anvaya* of भूतानां भवाप्ययौ त्वत्तः त्वत्सकाशाच्छ्रुतौ as puerile : त्वत्तः श्रुताविति अन्वयस्तु मन्दप्रयोजनः (XI, 2).

Śaṅkara's interpretation of यद्विकारि as यो विकारो यस्य तद्विकारि and of यतश्च यत् as यस्माच्च यत्कार्यमुत्पद्यते come in for criticism at the hands of Madhva ; and Jayātīrtha points out the defect in Śaṅkara's interpretation : यो विकारो यस्य तद्विकारीति काश्चित्तदसत् । बाहुव्रीहितायामिनेवै-यर्थ्यात् (XIII, 3).

Deśika repudiates Śaṅkara's rendering of अनन्ययोग as अपृथक्समाधि in no uncertain terms : अनन्ययोगेनापृथक्समाधिनेति शंकरोक्त एतेन प्रत्युक्तम् (XIII, 10).

Keen controversy centres round the proper interpretation of the term अनादिमत् in the verse अनादिमत्परं ब्रह्म न सत्तन्नासदुच्यते (XIII, 12). Several interesting views have been expressed by commentators regarding this curious form.¹ Śaṅkara himself refers to an earlier interpretation of this term in the light of which अनादि and मत्परं will be treated as separate words. Śaṅkara departs from this interpretation because of an inevitable contradiction which he sees on such a view. The same interpretation is also stated and repudiated implicitly by Madhva and explicitly by Jayātīrtha for quite other reasons. Śaṅkara, ultimately, calmly admits it as a phraseological redundancy on the part of the author of the *Gītā* excusable on metrical grounds. It is against this left-handed compliment to the author of the *Gītā* that both Rāmānuja and Madhva protest. Deśika adds : एतेन मत्परमिति पदच्छेदेऽर्थसंभवांस्तुपो बहुव्रीहिणा समानार्थत्वेऽपि प्रयोगः श्लोकपूरणार्थ इति

1. The grammatical accuracy of this form has been questioned by even as recent a writer as Prof. V. K. Rajwade, in his unfortunate paper on the 'Grammar of *Gītā*' contributed to the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 1917. A criticism of which by the present writer, has already appeared in the *Annals* (Vol. XI, pp. 284-299).

शंकरोक्तं प्रत्युक्तम् ॥ Jayatirtha opines : ये त्वेवं प्रयोजनमनभिधाय, मनुष्यः प्रयोगः श्लोकपूरणार्थं इत्युक्तवन्तः तान्निराचष्टे, अन्यथेति ॥ Jayatirtha further shows the invalidity of Śaṅkara's objections to the earlier interpretation in terms of अनादि and मत्परं :— अहं पराशक्तिर्यस्येति व्याख्यानेऽर्थासिम्भवं कश्चिदुच्यते प्राह । “ ब्रह्मणः सर्वविशेषप्रतिषेधेनैवात्र विजिज्ञापायीषितत्वात् शक्तिमत्वप्रतिपादनं विरुद्धमिति ” तदसत् अत्र विशेषवत्वस्य दर्शनादिति भावेनाह सर्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासं..... ॥

Deśika protests against the remarks *ex cathedra* of Śaṅkara that the terms ग्रसिष्णु, प्रभविष्णु etc., used by the author of the *Gītā* are to be taken with a grain of salt, in their phenomenal sense : अत्र भरणग्रसनादिकं रज्ज्वादिषु सर्पादिरिवेति वदन्तः श्रुतिहानाश्रुतकल्पनाभिः निरस्ताः । And Deśika has in view the following concluding remarks of Śaṅkara : प्रलयकाले च ग्रसिष्णु ग्रसनशीलं यथा रज्ज्वादिः सर्पादिर्मिथ्या-कल्पितस्य (XIII, 16).

Under XIII, 20, Deśika sets aside the reading कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वे adopted by Śaṅkara as obscure : कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वेति परोक्तं पाठान्तरमप्रसिद्धेरनादृतम् ॥ Śaṅkara, no doubt adopts कार्यकरणकर्तृत्वे as his main reading but is not entirely unaware of the other reading which also he interprets suitably : कार्यकारणकर्तृत्वेत्यस्मिन्नपि पाठे..... ॥

Deśika again, repudiates Śaṅkara's one-sided explanation of the introduction of the example of the sun in XIII, 33 :— व्याचख्युश्च परे, रविदृष्टान्तोऽत्र रविवत्सर्वक्षेत्रेष्वेकः आत्मा, अलेपकश्चेति ज्ञापनार्थमिति । तच्चायुक्तम् ॥

The point is raised by Deśika and Jayatirtha whether ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठाहं in the concluding verse of chapter XIV admits of the interpretation ब्रह्मशब्दवाच्यत्वात्साविकल्पकं ब्रह्म, तस्य ब्रह्मणो निर्विकल्पकोऽहमवाच्यः प्रतिष्ठा आश्रयः given to it by Śaṅkara. Deśika finds fault with Śaṅkara's introduction of these fanciful theories of the 'determinate' and 'indeterminate' Brahman न च निर्विकल्पकं रूपं विकल्पितस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रातिष्ठेति वाच्यं श्रुत्यादिवैपरीत्यात्तन्मतनिर्मुलनाच्च ॥ Jayatirtha objects strongly to Śaṅkara's first explanation : ब्रह्मणः परमात्मनः हि यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा and remarks : ब्रह्मणोहीत्येतत्परब्रह्मणोहीति व्याचक्षते तदसत्..... ॥

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1. In any case, Śaṅkara's explanation of the "Speaker and Indeterminate Brahman" viz., Kṛṣṇa being the substrate of the Determinate is clearly incongruous since in Śaṅkara's view Kṛṣṇa, the speaker (अहं), could never be a *Nirvikalpaka* !

Deśika promptly exposes the fallacy underlying Śaṅkara's explanation of the creation referred to in XV, 4 in terms of 'jugglery' : अत्र, प्रसृतादिशब्दैः सत्यत्वस्यैव प्रतीतिः परेषामिन्द्रजालादिदृष्टान्तः शब्दस्वारस्येन प्रत्यक्षादिमिश्र बाधितः ॥

He also dismisses Śaṅkara's comment : यथा वयमनृतप्रायाः तथेदं सर्वं जगदसत्यं on XVI, 8 as puerile²; and takes very strong exception³ to the rendering of अप्रतिष्ठं in the same verse as नास्य धर्माधर्मो प्रतिष्ठा । Jayatīrtha, for his part, draws attention to the absence of the negative element⁴ on such a view as अपरस्परसंभूतं कामप्रयुक्तयोः स्त्रीयुरुषयोः अन्योन्यसंयोगाज्जगत्सर्वं संभूतम् ॥

Rāmānuja makes an evident attempt at improving on Śaṅkara's plain interpretation of नामयज्ञ as नाममात्रैर्यज्ञैः and has instead नामप्रयोजनैर्यज्ञेति नाममात्रप्रयोजनैर्यज्ञैः which is no doubt better; for, it brings out the hollow selfishness of motive behind the sacrifices performed by the Tāmasas. Still, Śaṅkara's explanation does not seem to be so puerile as Deśika contends it to be : अत एव, यज्ञसमाख्यामात्रः नतु वस्तुतोऽसौ यज्ञः इति व्याख्यापि मन्दा प्रदर्शिता ॥ For one thing, Deśika does not seem to have benefited by the cleverest and happiest explanation hit off by Abhinavagupta : यज्ञैर्यजन्ते नाम । निष्फलमित्यर्थः ॥ Fortunately or unfortunately, Madhva does not enter the controversy. Neither does Jayatīrtha obtrude.

Madhva, as indicated by Jayatīrtha, equates कर्शन in XVII, 6 with अल्पदृष्टि as against Śaṅkara's मदनुशासनाकरणमेव मत्कर्शनम् ॥

Exception is taken by Madhva and his commentator to Śaṅkara's view of संन्यास (XVIII, 2) as consisting of the abjuration of desired acts such as Aśvamedha : काम्यानां कर्मणामित्येतं श्लोकं केचिद्वाचक्षते, काम्यानां कर्मणामश्वमेधादीनां स्वरूपेण त्यागः संन्यास इति तदप्यसादिति भावेनाह ॥

Madhva discredits Śaṅkara's view that reference is made to the Śāṅkhya philosophers in the hemistich त्याज्यं दोषवदित्येके । The

1. प्रसृता निरसृता ऐन्द्रजालिकादिषु माया ॥

2. यथा वयमनृतप्रायाः तथा सर्वं जगदिति प्राहुः इति व्याख्यापि मन्दा ; जगच्छब्दस्य चेतनमात्र-विषयत्वाभावात् ॥

3. एतेन प्रतिष्ठाशब्दस्य धर्माधर्ममात्रपरत्वेन व्याख्या निरस्ता ॥

4. अपरं परस्मात्संभूतामिति व्याख्यामसत् । प्रतिषिद्धप्रकरणात्

point is that Śāṅkara classes the view expressed in त्याज्यं दोषवत् under *pūrvapakṣa* and hence ascribes it to the Sāṅkhya philosophers, whose attitude towards the question has been significantly set forth by the author of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* : दृष्टवदनानुश्रविकः सद्ग-विशुद्धिक्षयातिशययुक्तः । तद्विपरीतः श्रेयान् ॥ But Madhva sees nothing heterodox in त्याज्यं दोषवत् (XVIII, 3), and takes his stand on the eulogistic epithet applied to the Pūrvapakṣins (मनीषिण इत्युक्तत्वात्पूर्व-पक्षोऽपि ग्राह्य एव). This significant attitude of Madhva towards a class of quasi-Pūrvapakṣins may throw welcome light on the influence exercised by 'Sāṅkhya' ethics on the philosophy of Madhva. The cult of Piṣṭapaśu upheld by the followers of Madhva might have been remotely inspired by 'Sāṅkhya' ethics (though not exactly for the same reasons as were put forward by Sāṅkhya). The question is doubly interesting in view of the obvious influence exercised on the metaphysical side, by the Sāṅkhya Dualism and its plurality of Selves on the Dvaita Vedānta of Madhva.

Jayatīrtha further makes out that Śāṅkara's contention that the doctrine of renunciation of acts refers only to those in the lower plane of action and not to those who have attained wisdom, is refuted by Madhva : एवमिदमप्यपास्तं यत्केनचिदुक्तं अज्ञान कर्मण्यधिकारिणो-ऽधिकृत्येतत्प्रकरणं प्रवृत्तं न परमहंसपरिव्राजकानिति । And Jayatīrtha is obviously referring to the following comment of Śāṅkara : तस्माज्ज्ञान-निष्ठाः संन्यासिनः नेह विवक्षिताः । कर्मण्यधिकृतान्प्रत्येवैष संन्यासत्यागविकल्पः । ये तु परमार्थदर्शिनः सांख्य्यास्तेषां ज्ञाननिष्ठायामेव सर्वकर्मसंन्यासलक्षणायामधिकारो नान्यत्रेति न ते विकल्पाहर्हाः ॥

What does 'कृतान्त,' in apposition to 'सांख्य' in XVIII, 13, mean? Śāṅkara explains it as कृतमिति कर्मोच्यते तस्यान्तः परिसमाप्तिः कर्मान्त इति which implies that the term (= Vedānta) stands (as indeed it does, in Śāṅkara's view) for complete negation of Karma. Rāmānuja, quite naturally, rejects such an interpretation of the simple term कृतान्त and Deśika puts in : यदिह शंकरेणोक्तं, सांख्यं वेदान्तः स एव कृतान्तः कृतस्य कर्मणोऽस्मिन्नन्त इति, तदसत् । वेदान्तेष्वपि कर्मान्बध्यस्य स्थापितत्वात् ॥ Jayatīrtha too, controverts Śāṅkara in a similar strain.

Deśika again, refutes Śāṅkara's exposition of the term केवलं कर्तारं in verse 16, in conformity with the doctrine of the non-activity of the soul :—

तत्र यत्परेरुक्तं 'आत्मनोऽविक्रियस्वभावत्वेनाधिष्ठानादिभिः संहतत्वाद्युपपत्तेः, विक्रिया-
वतो ह्यन्येः सहनन, सहत्य वा कर्तृत्वं स्यात् । नत्वाविक्रियात्मनः केनचित्संहननमस्तीति
न संक्षुपकारित्वमुपपद्यत इति तदसत् ॥ The remarks attributed to Śaṅkara
appear in the latter's commentary on verse 17.

Jayātīrtha accords passing notice to Śaṅkara's rendering of
कर्म in verse 18 : कतुरीप्सिततमं कमात् काश्चित् तदसत् ॥

Deśika dismisses Śaṅkara's identification of गुणसंख्यान in verse
19 with the Śāṅkhya system of Kapila¹ as invalid and irrelevant.
गुणसंख्यानशब्देन सांख्यराद्धान्तविषयायां प्रमाणभावात्प्रकृते चानुपयोगाद्गुणस्वरूप-
गणने च ज्ञानादेरनुप्रवेशाभावात् ॥ Śaṅkara, however, introduces a special
pleading on behalf of Śāṅkhya :—

गुणसंख्याने कापिले शास्त्रे—कापिलमाप गुणसंख्यानशास्त्रं गुणभोक्तृविषये प्रमाणमेव ।
परमार्थब्रह्मेकत्वविषये यथापि विरुध्यते, तथापि, ते हि कापिलाः गुणगोणव्यापारनिरूपणे
अभियुक्ता इति बल्यमाणार्थं स्तुत्यर्थत्वेन उपादीयत इति न विरोधः ॥

Deśika under verse 20, summarily rejects Śaṅkara's equation
of सात्त्विकज्ञान with monistic knowledge : तज्ज्ञानमद्वैतात्मविषयं सात्त्विकं
विद्धि । and turns down the inclusion², suggested by him, of an
additional इव after यन्त्रारूढानि in verse 61.

Deśika makes the last reference by name to Śaṅkara under
verse 66, where he disagrees with the latter's introductory com-
ment on the verse : यदिह शंकरेणोक्तं । मन्मना भवेति श्लोकेन, सर्वकर्मयोग-
निष्ठायाः परमं रहस्यमीश्वरशरणतामुपसंहृत्याधेदानीं, कर्मयोगनिष्ठाफलं सम्यग्दर्शनं सर्व-
वेदान्तसारं विहितं वक्तव्यमित्याह, सर्वधर्मानिति, अयमपि * * * * * ॥
and takes the additional opportunity towards the close of his
commentary on the *Gītārtha Saṅgraha* of Yāmunācārya, of
alluding to the deceitful character of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on
the *Gītā et hoc genus omne* : अथात्र सोगतार्हतादिसगन्धानां शंकरादि-
ग्रन्थानां भगवद्भिप्रायविरुद्धताख्यापनायोक्तसंग्रहप्रकारेण निगमयति³ ॥

1. गुणसंख्याने कापिले शास्त्रे । (Śaṅkara).

2. यन्त्रारूढानीति इवशब्दोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः ।

3. *Gītārtha Saṅgraha Rakṣā*, of Vedānta Deśika, p. 973, Ananda Press. 1910.

IV

The voluminous textual evidence brought together in the foregoing pages would clearly establish that Śaṅkara wrote a commentary on the *Gītā*. Nay, more. The identification of that commentary with the one that is now extant and goes by his name is also easily accomplished in view of the fact that the extant work attributed to him presents all the main features of that original Bhāṣya disclosed by the successors, critics and contemporaries of the Ācārya in their diverse writings. The testimony of writers like Bhāskara and Abhinavagupta is particularly noteworthy. Above all, the fact that their reported references to 'Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya' are happily traceable today, in the latter's work removes all grounds of reasonable scepticism in the way of identifying the present work attributed to Śaṅkara with the one familiar to these early writers.

We may close with a short discussion of another allied topic which is bound to strengthen our case. It is this. Is there any evidence to show that 'Śaṅkara's' *Gītā Bhāṣya* as it stands today, is wholly the work of a single individual? For, without seriously disputing the existence, once upon a time, of a Bhāṣya by Śaṅkara on the *Gītā*, scepticism may still entrench itself behind its fashionable argument of the possibility and probability always of any given work having been produced or added to, at different times, by different personages. So that "the provenness" of a *Gītā Bhāṣya* by Śaṅkara would not, at once, suffice to establish that the entire work, as it stands today, was that of one single man — Śaṅkara. The sceptic and the critic have always a right to ask for such internal evidence as may establish the unity of authorship of any given work.

To digress a little by way of illustration, the mere fact of there having flourished a Bharata, or a Kālidāsa or a Bāṇa or a Bhavabhūti does not necessarily establish his authorship, *in full*, of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or the *Kumārasambhava* or the *Kādambarī* or the *Mahāvīracarita*. Notorious, indeed, is the example of Vyāsa and his authorship of the entire epic. Nor is break of authorship an unknown phenomenon in philosophical literature. One has simply to cite the well-known fact of the dual — authorship of

the *Anu-Bhāṣya* of Vallabhācārya¹. It could thus be readily shown or argued that the historicity of a person and his being known to have written a certain work are not, in themselves, enough to guarantee unity of authorship. A doubt could thus be perfectly legitimately raised against the unity of authorship of Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Gītā*. Traditional and orthodox acquisition in such a unity of authorship is no argument at all in such a case; for, tradition having, once at least, erred egregiously in the case of 'Vyāsa²', stands self-condemned.

No more apology is, therefore, needed to examine the internal evidence, if any, in support of the unity of authorship of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara. It is gratifying to note that the author of the *Gītā Bhāṣya* (whoever he might have been) refers to himself and to his own explanations of particular passages of the *Gītā* in at least three distinct places in the course of his commentary on the same. What is significant is that these references occur in different and widely--separate portions of the commentary. The first occurs under III, 5 ; the second under XIII, 2 ; and the last under XVIII, 3 --- a truly interesting distribution indeed. These three references, in their turn, presuppose three others and thus, we have six sections under reference. Unity of authorship in such a case is a ' necessary ' assumption. Else, it would be difficult to account for the unerring confidence with which the author in a particular section refers to views expressed by him on earlier or later occasions.

An examination of these references establishes the unity of authorship of the commentary on chapters II, III, XIII and XVII.

(a) Commenting on III, 5, Śaṅkara writes : सांख्यानं पृथक्करण-
दज्ञानामेव हि कर्मयोगो न ज्ञानिनां । ज्ञानिनां तु, गुणैरचात्यमानानां स्वतश्चलनाभावात्कर्म-
योगो नोपपद्यते । तथाच व्याख्यात वेदाविनाशिनं (II, 21) इत्यत्र ॥ The
views herein expressed are clearly anticipated under वेदाविनाशिनम् '

1. Which has been fully proved by Mr. G. H. Bhatt, in his excellent paper to the IV Oriental Conference, (Allahabad).

2. Cf. कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुं ।

को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षान्महाभारतकृद्भवेत् ॥

thuswise :— ।बदुषः कर्मसंभववचनात् यानि कर्माणि शास्त्रेण विधीयन्ते तान्य-
विदुषो विदितानीति भगवतो निश्चयोऽवगम्यते ॥

(b) His remarks under XIII, 2, viz., हन्त तर्हि, आत्मनि क्रियाकाक-
कलात्मतायाः स्वतोऽभावे अविद्यया चाध्यारोपितत्वे, कर्मण्यविद्वत्कर्तव्यान्येव, न विदुषा-
मिति प्राप्तं । सत्यमेवं प्राप्तं । एतदेव, 'नाहि दहभृताशङ्क्य' (XVIII, 11) मित्यत्र-
दर्शयिष्यामः ॥ are faithfully echoed later on, under XVIII, 11 : तस्मा-
त्परमार्थदर्शित्वेनैव अदेहभृता, देहात्मभावरहितेन, अशेषकर्मसंन्यासः शक्यते कतुम् ॥

(c) Lastly, note the remarks under XVIII, 3 : तस्माकर्मण्यधि-
कृतान्प्रत्येवैषसंन्यासत्यागविकल्पः ये तु परमार्थदर्शिनः सांख्यास्तेषां ज्ञाननिष्ठायामेव सर्व-
कर्मसंन्यासलक्षणायामधिकारो नान्यत्रेति न ते । वक्तव्याहस्तच्छांपपादितमस्माभिर्वेदा-
विनाशिन' (II, 11) मित्यास्मिन्प्रदेशे, तृतीयादौ च ॥ The extract pre-
supposed here, has already been given under (a) *supra*. Besides
this, the authorship of commentary on the *third* chapter is also
tacitly assumed in C.

A MS. OF VARĀṅGA-CARITA

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

1. Previous discussions about the references to Varāṅga-carita.—2. The errors in those discussions.—3. Description of the newly discovered Ms. of Varāṅga-carita.—4. The story summarised and some critical remarks on the style etc.—5. Authorship of this Varāṅga-carita.—6. The age of this work.—7. Popularity of this work and its influence on later writers.—8. Varāṅga-carita as one of the earliest Jaina epic-kāvya in Sanskrit.—9. Another Varāṅga-carita by Vardhamāna, his date etc.—10. Kanarese Varāṅga-carita by Dharaṇipañḍita.—11. Concluding remarks.—12. Text of the first chapter.

1. It was some twenty years before Pt. Premi of Bombay announced¹ that Raviṣeṇa had composed a Varāṅga-carita besides his Padma-carita² (677 A. C.). His conjecture was based on the following two verses from the Harivaṁśa-purāṇa³ (783 A. C.) of Jinasena.

कृतपद्मोदयोद्योता प्रत्यहं परिवर्तिता ।
मूर्तिः काव्यमया लोके रवेरिव रवेः प्रिया ॥
वराङ्गनेव सर्वाङ्गैर्वराङ्गचरितार्थवाक् ।
कस्य नोत्पादयेद्वाढमनुरागं स्वगोचरम् ॥

I. 34-35

Further, in support of his view he adduced an evidence, from Kuvalaya-mālā⁴, (778 A. C.) of Udyotanasūri, based on a verse which runs thus :—

जेहिं कए रमणिज्जे वरंग-पउमाण चरियवित्थारे ।
कह व ण सलाहणिज्जे ते कइणो जडिय-रविसेणो ॥

This view of Pt. Premiji was accepted by all, and even a prize was set upon the discovery of Varāṅga-carita of Raviṣeṇa.

1. Vidvadratanmālā, p. 43. (Bombay, 1912).

2. Published in Manikohand Granthamālā (M. G. M.) Vols. 29-30.

3. Published in M. G. M. Vols. 31-32.

4. See Jessalmere Catalogue G. O. S. Vol. XXI; p. 43.

2. Pt. Premi's conjecture and the consequent attribution of authorship of a Varāṅga-carita to Raviṣeṇa are due to his misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the above verses.

First, considering the reference from Harivamśa he is not justified to read both the verses together, since they are not syntactically connected. We can take the verse *varāṅganaiva* etc. independently and translate thus, "In whom will not the style of Varāṅga-carita, which is pregnant with sense arouse, with all its factors, deep passion for itself, just in the wise of a lovely damsel who arouses, with all her limbs, deep passion for herself - a damsel whose speech has its purpose done through her excellent limbs?" It is a self-sufficient verse describing only the merits of Varāṅga-carita without mentioning the name of its author. Secondly, the verse from Kuvalaya-mālā has not been correctly interpreted by Pt. Premiji. He is not sure about the reading and naturally about the meaning of the word *Jaḍiya* in the last part of the second line. Once he read it as *Jaḍiya* and now in his introduction to Padmacarita he reads *Jaiya*. Mr. Dalal quotes an extract from Kuvalaya-mālā in his notes on Kāvya-mīmāṃsā¹ of Rājasekhara and his reading too is *Jaḍiya*. When one scrutinizingly notes the forms *ijyehiṃ*, *te* and *kaiṇo*, all in plural, he cannot but suspect that the author of Kuvalaya-mālā is mentioning two poets who are the authors of Varāṅgacarita and Padmacarita respectively. Neither the reading *Jaḍiya* nor its improved form *Jaiya* is correct. The correct reading must have been *Jaḍila*, which as we learn from other sources, is the name of the author of Varāṅga-carita. For instance, Dhavala, in his Harivamśa² (circa 11th century A. C.) written in Apabhramśa dialect, refers to Varāṅga-carita thus:—

मुणिमहसेणु सुलोयणु जेण
पउमचरिउ मुणिरविसेणेण ।
जिणसेणेण हरिवंसु पविचु
जडिलमुणिणा वरंगचरिचु ॥

It is plain from the above discussion that Pt. Premi's view that Raviṣeṇa is the author of a Varāṅga-carita will have to be given

1. See G. O. S. Vol. I. p. 124.

2. See Catalogue of Skr. and Pkr. Mss. in the C. P. and Berar, page, 764.

up for the simple reason that, of the two evidences put forth by him one is insufficient since it does not mention the name of the author at all, and the second goes completely against him.

3. I have come across a palm-leaf Ms. (13" × 2" × 2") of *Varāṅga-carita* in the Lakṣmīśena Maṭha, Kolhapur. It contains 148 leaves (= 296 pages); each page has eight lines and each line about 55 letters. It is written in old Kanarese script and the handwriting is fairly beautiful. The age of the Ms. is given thus at the end :--

“स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्ष १६५८ नळनामसंव-
त्सरे कार्तिकमासे कृष्णपक्षे चतुर्दशीतिथौ मन्दवारयुक्तायां श्रीरङ्गपत्तन-
प्रविराजमानश्रीमदादिनाथश्रीवीरनाथपादाम्भोरुहयुगमसन्निधौ श्रीमद-
भिनवचारुकीर्तिपण्डिताचार्यवर्यानुज्ञया पो(सो?)मण्णोपाध्यायस्य प्रिय-
पुत्राय अण्णयोपाध्याय पायिसेट्टिपुत्रेण पार्श्वह्वयेण मया लिखित्वा
वृत्तमिदं वराङ्गचरितमिति मङ्गलमहा श्री ६ ”

So the Ms. is about 195 years old. It is in good order, only one page in the middle is broken across. The Ms. has some lacunae here and there. The copyist is careful but his copy appears to have inherited some mistakes from the original. As usual in old Kanarese Mss. short and long vowels are not distinguished. Here *dh* and *th* are generally represented by *d* and *t*. Very often the copyist interchanges *p* and *y* which perhaps indicates that he is copying from a Devanāgarī Ms. The Ms. is complete in 31 chapters and the author gives significant names to all of them. Various kinds of usual metres are used throughout the book. The favourite metre of the author being Upajāti - a combination of stanzas of lines of *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā*. The first chapter is in *Vasantatilakā* Metre excepting the concluding two verses which are in *Puspitāgrā* Metre.

4. *Varāṅga-carita* deals with the story of *Varāṅga* of the *Harivamśa*, a contemporary of *Neminātha* and *Kṛṣṇa*. King *Dharmasena*, his father, appointed him as heir apparent to the throne which incident gave rise to jealousy in the minds of his step-mother and her son *Suśeṇa* who in their plottings, were promised assistance by the minister *Subuddhi* in procuring the throne for him by somehow getting rid of *Varāṅga*. *Subuddhi*

appeared like a faithful minister but he was always waiting for an opportunity to overthrow Varāṅga. Once he trained two horses, one in a proper and the other in an inverse manner and arranged an exhibition of horses in such a manner that Varāṅga mounted the inversely trained horse, was carried away in a dense forest and thrown off by that rash horse. The prince wandered long in the forest facing and passing through various fatal difficulties and moral tests. Once by fighting against Bhills he obliged Sāgarabuddhi, the leader of a caravan of merchants, and with him he came to Lalitapura where he remained unknown under the name of Kaścidbhatah. This unexpected loss of Varāṅga caused great sorrow to Dharmasena and all others. There he was installed as the head of merchants and once again he made himself famous by crushing an enemy that marched against the king of Lalitapura. His identity was soon disclosed. He returned home to the great joy of his parents and all other members of the family. He abandoned his father's kingdom in favour of his elder brother Suśeṇa and requested his father to allow him to conquer fresh territories and establish a new kingdom in the construction of which, he would have ample scope for his military bravery. He founded a new kingdom with the well-planned town of Ānartapura as its metropolis. Since the days of his Yuvarāja-ship till he returned to his parents he had married many excellent girls in whose company he spent his time in his new kingdom. After some time, he began to feel indifference towards this world and its pleasures. The sight of a lamp which was extinguished at the exhaustion of oil made him leave the house and enter the order of monks after placing his son on the throne. He took *dikṣā* at the hands of Varadatta Gaṇadhara from whom in his days of youth he had adopted the partial vows of a householder, practised severe austerities and finally attained eternal bliss in liberation.

Jealousy of the step-mother, wanderings in forest and the ultimate restoration of kingdom — these are some points in this story which remind the reader of Rāma's story. Jaina stories have always a moral and they generally illustrate some religious doctrine. More than once the author reiterates that Karmas are all powerful and no one can exempt himself from their consequences. It is faith that helps one in times of difficulties and

the words of Jina are an ambrosial doze which cures one from the disease of Saṃsāra and they lead him to liberation. Varāṅga marries a dozen of girls, and remains always faithful to married life. Once he bravely stands the temptation of a Yakṣakanyā who came to seduce him with a view to test his vow of celibacy. Thus poly-gamy is allowed, but strict faithfulness to married life is demanded from every householder.

The threads of the story are not in any way intricate. Major portion of this work is covered by long and technical sermons by the sage Varadatta and others on Jaina doctrinal points. The author's style is generally vigorous in narrations, chaste in descriptions, but it becomes tedious to a general reader when the author goes on giving religious sermons full of technical terms peculiar to Jainism. The work stands midway between a *Purāṇa* and a *Kāvya*. The author wants to conform to the standards and import here and there the conventions of a *Kāvya*, but in majority of cases his descriptions and the general atmosphere can be compared with those in Mahābhārata, Paumacariya and other works of the epic type.

5. I have not been able to find any clue as to the authorship of this *Varāṅga-carita* in the work itself. The Colophons do not mention the name of the author nor there is any *praśasti* at the end. However, I have discovered one external evidence which sheds light on the authorship of this *Varāṅga-carita*. Cāmuṇḍarāya, the Commander-in-chief and minister of Rācamalla (974-84 A. C.) has composed in Kanarese prose a *Triṣaṣṭhi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita* popularly known as *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* (978 A. C.). In that work a verse is quoted thus :—

जटार्सिह्ननद्याचार्यर वृत्त¹—

मृत्सारिणीमहिषहंसशुकस्वभावा

-
1. This phrase is found in two Mss. of the five used for the edition of *Ādipurāṇa* of Cāmuṇḍarāya (published by Karnataka Sāhitya Parishad, 1928) and in a democratic spirit the editors have relegated this phrase to the footnote (see page, 8. of that edition.). A palm leaf Ms. of Cāmuṇḍarāya purāṇa written in Śaka 1427 (1505. A. C.) has this introductory remark along with the quotation (p. 2a) and I do not see any reason to doubt the genuineness of that phrase. This Ms. belongs to Mr. Tatyasaheb Patil of Nandani and is with me at present.

माज्जरकङ्कमशकाजजलूकसाम्याः ।

सच्छिद्रकुम्भपशुसर्पशिलोपमाना-

स्ते श्रावका भुवि चतुर्दशधा भवन्ति ॥

अंतु प्रशस्ताप्रशस्तात्मकमप्य चतुर्दशविकल्पमुं ।

From the context it is plain that the quotation is genuine and the verse quoted is the 15th of the first chapter of our *Varāṅga-carita*.¹ So the author of this *Varāṅga-carita* is *Jaṭa-Simhanandyācārya* according to *Cāmuṇḍarāya*'s authority. Further, I think this *Jaṭa-Simhanandyācārya* is the same as *Jaṭācārya* referred to in *Ādipurāṇa* (c. 838 A. C.) by *Jinasena* thus:---

काव्यानुचिन्तने यस्य जटाः प्रचलवृत्तयः ।

अर्थान्स्मानुवदन्तीव जटाचार्यः स मोक्षतात् ॥ I. 50

In a marginal note of a Ms. of *Ādipurāṇa*, *Simhanandi* is given as the proper name of *Jaṭācārya*.² One is tempted to surmise, from the above evidences, that the name of the author is *Simhnandi*, and he was popularly known as *Jaṭācārya* perhaps from his long matted hair, 'which shivered when he was deeply engrossed in his poetic compositions'. *Cāmuṇḍarāya* calls him *Jaṭa-Simhanandi*, perhaps to distinguish him from some other *Simhanandi* that flourished before. *Jaṭila* means one who has matted hair and hence we can identify *Jaṭācārya* with *Jaṭila* -- the latter being the author of *Varāṅga-carita* according to *Kuvalayamālā* and *Apabhraṃśa Harivaṃśa*. So we can say that this *Varāṅga-carita* is composed by *Simhanandi* who was popularly known as *Jaṭācārya* or *Jaṭila*,³ and it is to this *Varāṅga-carita* that *Jinasena* the author of the *Harivaṃśa* refers.

1. See the text of the first chapter at the end.

2. See Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, p. 272.

3. Pandit Jinadas of Sholapur has raised a question whether the author *Jaṭila* is *Digambara* or *Śvetāmbara*. We find in this work that *Varadatta Gaṇadhara* is preaching his sermons seated on a slab of stone (III. 6) which is against *Digambara* tradition according to which a *Kevalin* has a *Samavasaraṇa* or at least a *Gandha-kuṭi*. Further heavens are enumerated as twelve (IX. 7-10) and not sixteen according to *Digambaras*.

6. Now we should see when Jaṭila flourished. Dhavala, who refers to *Varāṅga-carita* as composed by Jaṭila, belongs to circa 11th century A. C.; *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* which quotes a verse from *Varāṅgacarita* is composed in 978 A. C.; Jinasena who mentions Jaṭācārya began his *Ādipurāṇa* about 838 A. C.; Jinasena who talks highly of *Varāṅga-carita* finished his *Harivaṁśa* in 783 A. C.; Udyotanasūri who mentions *Varāṅgacarita* and its author finished his *Kuvalayamālā* in 778 A. C. Thus in the beginning of the last quarter of 8th century *Varāṅga-carita* was a famous work, both in the South and the North, both among Śvetāmbara and Digambara writers. To account for this wide circulation and fame, Jaṭila might be said to have flourished in the seventh century *at the latest*. At present I am not in a position to put an earlier limit to his date but this much I wish to note that there are some passages in *Varāṅga-carita* which reminded me of similar passages in the works of Samantabhadra (about second century A. C.) and Pūjyapāda (about 500 A. C.). So far as I know, I have not been able to trace the name of Jaṭila or Jaṭācārya in any epigraphical records. There flourished one Simhanandi in the second century A. C. who helped the two forlorn princes to found the Gaṅga dynasty. It is perhaps to distinguish from this famous Simhanandi that *Cāmuṇḍarāya* calls our author Jaṭā-Simhanandi.

7. Though its Mss. are rare today, *Varāṅga-carita* appears to have been once a very popular work. It has received proper appreciation at the hands of Jinasena the author of the *Harivaṁśa*, as we have seen above. It is not a small thing that Jaṭācārya's poetic flash has been complimented by Jinasena the author of *Pārsvābhyudaya*-himself a genius. Not only that but Jinasena appears to have used *Varāṅga-carita* and reproduced some topics in his own words when writing his *Ādipurāṇa*. Jinasena, as he was writing his first chapter in *Śloka* Metre, has recast the form only and even some words are common. For instance, compare *Ādi-*

purāṇa¹ I. 122-24 with Varāṅga-carita I. 6-7 ; Ādi. I. 127-30 with Varāṅga. I. 10-11; Ādi. I. 139 with Varāṅga. I. 15 and Ādi. I. 143-44 with Varāṅga. I. 16 and 14. Cāmuṇḍarāya's exposition of this topic closely agrees with that in Varāṅga-carita and Ādi-purāṇa, and as we have seen above he actually quotes a verse from the former.

8. So far as our knowledge of Jaina literature goes, Varāṅga-carita is one of the earliest Jaina epics in Sanskrit written in a semi-epic and semi-kāvya style. Whether Jaṭila was earlier than or contemporary of Raviṣeṇa, the author of Padma-carita (677 A. C.) cannot be said at this stage. The only Jaina epic that claims priority over Padmacarita of Raviṣeṇa and Varāṅga-carita of Jaṭila is the Prakrit Pauma-cariya of Vimala who according to the concluding verse of that work wrote it in 4 A. C.

9. The story of Varāṅga too has proved fascinating in later days. Vardhamāna composed in Sanskrit verse another Varāṅga-carita in thirteen chapters. It is edited with Marathi translation by Pt. Jinadasa of Sholapur. This book is a summary of Jaṭila's work with which it has close phraseological agreements in places more than one; the author only curtails the details of religious sermons and various descriptions, the skeleton of the story remaining the same all the while. Vardhamāna perhaps implies that he has summarised Jaṭila's work when he says:—

गणेश्वरैर्या कथिता कथा वरा
वराङ्गराजस्य सविस्तरं पुरा ।
मयापि संक्षिप्य च सैव वर्ण्यते
सुकाव्यबन्धेन सुबुद्धिर्वर्धिनी ॥ I. 11.

Pt. Jinadas writes in the introduction to that edition that Vardhamāna's Varāṅga-carita is the same as the one referred to in Harivamśa. But this view cannot be accepted since, it is proved beyond doubt that Jaṭila is the author of Varāṅga-carita referred to by Jinaseṇa.

1. I have not quoted those passages from Ādi-purāṇa since the work is easily accessible. It is published with Hindi translation from Calcutta; with Marathi translation from Kolhapur; and in part with Kanarese translation once from Bangalore and once from Mysore. To facilitate this comparison I have given at the end the text of the first chapter of Varāṅga-carita,

There is no definite evidence as to the date of Vardhamāna who gives meagre information about himself. He was a Bhaṭṭāraka belonging to Mūlasaṅgha, Balātkāragana and Bharatī gaccha and he had a title *paravādi-pañcānana*. I know of two Vardhamānas. The first was the guru¹ of Dharmabhūṣaṇa, the author of Nyāyadīpikā. If this Vardhamāna is the same as the guru of Dharmabhūṣaṇa then this *Varāṅga-carita* is composed in the middle of the 14th century at the earliest, since the date of Dharmabhūṣaṇa is given as circa 1600 A. C. by Dr. Vidyabhūṣaṇa² and 1385 A. C. by Dr. Pathak.³ The second Vardhamāna is the author of Humch inscription⁴ and his date is about 1530 A. C. according to Rice. It is important to note that this second Vardhamāna belonged to Balātkāragana. Thus this *Varāṅga-carita* cannot be taken earlier than 13th century A. C.

10. Then there is a *Varāṅga-carita*⁵ in Kanarese by Dharanipandita who flourished about 1650 A. C. He was a native of Viṣṇuvardhanapura. It is written in a popular Kanarese metre known as Bhamini-ṣaṭpadī. He says that his work is based on previous compositions. From the fact he mentions one Vardhamāna-yati along with other previous authors, it appears that Vardhamāna's *Varāṅga-carita* was his authority. The Ms. noticed by R. B. R. Narasimhacharya is incomplete containing only eight chapters.

11. In the end I have given below the faithful text of the first chapter of this *Varāṅga-carita* with a view that the Mss. of it are very scarce and a complete edition with this single Ms. is not possible in the near future and that the readers would be able to have an idea about its style etc. and to compare the same with other Sanskrit works. I am very thankful to my friend Prof. S. S. Sukthankar for his ready help in preparing this essay especially in checking errors in the following text.

1. Aitaka Pannalala Saraswati-bhavana Report III. p. 81.

2. Indian Logic: Mediaeval School. p. 54.

3. Annals of B. O. R. I. XII. iv. p. 376.

4. EC, VIII, Nagara. No. 46.

5. See Karanāṭaka Kavi-carita, Vol. II. p. 417 etc.

अर्हस्त्रिलोकमहितो हितकृत्प्रजानां
धर्मोऽर्हतो भगवत्स्त्रिजगच्छरण्यः ।
ज्ञानं च यस्य सचराचरभावदर्शि
रत्नत्रयं तदहमप्रतिमं नमामि ॥ १ ॥

येनेह मोहतकमूलमभेद्यमन्यै-
रुत्पाटितं निरवशेषमनादिवद्धम् ।
यस्यर्द्धयस्त्रिभुवनातिशयास्त्रिधोक्ताः
सोऽर्हज्यत्यमितमोक्षसुखोपदेशी ॥ २ ॥

प्राप्येत येन नृसुरासुरभोगभारो
नानातपोगुणसमुन्नतलब्धयश्च ।
पश्चादतीन्द्रियसुखं शिवमप्रमेयं
धर्मो जयत्यवितथः स जिनप्रणातः ॥ ३ ॥

ज्ञानेन येन जिनवक्त्रविनिर्गतेन
त्रैलोक्यभूतगुणपर्ययसत्पदार्थाः ।
ज्ञाताः पुनर्युगपदेव हि सप्रपञ्चं
जैनं जयत्यनुपमं तदनन्तरं तत् ॥ ४ ॥

अर्हन्मुखागतमिवं गणदेवदृष्टं
सद्धर्ममार्गचरितं परया विशुद्ध्या ।
संशृण्वतः कथयतः स्मरतश्च नित्य-
मेकान्ततो भवति पुण्यसमग्रलम्भः ॥ ५ ॥

द्रव्यं फलं प्रकृतमेव हि सप्रभेदं
क्षेत्रं च तीर्थमथ कालविभागभावौ ।
अङ्गानि सप्त कथयन्ति कथाप्रबन्धे
तैः संयुता भवति युक्तिमती कथा सा ॥ ६ ॥

द्रव्याणि षड्भगवताभिहितानि तानि
क्षेत्रं तथा त्रिभुवनं त्रिविधश्च कालः ।
तीर्थं जिनेन्द्रचरितं प्रकृतं हि वस्तु
ज्ञानक्षयोपशमजा फलभावकल्पा ॥ ७ ॥

धातुः स काश्चनमयः क्रियया विहीनः
कालान्त इदपि न याति सुवर्णभावम् ।
एव जगत्प्रमितभव्यजनश्चिरेण

मालं भवादव्रजितुमत्र विनोपदेशात् ॥ ८ ॥

क्षीयं विना नयनवानपि संदिद्धशु-
 र्व्रव्यं यथा घटपटादि न पश्यतीह ।
 जिज्ञासुरुत्तममतिर्गुणवांस्तथैव
 वक्त्रा विना हितपथं निखिलं न वेत्ति ॥ ९ ॥

सर्वज्ञभाषितमहानदधौतबुद्धिः
 स्पष्टेन्द्रियः स्थिरमतिर्मितवाङ्मनोज्ञः ।
 मृष्टाक्षरो जितसभः प्रगृहीतवाक्यो
 वक्तुं कथां प्रभवति प्रतिभादियुक्तः ॥ १० ॥

सत्कारमैत्र्यवनभैषजसंश्रयादी-
 म्वक्ताऽनपेक्ष्य जगदत्युपकारहेतुम् ।
 निःकेवलं हितपदं प्रवदन्वदान्यः
 श्रोतात्मनोरुपचिनोति फलं विशालम् ॥ ११ ॥

जन्मार्णवं कथमयं तरतीति योऽत्र
 संभावयत्यतुलधर्मनसा दयालुः ।
 संसारघोरभयदुःखमनादिवद्धं
 तस्य क्षयं व्रजति साध्विति वर्णयन्ति ॥ १२ ॥

श्रेयोऽर्थिना हि जिनशासनवत्सलेन
 कर्तव्य एव नियमेन हितोपदेशः ।
 मोक्षार्थिना श्रवणधारणसत्क्रियार्था
 योज्यास्तु ते मतिमता सततं यथावत् ॥ १३ ॥

शुश्रूषताश्रवणसंग्रहधारणानि
 विज्ञानमूहनमपोहनमर्थतत्त्वम् ।
 धर्मश्रवार्थिषु सुखाभिमुखेन नित्य-
 मष्टौ गुणान्बलु विशिष्टतमा वदन्ति ॥ १४ ॥

मृत्सारिणी महिषहंसशुकस्वभावा
 मार्जारकङ्कमशकाजजलूकसाम्याः ।
 सच्छिद्रकुम्भपशुसर्पशिलोपमाना-
 स्ते आवका भुवि चतुर्दशधा भवन्ति ॥ १५ ॥

श्रोता न चैहिकफलं प्रतिलिप्समानो
 निःश्रेयसाय मतिमांश्च मर्तिं विधाय ।
 यः संभृणोति जिवधर्मकथामुदारां
 पौषं प्रणाशमुपयाति नरस्य तस्य ॥ १६ ॥

प्राज्ञस्य हेतुनयसूक्ष्मतरान्पदार्थान्
 मूर्खस्य बुद्धिविनयं च तपः फलानि ।
 दुःखार्दितस्य जनबन्धुवियोगहेतुं
 निर्वेदकारणमशौचमशाश्वतस्य ॥ १७ ॥ (?)

लुब्धस्य शीलमदनस्य फलं मृतानां (?)
 दानं क्षमां च धनिनो विषयोन्मुखस्य ।
 सदृशं व्यसनिनो जिनपूजनं च
 श्रोतुर्वशेन कथयेत्कथको विधिज्ञः ॥ १८ ॥

संसारसागरतरङ्गनिमग्नजीवान्
 सज्ज्ञाननावमधिरोप्य सुखेन नीत्वा ।
 सद्धर्मपत्तनमनन्तसुखाकरं यत्
 तत्प्रापयन्ति गुरवो विदितार्थतत्त्वाः ॥ १९ ॥

जन्माटवीषु कुटिलासु विनष्टमार्गान्
 अत्यन्तनिर्वृतिपथं प्रतिबोधयन्ति ।
 तेभ्योऽधिकः प्रियतमो वसुधातलेऽस्मिन्
 कोऽन्योऽस्ति बन्धुरपरः परिगण्यमानः ॥ २० ॥

राज्यार्धराज्यपृथुचक्रधरोरुभोगान्
 भौमेन्द्रकल्पपतिनामहमिन्द्रसौख्यम् ।
 क्लेशक्षयोद्भवमनन्तसुखं च मोक्षं
 संप्राप्नुवन्ति मनुजा गुरुसंश्रयेण ॥ २१ ॥

तेभ्यो नमः प्रयतकायमनोवचोभिः
 कृत्वा जगत्त्रयविभूतिशिवंकरेभ्यः ।
 धर्मार्थकामसाहितां जगति प्रवृत्तां
 वक्ष्ये कथां शृणुत मोक्षफलावसानाम् ॥ २२ ॥

आसीद्धि यो निजगुणैर्ह्रियमावधानः
 पुंसां समुन्नतधियां स निवासभूमिः ।
 भोगाश्रयः कुरुभुवः प्रतिबिम्बभूतो
 नाम्ना विनीतिविषयः ककुदं पृथिव्याम् ॥ २३ ॥

लोकस्य सारमखिलं निपुणो विचिन्त्य
 सत्संनिवासभुवनैकमनोरथेन ।
 यन्निर्ममे-स्वयमुदाहतरत्नसारं
 धर्मार्थकामनियमाच्च निर्धि विधाता ॥ २४ ॥

यस्मिन्दिशश्च रहितालिविपिञ्जराभा
यश्चान्त इक्षुवनपीलितदुःप्रचाराः (?) ।
रक्तोत्पलामलदलैरुपहारितास्ते
कालागुरुप्रततधूपवहाश्च गेहाः ॥ २५ ॥

यस्मिन्वनानि फलपुष्पनताग्रशाखा-
विभ्राजितानिलविकम्पिमहीरुहाणि ।
स्वाद्वम्बुकीमलतृणानि दिवानिशीथे
घोषाः प्रतिध्वनितमन्द्रगुणागुणाढ्याः ॥ २६ ॥

सन्तो नरा युवतयश्च विदग्धवेषा
रागोत्तरास्तु सकलास्तु कलास्वबाह्याः ।
अन्योन्यरञ्जनपराः सततोत्सवाश्च
सौख्येन किंनरगणानतिशाययन्ति ॥ २७ ॥

देशान्विहाय हि पुराध्युषितान्कलाज्ञाः
शिल्पप्रदत्तमतयश्च नटा विटाश्च ।
रङ्गोपजीवनपराः पुरुषाः स्त्रियश्च
यस्मिन्पुनर्बहुविशेषगुणा वसन्ति ॥ २८ ॥

रत्नोपलामपरिचुम्बितमेघमालो
नानादरीमुखविनिःसृतनिर्झरौघः ।
सौम्याचलः फणिमणिक्षपितान्धकार-
स्तस्मिन्बभूव हिमवानिव तुङ्गकूटः ॥ २९ ॥

यस्मिन्पदा गरुडकिंनरपद्मगानां
गन्धर्वसिद्धतुषितामरचारणानाम् ।
आक्रीडनानि विविधानि मनोहराणि
सोद्यानकाननगुहागद्गनेष्वभूवन् ॥ ३० ॥

तस्मान्मतङ्गजविषाणविपाटितोरु-
पाषाणगङ्गरविजृम्भितपद्मगेन्द्रा ।
कादम्बसारसगणैरुपसेव्यमाना
रम्या नदी प्रभवति प्रथिता धरायाम् ॥ ३१ ॥

वाताहतद्रुमपतत्कुसुमोपहार
मत्तभ्रमङ्गमरगीतरवाभिधाने ।
तस्यास्तु दक्षिणतटीसमभूमिभागे
रम्यातटं पुरमभूद्भुवि विश्रुतं तत् ॥ ३२ ॥

रम्यानवीतटसमीपसमुद्भवत्वात्
 रम्यातटं जगति तस्य हि नाम रूढम् ।
 तस्यैव नाम कृतवद्धि गुणान्समीक्ष्य
 अन्वर्थमुत्तमपुरं पटुभिर्द्वितीयम् ॥ ३१ ॥

अभ्यन्तरस्य नगरस्य बहिःप्रदेशः
 कान्तो यतो भवति कान्तपुरं तदेव ।
 पद्मालया सततमारमतीति यस्मात्
 लक्ष्मीपुरं बुधजनैः कथितं पुरं तत् ॥ ३२ ॥

उद्यानपर्वतवनान्तरितप्रदेशी-
 र्वापीतटाकवरपुष्करिणीह्रदैश्च ।
 दिग्देवदेवगृह्रम्यसभाप्रपाभि-
 बांश्च पुरं परपुरश्रियमावधार ॥ ३५ ॥

आवेष्ट्य तत्परवरं परिखाऽवतस्थे
 द्वीपं यथा जलनिधिर्लवणाम्बुगर्भः ।
 माहीमयोभ्युदितशैलसमानशालः (?)
 प्रोद्भिद्य भूतलमिवाभ्यधिकं रराज ॥ ३६ ॥

प्रासादकूटवलभीतटगोपुरैः स्वै-
 रत्युच्छ्रितध्वजविचित्रचलत्पताकैः ।
 आरामकल्पतरुगुहमलताप्रतानै-
 रूद्धातपं पुरमभूद्भिरिभित्तिभिश्च ॥ ३७ ॥

संगीतगीतकरतालमुखप्रलापै-
 र्वीणामृदङ्गमुरजध्वनिमुद्गिरद्भिः ।
 हर्म्यैरनेकपरिवर्धितभूमिदेशे
 विन्यस्तचित्रबलिभिः सततं रराज ॥ ३८ ॥

भूशैलतोयविविधाकरजातपुण्यं
 मुक्ताप्रवालतपनीयमनेकमेवम् ।
 यद्यच्च दुर्लभतमं परराजधान्या
 तस्मिन्पुरे प्रतिवस्तुलभं च वस्तु ॥ ३९ ॥

न्यायार्जितद्रविणतैककुटुम्बपूर्णं
 सर्वर्तुसौख्यसहितं परमधियुक्तम् ।
 उद्धादितापणमुखेषु निरन्तरेषु
 नक्तं दिवं क्रयपरिक्रयसक्तमर्त्यम् ॥ ४० ॥

नैकप्रकारभक्तिभोक्तृत्वचैत्यपूजा-
 दानक्रियास्नपनपुण्याविवाहसङ्गः ।
 अन्योन्यगेहगमनागमनो जनौघ-
 स्तामिन्पुरे प्रतिदिनं ववृधे यथावत् ॥ ४१ ॥

शब्दार्थहेतुगणितादिविशेषयुक्ता
 ज्ञानप्रभावितमतिः कृतधीर्मनस्काः । ?
 सद्धर्मशास्त्रकुशलाः सुलभा मनुष्या
 यन्नाररञ्जुरधिकं सततप्रमोदाः ॥ ४२ ॥

वृद्धाः समेषु तरुणाश्च गुरूपदेशे
 वेश्याङ्गनासु ललिताः समवा युवानः ।
 त्यागेष्वथार्जितधनाः प्रमदाः प्रियेषु
 वस्त्वन्तरे रतिमुपेयुरथानुरूपम् ॥ ४३ ॥

पाषण्डिशिल्पबहुवर्णजनातिकीर्णं
 रत्नापगा जलनिधिः सुरलोककल्पम् । ?
 प्रज्ञातिमुग्धधनिनिर्धनसज्जनेष्टं
 चौरारिमारिपरचक्रकथा न तत्र ॥ ४४ ॥

नीरोगशोकनिरुपद्रवनिर्भयत्वा-
 वस्मिन्ननः सुरसुखं मनसाऽवमेने ।
 किं वा पुरस्य बहुवर्णनया नराणा-
 मिष्टेन्द्रियार्थपरिभोगसुखावहस्य ॥ ४५ ॥

तस्येश्वरः प्रथितभोजकुलप्रसूतो
 धर्मार्थकामनिपुणो विनिगृहमन्त्रः ।
 न्यायेन लोकपरिपालनसक्तबुद्धिः
 श्रीधर्मसेन इति भूपतिरास नाम्ना ॥ ४६ ॥

यः कामिनीजनमनोहरचारुमूर्ति-
 नौकावहप्रथितलब्धविशुद्धकीर्तिः ।
 शक्तित्रयप्रतिविशेषहतप्रजार्तिः
 शास्त्रोपदिष्टवचसाऽप्रतिमानवृत्तिः ॥ ४७ ॥

श्रीमान्प्रभिन्नकटवारणतुल्यगामी
 रक्ताम्बुजच्छविहरामलपाणिपादः ।
 आख्यायिकागणितकाव्यरसाद्यभिज्ञो
 नित्यं पराभिगमनीयगुणावतंसः ॥ ४८ ॥

बुद्धोपसेवनरतिर्दृढसौहृदश्च

त्यक्तप्रमादमदमत्सरमोहभावः ।

सत्संगग्रहस्थिरसखः प्रियवागलोभः

प्रागल्भ्यदाक्ष्यसहितो हितबन्धुवर्गः ॥ ४९ ॥

रूपेण काममथ नीतिबलेन शुक्रं

कान्त्या शशाङ्कममरेन्द्रमुदारकीर्त्या ।

दीप्त्या दिवाकरमगाधतया समुद्रं

दण्डेन दण्डधरमत्यतिशिष्य एव ॥ ५० ॥

यस्याज्ञया स्वपथमुत्कमितुं न शेकु-

र्वणाश्रमा जनपदे सकले पुरे वा ।

पाषण्डिनः स्वसमयोपविनीतमार्गाः

सोऽस्तीव बालबुधवृद्धतमान्बभार ॥ ५१ ॥

यस्याहितं प्रकुरुते मनसापि कश्चित्

किञ्चित्कचित्पुरुषमर्थमनर्थकं वा ।

शुत्क्षीणभुग्ननयनोदरवक्त्रदण्डः

स्थातुं हि तस्य विषये न शशाक मर्त्यः ॥ ५२ ॥

युद्धेषु भिन्नकटवारणगण्डलेखा-

संप्रसुतैः शमितधूलिषु दानतोयैः ।

वाक्येषु बृंहितमदान्प्रतियोद्धुकामान्

यः सद्यः एव हि रिपून्विमदीचकार ॥ ५३ ॥

चेतांसि बद्धदृढवैरवतां नराणा-

मभ्यन्तरप्रकृतिकस्य जनस्य वापि ।

स्वामाविकैर्विनयजैश्चरितैरुदारै-

र्यो रञ्जयेद्भृशमथ स्वगुणैर्नरेन्द्रः ॥ ५४ ॥

ताराधिपः कुमुदषण्डविकासदक्षैः

शीतैः करैर्नमसि संविबभौ यथैव ।

नित्यं प्रियाकुमुदषण्डवचोमयूखै-

र्मह्यां तथैव वस्तुधाधिपपूर्णचन्द्रः ॥ ५५ ॥

आफुल्लचारविमलाम्बुरुहाननस्य

आजानुलम्बमतिपीनभुजद्वयस्य ।

ग्रीवक्षसः खलु मृगेन्द्रपराक्रमस्य

स्वान्तःपर परपतेस्त्रिशतीबभूव ॥ ५६ ॥

युक्ताधिरोहपरिणाहसमन्विता या
 हंसीस्वनासु गमनग्रहणस्वभावाः ।
 लज्जावपुर्विनयविभ्रमचारुवेषा-
 स्तुल्यावलोकननिरन्तरसौहृदाश्च ॥ ५७ ॥

कुल्लारविन्दवदना वरचारुनेत्राः
 कुल्लारविन्दकुसुमोरुशुचित्वगन्धाः ।
 कुल्लारविन्दवरकान्तिगुणावदाताः
 कुल्लारविन्दधरकोमलपाणिपादाः ॥ ५८ ॥

सर्वाः स्त्रियः प्रथमयौवनगर्ववत्यः
 सर्वाः स्वमातृपितृगोत्रविशुद्धमत्यः ।
 सर्वाः कलागुणविधानविशेषदक्षाः
 सर्वा यथेष्टमुपभोगपरिप्सयिन्यः (?) ॥ ५९ ॥

चातुर्यहावगतिविभ्रमसात्क्रियाभी
 रूपेण ता युतिमतातिमनोहरेण ।
 सत्यन्तरे समनुकूलतयानुभूय
 राज्ञो मनस्यधिगता वनितास्तदासन् ॥ ६० ॥

हासेन वा मधुमदेन सगर्वितेन
 रागेण वाथ कलूषीकृतचेतसा वा ।
 अन्योन्यमर्मपरिहासकथाभिरामा
 राज्ञः स्त्रियस्त्विति कथा न बभूव लोके ॥ ६१ ॥

धर्मप्रियस्य रतिनीतिविशारदस्य
 सामान्यदृष्ट्यभिनिवीत ।
 नात्युद्धताः सममुखा पतिवत्सलाश्च
 शीलानुरक्तहृदया वनिता विनीताः ॥ ६२ ॥

तासु क्षितीन्द्रहृदयप्रियकारिणीषु
 माधुर्यकान्तिललितप्रतिभान्वितासु ।
 रेजे भृशं गुणवती क्षितिपाङ्गनासु
 तारागणेषु विमलेष्विव चन्द्रलेखा ॥ ६३ ॥

शुद्धान्वया रुचिरभूषणभूषिताङ्गे
 कामेकभारवति कर्कशजातरागा (?) ।
 स्निग्धा हिता शुचिमती मितवाक्सुदक्षा
 भूर्माश्वरस्य हृदयं स्वगुणैर्बबन्ध ॥ ६४ ॥

या धर्मसेननयनामृतरूपशोभा
तस्येव च श्रवणपथ्यहितानुवाक्या ।
तद्गात्रचित्ररतिकारणवेषचेष्टा
तेनाभवत्सुरतनाटकनायिका सा ॥ ६५ ॥

तस्यास्तदङ्गममलेन्दुनिधाननायाः
पीनोन्नतस्तनतटार्पितचन्दनायाः ।
आम्लिष्य कामशरताडनविह्वलायाः
प्रीतिं परामुपजगाम पतिर्धरायाः ॥ ६६ ॥

सा चापि तस्य वदनं नयनातिकान्त-
माकृष्य सीधुरसिना वदनाम्बुजेन ।
भूयश्चुम्ब मदनासुरमन्दचेष्टा-
पूर्वं प्रियव्रणितपाटलविभ्रमोष्ठी ॥ ६७ ॥

ताभ्यां यथेष्टमभिसंहितमन्मथाभ्यां
तुल्यानुरागरतिवर्धनसत्क्रियाभ्याम् ।
अन्योन्यचिस्त्परितोषणतत्पराभ्यां
प्राप्तं नृजन्मचिरजीवितयोः फलं तत् ॥ ६८ ॥

अनुपरतमृदङ्गमन्दनादे
मणिकिरणैरवभासितान्धकारे ।
षड्भक्तुसुखगृहे विशालकीर्ति-
र्वरवनिताभिररंस्त राजसिंहः ॥ ६९ ॥

इति नगरनरेन्द्रभार्याः (?)
प्रथमतः कथिता कथाप्रबन्धात् ।
श्रुतिपथसुखं निगद्यमानं
तत् उपरि प्रकृतं निशामयेदम् ॥ ७० ॥

इति धर्मकथोद्देशे चतुर्वर्गसमन्विते स्फुटशब्दार्थसंदर्भे
वराङ्गचरिताश्रिते जनपदनगरवृत्तिपत्नीवर्णनो
नाम प्रथमः सर्गः

Post-script

i. Just recently an old Kanarese inscription mentioning the name of Jaṭāsimhanandi is discovered at Koppāḷa (Nizam State) -- a place recently famous as a find-spot of Aśoka inscription and held in high respect by the Jainas of mediæval India. It is found on a *nisidi* situated on the top-most peak known as Pallakki Guṇḍe, (i. e. palanquin rock) on the hill adjoining Koppāḷa. From the foot-prints, just above the inscription, it is clear that the inscription commemorates the death of Jaṭāsimhanandi and it is engraved by some of his disciple or devotee. It is partly mutilated and runs in two lines --

1 *Jaṭāsimhananḍi ācārya (mahadeva..... ?) worn out.*

2 *macayyaṁ māḍisidēṁ.*¹

In the same place there is one more inscription about Simhanandi but I am not ready, at present, to identify both for no other reason than the fact that he is called Simhanandi and not Jaṭāsimhanandi, and as I have shown in the body of this paper he was called Jaṭāsimhanandi only to be distinguished from various other Simhanandis. If we identify Simhanandi and Jaṭāsimhanandi the very purpose of the latter's name would be vitiated. I am inclined to identify this Jaṭāsimhanandi with the author of Varāṅga-carita, since our author is known to and quoted by Cāmuṇḍarāya who is well acquainted with some of the famous saints associated with Kopaṇāḍri (Koppāḷa) such as Kumārasena and Candrasena.²

ii. In Amṛtāśīti³, a didactic work ascribed to one Yogindra, a verse of Jaṭāsimhanandi is thus quoted,--

जटार्सिहनन्दाचार्यवृत्तम् —

तावत्क्रियाः प्रवर्तन्ते यावद्द्वैतस्य गोचरम् ।

अद्वये निष्फले प्राप्ते निष्क्रयस्य कुतः क्रियाः ॥६७॥

The plam-leaf Ms. of Varāṅga-carita being beyond my reach now, I have not been able to verify this quotation.

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1. I am very thankful to Mr. P. B. Desai of Dharwar through whose kindness I could get a copy of this inscription.
 2. Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa, I, 15 and 17.
 3. See Annals of B. O. R. I. XII, ii, p. 162.

NIRVĀṆA AND BUDDHIST LAYMEN

BY

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Nirvāṇa (nibbāna) is, according to the Saṃyutta Nikāya (Vol. II., p. 117), cessation of existence (bhavanirodho nibbānam). It is according to the Visuddhimagga,¹ pañcannam khandhānam nirodho (extinction of five khandhas). The Visuddhimagga further points out that there is only truth and no second (ekam hi saccam na dutiyaṃ). This is the idea of nibbāna involved in this passage. Nibbāna includes absence of passion (virāga), destruction of pride (mada nimmadana), killing of thirst (taṇhākkhayo), freedom from attachment (ālayasamugghāto) and destruction of all sensual pleasures (Kāmapipāsa Vinaya), these are the attributes of nibbāna. It is the cessation of all sufferings - (sabbadukkhhūpasama saṃkhāta)². In the same work we find that nibbāna can be attained through meditation (jhāna), wisdom (paññā), precepts (sīla), steadfastness (āradhaviṛiyo)⁴ etc.

In the Atthasālinī (p. 409) nibbāna means that from which the arrow of desire (taṇhāsaṃkhātā vānaṃ niggatā vā tasmā vānāti nibbānaṃ) is gone away. It is freedom from all sins, final release from the lower nature as Mr. Maung Tin puts it (Expositor, 518). In the Sumaṅgalavilāsini (Vol. I., 217) Buddhaghosa says that a person obtains nibbāna making himself free from the wilderness of misdeeds. Nibbāna is described here as the state of bliss (duccarita kantāraṃ nittharitvā paramaṃ khemaṇṇa bhūmim Amata-Nibbānaṃ pāpuṇāti). This is in agreement with what has been said in the Milindapañho (p. 69). In the Kathāvatthupakaraṇaṭṭhakathā nibbāna has been described as a void (J. P. T. S., 1889, p. 178; cf. Dhammapada, verse 93, *Suññato*). Ac-

1 Vol. II, p. 611.

2 Vol. II, p. 497.

3 Vol. I, p. 293.

4 Vol. I, p. 3.

According to the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha it is so called because it is a *départure* from that craving which is called *vāna*, lusting or craving. It is to be realised through knowledge belonging to the four paths. It is the object of those paths and of their fruition. It is called *lokuttara saṁkhātaṁ*. It is excellent, uncreated, and it is free from lust.¹

Dr. Poussin² points out that according to the doctrinal tenets of Buddhism, accurately and profusely explained in every part of the Scriptures, Nirvāṇa is annihilation. But this meaning is very vague. We do not agree with him when he further points out that the most exact and most authoritative definition of Nirvāṇa is not annihilation but 'unqualified deliverance,' a deliverance of which we have no right to predicate anything³. Nirvāṇa means the extinction of *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha* (passion, hatred and delusion). Mrs. Rhys Davids is perfectly right when she says in her learned introduction to the Dhammapada that Nirvāṇa is the waning out of all evil, *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*. (The minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon, pt. I., p. xix).

It is clearly pointed out in the Saṁyutta Nikāya that Nibbāna is *rāgakkhaya*, *dosakkhaya* and *mohakkhaya* (Saṁyutta Nikāya, IV., 251). It is true as Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that Nirvāṇa is nothing but diminishing of the vicious and the weak in the man which is the negative aspect of his positive advance in becoming. The literal meaning of 'nirvāṇa' is 'nibbāpeti' that which is extinguished. We can gather a clear idea of the subject from various Pāli Books, the Dhammapada, the Khuddakapāṭha, the Sutta Nipāta and the Milindapañho.⁴ Some have translated

1 Nibbānaṁ pana lokuttara — saṁkhātaṁ catumagga-nāḍena sacchikā-tabbāṁ magga-phalānaṁ ālambana-bhūtaṁ vāna-saṁkhātāya tanhāya nikkhantattā nibbānaṁ ti pavuccati, asaṁkhatam anuttaraṁ nibbānaṁ vānamuttā (Abhidhammattha-Saṁgaha, p. 31, in J. P. T. S., 1884).

2 The way to Nirvāṇa, p. 133.

3 The way to Nirvāṇa, p. 131.

4 Vide my paper 'Idea of Nibbāna in the Milindapañho' (Journal of the Mahābodhi Society, October, 1931). I have discussed all these points in my forthcoming volume on the History of Pāli Literature.

11 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

the word, 'Nibbāna' as 'ambrosia', 'immortality', 'perfect beatitude', Summum Bonum, etc. We all know that an arahat obtains Nirvāṇa. Arhattva and Nirvāṇa are synonymous. Childers rightly points out that nibbāna in verse 23 of the Dhammapada means arhatship (Pali Dict., p. 269). He further points out that nibbāna is used to designate two different things:— (1) the state of blissful sanctification called arhatship, and (2) the annihilation of existence in which arhatship ends (ibid., p. 266). This view of Childers has been supported by James D'Alwis in his 'Essay on Buddhist Nirvāṇa', a review of Max Müller's Dhammapada.

Next comes the question whether a layman can attain nirvāṇa. We are shocked to read pp. 150-151 of *the Way to Nirvāṇa* where Dr. Poussin writes thus, "Laymen, however faithful, generous, and virtuous they may be, even if they practise the fortnightly abstinence and continence of the Upavāsa, cannot reach Nirvāṇa." In other words, according to Dr. Poussin only the monks after having reached the fourth stage of sanctification can obtain nirvāṇa. We find it otherwise if we closely examine the following references from Pali books. A close study of the Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta (p. 58) and the Jarā Sutta (p. 129) of the Mahāniddesa together with their commentaries by Dhammapāla helps us to look for the munis both among the householders and the recluses. The munis are defined as persons who have attenuated their sins and have seen nibbāna and as to householders, they are represented as persons who are overburdened with all household duties. No other discrimination is sought to be made between the Āgāramunis and the Anāgāramunis than this, that while the former keep to the method of household life, the latter do not. As for the attainment, both are held out as equally competent to win the highest state, which is nibbāna¹.

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- 1 Āgāram majjhe vasantā āgāramunino pabbajjūpagatā anāgāramunino sattasekkhamunino arahantā asekkhamunino paṇḍitabuddhā paṇḍita-munino sammāsambuddhā munimunino. Āgāramunino — āgārikā ti kasigorakkhādi āgārika-kamme nijuttā, diṭṭhapadāti diṭṭhanibbānā, viññāta sāsanaṇti viññātā sikkhattayasāsanaṇ etesanti viññāta sāsanaṇ. Anāgārā ti kasigorakkhādi āgāriyakammam etesam natthit, pabbajjita anāgārā ti vuocanti. (Commentary on the Mahāniddesa, Siamese Edition, p. 218, Guhaṭṭhaka Sutta and Jarā Sutta).

In the *Anguttara Nikāya* we find mention of 21 lay arahats.¹ T. W. Rhys Davids in his learned introduction to the *Sāmañña-phala Sutta* calls them laymen arahats (S. B. B., Vol. II., p. 63, f. n.). If we are to believe the statement of Dr. Poussin, how was it possible that laymen became arahats fully qualified for obtaining nirvāṇa. In the *Kathāvatthu* (Bk. IV, p. 268, P. T. S.), we find that kulaputta Yasa, householder Uttiya and young Brahman Setu attained arahatship in all the circumstances of life in the laity.² Referring to this point S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids have inferred that a layman under exceptional circumstances may attain arahatship but to keep it he must give up the world (Points of Controversy, p. 158, f. n.). We find that T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids in part iii, p. 5 of the *Dialogues of the Buddha* (S. B. B., Vol. IV) have raised this question: who in the oldest period could be an arahat? The answer is: - Anyone - men or women, old or young, lay or *religieux*. They have drawn our attention to a number of lay arahats mentioned in many canonical and non-canonical Pali books. It is distinctly mentioned in the *Milindapañho*³ which is one of the most important Pali books that Nāgasena in reply to the question put to him by King Menander points out that whether he be a layman or recluse, he who attains to the supreme insight, to the supreme conduct

1 Chahi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato Bhaliko gahapati ... Sudatto gahapati Anāthapiṇḍiko ... Citto gahapati Macchikāsaṇḍiko ... 'Hatthako Alavako ... Mahānāmo Sakko ... Uggo gahapati Vesāliko ... Uggate gahapati ... Suro Ambaṭṭho ... Jivako Komārabhacco ... Nakulapitṭh gahapati ... Tavakappaṇiko gahapati ... Purāṇo gahapati ... Isidatto gahapati ... Sandhāno gahapati ... Vijayo gahapati ... Vajjiyamahito gahapati ... Meṇḍako gahapati ... Vāseṭṭho upāsako, Ariṭṭho upāsako, Sāruggo upāsako Tathāgate nīṭham gato amataddaso amatam sacchikatvā iriyati (*Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 451; Cf. *Vinaya*, I, 17; *Samyutta Nikāya*, V, 94; *The Questions of King Milinda*, II., 57, 96, 245; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 308, etc.).

Yaso kulaputto, Uttiyo gahapati, Setu māṇavo gihissa byañjanena arahattam pattā, tena vata revattabbe ' Gihī ' ssa Arahā ti.'

3 According to the Burmese tradition the *Milindapañha* is one of the books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* which is included in the *Sutta Piṭaka*, hence a book of the canon (*The Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 4).

of life, he too will win his way to the excellent condition of Arahatsip.¹

"Gihī pi mahārāja sammā paṭipanno ārādhako hoti
ñāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalaṃ, pabbajito pi mahārāja sammā
paṭipanno ārādhako hoti ñāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalaṃ."²

It is clear from this passage that a householder if he leads a religious life may obtain arahatsip which is nirvāṇa. The *Milindapañho* further points out that whosoever has attained, as a layman, to arahatsip, one of the two courses is left to him and no other—either that very day he enters the order or he dies for, beyond that day he cannot last. (*The Questions of King Milinda*, II., p. 96).

"Yo gihī arahattaṃ patto dve v' assa gatiyo bhavanti, anañña : tasmim yeva divase pabbajati vā parinibbāyati vā, na so divaso sakkā atikkametun ti." *Milindapañho*, ed. by Trenckner, pp. 264-265).

And all they who as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good Nirvāṇa,—all they had in former births accomplished their training, laid the foundation, in the practice of the thirteen vows, had purified their walk and conduct by means of them; and so now even as laymen, living at home and in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense, do they realise in themselves the condition of Peace, the Supreme Good, Nirvāṇa (*The Questions of King Milinda*, II., p. 253). T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids remark in their introduction to the *Pāṭika Suttanta* that when laymen had experienced the mental change called becoming an Arahant, the natural result, under the conditions prevailing in Northern India in the 6th or 5th Centuries B.C., would be that he would become a *religieux*, and this may have been sufficient reason for such opinions as those expressed in the *Kathāvatthu* and the *Milinda* having, in the course of centuries, grown up, (*S. B. B.*, Vol. IV., *Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, pp. 5-6). In the *Dhammpada* we find that the verse 23 of the

1 *The Questions of King Milinda*, II., p. 58. (SBE).

2 *Milindapañho*, Ed. by Trenckner. p. 242,

Appamādavagga refers to the learned, meditative, steadfast and always firm in their determination having obtained nirvāṇa. The verse 226 of the same work mentions that those who are always watchful, study day and night and who strive after nirvāṇa, their passions will come to an end. The verse 289 refers to a wise and well-behaved man who should quickly clear the way leading to nirvāṇa. All such verses of the Dhammapada point out that a layman or monk may obtain nirvāṇa.

Another interesting point which should attract our attention is whether there be any such precept prescribed for the laity as we find prescribed for the monks. A layman with trusting heart (pasanna-citto) while leading a household life should observe the following precepts:—

1. pāṇātipātāveramaṇī, avoidance of life slaughter,
2. Adinnādānāveramaṇī, abstinence from stealing,
3. Kāmesumicchācārāveramaṇī, abstinence from evil conduct in respect of sensual pleasures,
4. musāvādāveramaṇī, abstinence from speaking falsehood,
5. surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānāveramaṇī, abstinence from taking strong, intoxicating and maddening drinks.¹

It is curious to note that among the ten precepts prescribed for, regulating the conduct of the Buddhist monks, only five mentioned above are meant for the householders. Some are under the impression that it is not possible for a householder to observe these

1. "Yo kho brāhmaṇa pasanna-citto sikkhā-padāni samādiyati, — pāṇātipātā veramaṇī, adinnādānā veramaṇī, kāmesu micchārā veramaṇī, musā - vādā veramaṇī, surā - meraya - majja - pamādaṭṭhāna veramaṇī — ayaṃ kho brāhmaṇa yañño imāya ca ti — vidhāya yañña - sampadāya solasa — parikkhārāya iminā ca nicca - dānena anukula - yaññena iminā ca vihāra - dānena imehi ca saraṇāgamanehi appaṭṭhatāro ca appasamārabbhataro ca mahapphalataro ca mahā - nisamsataro eā ti." *Kutādanta Sutt-Dīgha Nikāya*, I., p. 146; cf. also the *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* which is also called the *Vinaya of the Houseman*, S. B. B., Vol. IV., p. 169,

precepts. We are at a loss to understand why the observance of these precepts is not practicable in the case of a householder, rather it is difficult for him deeply engrossed in worldly affairs. Surely this is the course of conduct laid down for the ordinary Buddhist layman contained in the Gahapati-vaggas found in the various Nikāyas.¹

1. cf. Introduction to the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, S. B. B., Vol. II., p. 63,

TYPICAL PROBLEMS OF HINDU MATHEMATICS

BY

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In this paper we shall deal with a few of the typical problems of Hindu mathematics which, it is apparent, had their origin in practical applications of mathematics to questions of real life. But the problems, starting as practical cases, underwent different variations in later times for the reason, put in a nutshell by Smith, that "there is an interesting law of book writers that most of them would steal from one another without the least scruple if they can thinly veil the theft".¹ As has been pointed out by his student Vera Sanford, there is however some justifications for it, for no mathematical principle is a monopoly of any mathematician.² The many metamorphoses will also be within the scope of each type of our problems.

The purpose of the study is to show one of the distinctive features of Hindu mathematics. Furthermore, there are certain problems which are found to be in common with many nations which show an inter-relation amongst ancient peoples that is very significant to the students of primitive culture.

But the materials pertinent to the study of the history of our problems are so very limited that it has become practically an impossibility to ascertain the time, place and the cause of the origin of a problem. In fact we have no work earlier than the seventh century which deals with problems although it must at the same time be said that there was a regular culture of mathematics amongst the Hindus from an earlier time. We should therefore be strictly cautious in forming our judgments from the

1 Smith — "On the origin of certain typical problems" *American Math. Monthly*, xxiv. No. 2, February 1917, p. 65.

2 Vera Sanford — "The History and significance of certain standard problems in Algebra," Teacher's College, Columbia University, New York, 1927, p. 79.

external evidences as available under the present state of research, on the relation between two nations, considering that some of them might be apt illustrations of *argumentum ex silentio* which had led to many accidents in history. As such, some problems which appear to us with a stamp of foreign influence might be genuine products of Hindu brain without our knowing of the fact. Some of our remarks are therefore provisional and the excuse still for completing the theses is in the hope that it will attract the attention of the future workers and save at least some amount of labour of the more successful researcher.

The first of these problems, without which an arithmetic of to-day, might by some be thought to be incomplete and which is likely to retain its honourable position, as it illustrates a valuable mathematical principle is based upon the reduction of fractional differences. These problems to whose origin and development, I wish to direct special attention, appears first in definite form in the *Trisatikā* of Śrīdhara (c. 750 A. D.) as 'a rule of the pole' -- "One-half, one-sixth and one-twelfth parts of a pole are immersed in water, clay and sand respectively. Two *hastas* are visible. Find the height of the pole."¹ It also appears in one of the great mathematical classics of India, the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha* of Mahāvīra (c. 850 A. D.).² As to the origin of the problem, any one familiar with the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya cannot fail to recognise that it originated in connection with architecture at least as early as the 4th century B. C. In this work we find a rule included under the "Construction of Forts" that "in fixing a pillar, six parts are to form its height on the floor, twice as much to be entered into the ground and one-fourth for its capital".³ Kaye suspected⁴ that the problem originated on the banks of the river Nile, as if there was no river in India.

1 *Bib. Math.* (3) xiii, p. 211.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, of Mahāvīra, Rangacharya's Ed. p. 71.

3 Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* — R. Sham Shastri's Ed. p. 69.

4 *Bib. Math.* (3) xiii, p. 211.

Problems in general, have many variants and the one under consideration, is no exception to the rule. One of them most interesting and so devised in their effort to make problems represent cases that actually happen, was to find the numbers of pearls in a necklace which was broken in an amorous struggle. The problem appears in *Trīṣatikā*¹, *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*² and *Manorañjana*, a commentary of Bhāskara's *Līlāvati*³, where it is stated as "the third part of a necklace of pearls, broken in an amorous struggle, fell to the ground, its fifth part rested on the couch, the sixth part was saved by the wench and the tenth part was taken up by her lover, six pearls remained strung. Say of how many pearls the necklace was composed".

Another variant as found in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*⁴ and the *Līlāvati*⁵ is "Out of a swarm of bees, one-fifth part settled on the blossom of Kadamba and one-third on a flower of Silindhri, three times the difference of those numbers flew to the bloom of a Kuṭaja. One bee, which remained, hovered and flew about in the air, allured at the same moment by the pleasing fragrance of a Jasmin and pandanus. Tell me, charming woman, the number of bees."

It is interesting to note that the very same problem has been repeated elsewhere in the *Līlāvati*⁶ with some modification to illustrate the principle of assimilation of roots co-efficient, thereby transforming the equation from a simple one to a variety of quadratic. The problem as it stands in its modified form is : "The square-root of half the number of a swarm of bees is gone to a shrub of jasmin and so are eight-ninth of the whole swarm, a female is buzzing to one remaining male that is humming within a lotus, in which he is confined, having been allured to

1 *Trīṣatikā* Ed. Sudhākara Dvivedi, Benares. Rule 50.

2 Rangaacharya's Edition, iv. 17-22.

3 Colebrook — *Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration from the Sanskrit of Brahmagupta and Bhāskara* Lond. 1815; to be hereafter called Colebrook.

4 iv. 6.

5 iii. 54.

6 Colebrook's Translation, *Līlāvati* 68.

it by its fragrance at night. Say, lovely woman, the number of bees."

The next set of problems as found for the first time in the Bākhsālī Ms. is that of the forward and backward motions. The problem is : " A boat goes $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a yojana plus $\frac{1}{3}$ less $\frac{1}{4}$ in $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a day, but then it is driven back by the wind $\frac{1}{2}$ of $\frac{1}{5}$ of a yojana in $\frac{1}{8}$ of 3 days. In what time will it travel one hundred and eight yojanas".¹ Mahāvīra gave the variant "In the course of $\frac{3}{7}$ of a day a boat traverses $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Krośa. State in what time will it have advanced 99 yojanas, thou who hast powerful arms in crossing easily the ocean in numbers".²

Prithudak Swami (864 A.D.) gives another variant of the problem³ :—" A white ant advances 8 barley corns less $\frac{1}{5}$ part of that amount in a day and returns the 20th part of a finger in three days. In what space of time will one, whose progress is governed by these rates of advancing and retarding, proceed one hundred yojana". This problem seems to have originated with the Hindus which was taken to Europe by Fibonacci in 1202 A.D., who depending upon some Arabic source, did much to make known the Hindu arithmetic there. The variant appears in the form⁴ :—" There is a lion in a well whose depth is 50 palms. He climbs $\frac{1}{7}$ of a palm daily and slips back $\frac{1}{9}$ of a palm. In how many days will he get out of a well ?"

The next problems that attract our attention are those that deal with rate-time-distance. The simplest type of these problems deal with the computation of distance traversed or the time required to travel a fixed distance from the observation of a uniform rate of motion. There is in the Bākhsālī Ms.⁵, "Something travels 3 yavas a day. How long will it take to go five yojanas". A similar problem occurs in the *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha* of Mahāvīra⁶ "A lame man walks over $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Krośa together

1 Kaye's Ed. of Bākh. Ms. p. 51.

2 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. V. 23-31.

3 Colebrook's Algebra with Arithmetic and Mensuration, p. 283.

4 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 63.

5 Kaye's Bākh. Ms. p. 37.

6 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. v. 4.

with $\frac{1}{5}$ thereof in $7\frac{1}{2}$ days. Say what (distance) he (goes over) in $3\frac{1}{5}$ years (at this rate)."

The application of the idea to simplest astronomical problems, was another variant of the problem. In the Bākhsālī work we have two problems¹ :— "The Sun travels 500,000,000 yojans in a day. State with certainty the amount of progress in one ghaṭikā." "The Sun's chariot is guided by the god Mahorāga among the Siddhas and Vidyādhari. The clever scientist says that according to the general rule, it travels half a hundred Koṭi in a day and night. Tell me, O best of the calculators, what it will go in one muhūrta."

"The actual basis of these problems" supposes Vera Sanford² "may be traced to the use of pace-scales in the ancient world, particularly by Alexander whose official pacers measured the distances between towns and villas in mapping his empire."

This suggestion, however, seems to me not to represent the true view. Several centuries before Alexander, the idea was applied by the Hindus in astronomy. In the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, we have several rules the rationale of which is the "rate-time-distance" law. For instance we have a rule which gives the period, for which the Moon remains in one Nakṣatra (asterism) to be 1 day 7 kalās. The rationale of this however is that if in a 5 years' cycle the Moon passes through 1809 asterisms and if the total number of day in a 5 years' cycle is 1830, what is the time required to traverse 1 Nakṣatra³? Again there is another rule where the distance traversed in a particular time is to be found out. The rule is to find the place of the Sun on a particular lunar day. The rule is $P + \frac{11P}{124} + \frac{9T}{124}$ where P means Pārvan (fortnight), T stands for Tithi or the lunar day. The rationale of the rule is that if in a cycle the Sun traverses 135 Nakṣatras, the pārvars of the Moon is 124, what is the Nakṣatra on a particular pārvan⁴?

1 Kaye's Bākṣ. Ms. p. 51.

2 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 71.

3 Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, Sudhākara's Ed. p. 13.

4 Ibid. p. 22.

The more complicated problems based on this principle are those that deal with the computation of motions of more than one thing. These problems, too, represent practical cases and have a history of wide travels. Furthermore, they are interesting from the standpoint of scientific mathematics. In its purely mathematical form it first appears in the *Bākhsāli Ms.* (early centuries of Christian era), "A travel at a certain rate r_1 for a number of days T and then B starts at a daily rate r_2 . When will A and B have travelled equal distances?"

A similar problem is also repeated in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*² :— "A certain person travels at the rate of 9 *yojanas* (a day) and 100 *yojanas* have already been gone over by him. Now, a messenger sent after him, goes at the rate of 13 *yojanas* (a day). In how many days will this messenger meet?"

Such problems have been found in China in the "Arithmetic of nine sections" (3rd century B. C.) as "A hare runs 100 paces ahead of a dog. The latter pursues the former for 250 paces, when the two are 30 paces apart. In how many further paces will the two come together?"

"In Europe it appears, however, among the propositions *ad acuendos jubenēs* attributed to Alcuin, (8th century) in the form of hound pursuing the hare and thereafter it was looked upon as one of the stock questions of European mathematics. I have run across it in Italian manuscripts of c. 1440, it is in Petzensteiner's work of 1483, Calandri used it in 1491, Pacioli gives it in his *Suma* of 1494, and most of the writers of any prominence in the sixteenth century embodied it in their lists" so said Smith.⁴

There is another such problem found in the *Bākhsāli Ms.* a similar to which appears in Cardan's *practica arithmetice* (1539). The Indian problem is "A travels at a distance a_1 the first day, $a_1 + d$ the second day and so on; B travels a_2 the first day $a_2 + d_2$ the second day and so on. When will they have travelled equal distances?"

1 Kaye's *Bākhs. Ms.* p. 43, Art. 83 (i).

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vi, 337½.

3 Mikami - *Development of mathematics in China and Japan*, p. 16,

4 On the origin of typical problems, *Loc. cit.* p. 70.

5 Kaye's *Bākhs. Ms.* p. 43 Art. 83 (2).

Cardan's problem was : "It is 100 miles from Florence to Rome. Four companions start from Florence to go to Rome. The first goes 1 mile the first day, 2 the second, 3 the next increasing by a mile each day. The second goes 1 mile the first day, 3 the second, 5 the third, increasing by 2 miles a day. The 3rd goes 2 the first, 4 the second, 6 the third, increasing by 2 miles a day. The fourth goes 4 miles the first day, 8 the second, 12 the third, increasing by 4 miles each day. If they wish to reach Rome together, how many days after the first should each start? "

It has already been pointed out by Vera Sanford that another variant was the application of the idea to conjunction of two planets, which in India began from Bhāskara I (522 A. D.)², and which was discussed by Trenchant, Cardan and Vender Hricke in the sixteenth century in Europe.³

The origin of this type of problems has often been traced to Zeno's paradox. The appearance of the hare problem in the "Nine sections" however puts it to an earlier date. But it appears that none of the two above mentioned views is correct. There is another variant of the problem as to the occurrence of the new moon. The astronomical cycles, too, involve the idea of finding the interval when the Sun and the Moon, starting from the same place, will meet again at the same place. These last variants were known to the civilised world many centuries before Zero's paradox or the "nine sections". The earliest applications of these can be traced to the Chaldeans and the oldest Indian reference is in the *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* (1200 B. C.).

The next problems that we shall discuss are those on progression. The standard illustrations of the problems that depend on the idea of progression, both arithmetic and geometrical, are the problems of gift. Thus for instance, problems on A. P. in the *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*⁴ "A certain excellent Śrāvaka gave

1 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 73.

2 Vera Sanford and others attributed to Brahmagupta (628) the credit for the first application of the idea. But now it is known that it was first applied by Bhāskara I (522).

3 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 74 & 75.

4 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, II, 66.

gems in offering to 5 temples (one after another). Commencing the offering with 2 (2 gems) and then increasing (it successively) by 3 (gems) O you ! who know how to calculate, mention what their total number is." Exactly similar problems were given by Prithudak¹ : "The king bestowed gold continually on venerable priests during three days and ninth part giving one and a half (bhāras) with a daily increase of a quarter. What were the mean, the last term and the total."

Another problem was : "A man gave his son-in-law sixteen pānas the first day, and diminished the presents by two a day. If thou be conversant with progression,² say how many had he bestowed when the ninth day was past ?"

Bhāskara too gives such problems³ :

"A person having given four drammas to priests on the first day, proceeded, my friend, to distribute daily alms at a rate increasing by five a day. Say quickly how many were given by him in half a month."

"A person gave three drammas on the first day, and continued to distribute alms increasing by two a day and he thus bestowed on the priest three hundred and sixty drammas. Say quickly in how many days."

The elements of the problem in G. P. are also the same i. e. they are also based on gift where however the gift progresses geometrically. Thus Mahāvīra gives⁴ : "Having first obtained 2 gold coins (in some city) a man goes from city to city, earning everywhere three times. Say how much he will make in the eighth city?" Prithudak Swami gives⁵ "How much is given in ten days, by one, who bestows six with a threefold increase daily?"

In the *Līlāvati*,⁶ we find : "A person gave a mendicant a

1 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 290.

2 Ibid, p. 290.

3 Ibid. Rule 120 of *Līlāvati*.

4 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha* II, 96-99.

5 Colebrook, p. 291.

6 Ibid. translation of *Līlāvati*, Rule 128,

couple of cowry shells first and promised a twofold increase of the alms daily. How many niskas does he give in a month ? ”

Similar problems in A. P. based on gift is found in Europe in the works of the 16th century and onwards. Thus in Clavius (1583)¹ we find : “ An emperor promises 100 scundi to the last of his 20 captains to scale the enemy’s wall, 130 to the one who is next to the last, 160 to the one next before that and so on. The question is how much did he give in his rewards and how much did the first captain give ? ”

There is another problem on A. P. found in Prithudak Swami’s commentary where the prices of the couch shells are progressive arithmetically : “ Tell the price of the 7th couch, the first one being worth six pānas, and the rest increasing by a pāna² ? ”

After the penetration of oriental ideas in Europe, particularly, when Hindu mathematics became well-known Buteo (1526) gave a similar problem with a modification to illustrate geometrical progression. It may be doubted that the problem of Buteo was taken from some lost work on Hindu mathematics or even it may be that the Problem of A. P. was borrowed with an attempt to conceal the fact of borrowal.

There is another type of problem in Hindu mathematics often used to find the sum of the squares of the natural numbers. Thus in Prithudak Swami³ we find : “ To find the contents of a pile of quadrates with period 5. (Having one at the top and the length and breadth increasing by one in each successive layer) ”. We find also in the *Ganita-sāra-saṃgraha* of Mahāvīra⁴ : “ There is constructed an equilateral quadrilateral structure consisting of 5 layers. The topmost layer is made up of one brick. O you, who know the calculation of mixed problems, tell me how many bricks are there ? ”

China shows itself in the variant given by Chen Huo (1011-1075) who states that the uppermost layer consists of 2 kegs and

1 Vera Sanford, Loo. cit. 57.

2 Colebrook, p. 290.

3 Colebrook, p. 293.

4 *Ganita-sāra-saṃgraha*, Rule 331¹/₂.

the lowest of 12 kegs, there are 11 layers. To find the number, of kegs. Ans. 649.¹

Another type of problem that pleased the attention of our fore-fathers was that of apportionment of shares in proportion to capital. In the work of Brahmagupta (628 A. D.) although we do not find any problem of this nature, there is however a rule by which such problems are to be solved. The rule in question is: "The contributions taken into profit divided by the sum of the contributions are the several gains; or if there be subtractive or additive differences into the profit increased or decreased by the differences and the product has the corresponding difference subtracted or added".² His commentator Prithudak dictated a problem to illustrate the rule. His problem was "A horse was purchased with the principal sums, one &c. upto nine, dealers in partnership and was sold by them for five less than five hundred. Tell me, what was each man's share of the mixt amount".³ Similar problems also occur in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha*,⁴ *Trīṣatikā*⁵ and *Līlāvati*.⁶

The actual basis of these problems may be traced to an universal custom, the oldest Indian reference of which is found in the 4th century B. C. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, we find a direction that "shares may be allotted in proportion to.....or to the capital invested".⁷

Like many other problems, this too touched the eyes of the European scholars of the Renaissance period. Fibonacci (1202) of whom we already remarked to have indirectly borrowed from some Indian work, gave a typical form of these problems:⁸ "Two men form a partnership. One contributes 18 pounds, the other 25. The profits are 7 pound. What is the share of each?

1 Mikami. *Development of mathematics in China and Japan*, p. 62.

2 and 3 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 288.

4 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha*, vi, 86½.

5 *Bib. Math.*, Loc. cit. Art. 93 of *Līlāvati*.

6 Colebrook, Loc. cit. Art. 93 of *Līlāvati*.

7 Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Tr. of R. Sham Shastri, p. 209.

8 Vera Sanford, p. 43.

There was another of type problem which may be said to be typical to Hindu mathematics. These are problems for arriving at certain results in required proportion. This type of problems occurs in *Trīṣatikā*¹ (c. 750 A. D.), *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha* (850 A. D.)² and in the *Līlāvati* (1150 A. D.)³. The problem as it occurs in the *Līlāvati* is as follows:—"If three and a half manas of rice may be had for one *dramma* and eight of kidney beans for the like price, take these thirteen *cacinis*, merchant! and give me two parts of rice and one of kidney beans, for we must take a hasty meal and depart, since my companions will proceed onwards."

We next come to another type of problems which treats of arriving at equal amounts of wealth, after mutually exchanging any desired amount. These problems can be traced from the Bākhsālī Ms and are found to have occurred in the *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha* and the *Līlāvati*. A typical form is:—"One possesses seven horses, another nine mules and a third ten camels. Each gives one of his animals to each of the others and then their possessions become of equal value."⁴

Another variant of these problems is on the presentation of the gems. The problem in the *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha* is:—"The first man had 6 azure blue gems, the second man had 7 emeralds and the other—the third man—had 8 diamonds. Each one giving to each the value of a single gem, became equal to others. What is the value of the gem of each variety?"⁵ That of *Līlāvati* is: "Four jewellers possessing respectively 8 rubies, 10 sapphires, a hundred pearls and five diamonds, presented each from his own stock, one a piece to the others in token of regard and gratification at meeting and they thus became owners of stock of precisely equal value. Tell me friend, what are the prices of the gems respectively."⁶

1 *Bib. Math.* Loc. cit. p. 212, Art. 38.

2 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. Rule 90¹/₂ and 91¹/₂.

3 Colebrook, Loc. cit. *Līlā.* 97, Vij. 115.

4 Kaye's Ed. of Bākh Ms. p. 41.

5 *Gaṇita-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. vi. 164.

6 Colebrook, Loc. cit. 99 of *Līlāvati* C/o Vij. 111.

Problems on Remainder theorems, as it transpires from the available evidences, originated with the Chinese. Its earliest treatment that can be traced to any Hindu work is in that of Āryabhata. In later works it is found in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*: "When divided by 2 the remainder is 1, when by 3 it is 2, when by 4 it is 3, when by 5 it is 4. Tell me O friend ! what the heap is ?" Next we find in the *Vijagaṇita* of Bhāskara "What number is it which being divided by six has five for the remainder, or divided by five has a residue of four, or divided by three leaves two ?" ²

The Chinese problem, the earliest trace of which is found in the *Sun-Tsu Suan-Ching* (58-75 A. D.), is stated as: "There are certain things whose number is unknown. Repeatedly divided by 8 the remainder is 2, by 5 the remainder is 3 and by 7 the remainder is 2. What will be the number ?" ³

This chronological sequence, however, speaks of the Chinese origin of the problem. But there are some reasons to believe that the Chinese obtained the problem from some other sources. Prof. Gino Loria rightly points out that the problem lies in the midst of a collection of problems, without the slightest indication, that Sun-Tsu regards the problem as more interesting or valuable than its trivial companions.⁴ Prof. Mikami, too, shares the same opinion. What is this source? In the absence of any other evidence, it may be conjectured that this source must be some lost Buddhist work. There are two reasons, however, to support it and the first of them is that "All the subjects treated by Sun-Tsu were those that had been given in the "Arithmetic in nine sections", but the problem of indeterminate analysis first appeared in the above in Sun-Tsu. The second reason is embodied in the fact that the work contains some such as "Chang-an" and "Lo-yang" and "Buddhist works" all of which are assuredly of no origin of Pre-Chin era, "but that it was written after Buddhism was introduced into China." ⁵

1 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, Loc. cit. vi, 123½.

2 Colebrook, *Vijagaṇita*, 160,

3 Mikami's work, Loc. cit, p, 32

4 Gino Loria, Debt of Mathematics to Chinese people". *The Scientific Monthly*, June 1927.

5 See Mikami's work, Loc. cit, p. 25.

The last problem in Algebra which I shall undertake, to investigate the origin of, is based upon the application of indeterminate equation to a problem commonly known as that of "Hundred Fowls". Problems, bearing the same mathematical idea, appear in the Indian mathematical works from the early centuries of the Christian era. We have, for instance, in the Bākhsālī work, nearly complete statement and solution to the following pair of equations' :—

$$x + y + z = 20.$$

$$3x + 2/3y + 1/2z = 20.$$

of which the only solution in positive integers is $x = 2, y = 5, z = 13$. In Mahāvīra, we find the problem in the following form²:—"Pigeons are sold at the rate of 5 for 3 (Pānas), Sārāsa birds at the rate of 7 for 5 (Pānas) and peacocks at the rate of 3 for 9 (Pānas). A certain man was told to bring at these rates 100 birds for 100 Pānas for the amusement of the king's son and was sent to do so. What (amount) does he give for each (of the various kinds of birds that he buys)?" Bhāskara, too, gave exactly the same problem in his *Vijagaṇita*.³

In china the problem was given by Chang-Chin-Chien (6th century A. D.).⁴ About 900 A. D. it was pretty fully treated by Abu-Kāmel Al-Misri who gives some six problems, varying from three to five terms and attempts to find all the integral solutions.⁵ In Europe, the problem made its appearance for the first time in the 8th century and was given by Alcuin.⁶

As to the origin of the problem, Prof. Smith's suggestion that "the problem originated in the East"⁷ deserves appreciation. But his suggestion that the problem found its way into India from China, seems to be another apt illustration of *argumentum*

1 Kaye's Ed. of Bākh. p. 42, Art. 80.

2 *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vi. 152.

3 Colebrook, Loc. cit. *Vijagaṇita*, 158.

See Mikami's work, Loc. cit, p. 43.

5 See Dickson. *Theory of numbers* II. p. 77.

6 Vera Sanford, Loc. cit. p. 93.

7 Smith — *History of Math.* II. 536,

ex silentio. True it is, we have no direct evidence to show that the problem is of Indian origin by establishing the priority of its appearance in India, except the solution of similar problems in the Bākhsālī Ms, which is believed with good reasons by authorities like Hoernle¹ and Dr. Datta² to be a work of the early centuries of the Christian era. The problem, on the other hand, with its solution occurs in such a way that the Chinese do not appear to have understood the mystery of the analysis of this kind. This strongly suggests that they obtained the problem with its solution from some other source. The determination of this source would be an important piece of work and what I can point out in this connection is that earlier than the sixth century it were the Hindus only that arrived at a general solution of the linear indeterminate equation.³

In Geometry, there are certain problems whose place and time of origin, we cannot ascertain today. But the fact of their appearance in the works of Prithudak and Mahāvīra who lived at the same time, but in parts of India widely separated from each other show that they were ancient problems and became typical to Hindu mathematics by ninth century. These problems are :—

1. What is the area of an isosceles triangle the base of which is 10 and the sides 13 ?⁴

2. What is the area of a scalene triangle, the base of which is 14 and the sides 13+15 ?⁵

3. From a tree 100 cubits high, an ape descended and went to a pond 200 cubit distant, while another ape vaulting to some height off the tree proceeded with velocity diagonally to the same spot. If the space travelled by them be equal, tell me quickly

1 *Ind. Antiq.* xvii, p. 36.

2 *Bākh. Math. Bull. Cal. Math. Soc.* xxi. p. 57. Reprint, p. 57.

3 *Āryabhaṭīyam Gaṇitapāda*, Verses 33-34.

4 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 295, *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii. 52.

5 Colebrook, Loc. cit. p. 295, comp. *Trīṣatikā*, Śuḍhākara's Edition, 81 (*Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii. 10, 53).

learned man, the height of the leap, if thou have diligently studied calculation.¹

Three other problems are found to have occurred in Prithudak Swami's commentary and Śrīdhara's *Triṣatikā*. These problems also seem to be typical to Hindu mathematics. These are :--

1. What is the area of a quadrilateral having three equal sides 25 and base 39 ?²

2. What is the area of a quadrilateral with two equal sides thirteen, base fourteen and summit four ?³

3. Tell the gross area of a trapezium, of which the base is sixty, the summit twenty-five and the fifty-two and thirty-nine.⁴

Two other problems in Geometry, on the mis-called Pythagorean theorem, highly speaks of India's cultural relation with her neighbour China. These two problems are :--

1. If a bamboo, measuring 32 cubit and standing upon a level ground, be broken in one place, by a force of the wind, and the tip of it meet the ground at 16 cubit, say mathematician, at how many cubits from the root is it broken ?⁵

2. In a certain lake with ruddy geese and cranes, the tip of a bud of lotus was seen a span above the surface of the water. Forced by the wind, it gradually advanced and was submerged at the distance of two cubits. Compute quickly, mathematician, the depth of water.⁶

1 Colebrook, Loc. cit. see 155 of *Līlāvati*, 39 of Brahmagupta (Problem given by the com.). *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii, 199¹/2 - 200¹/2.

2 Colebrook, p. 296, *Triṣatikā*, Sudhākara's Ed. Ex. 79.

3 *Ibid.* p. 296. *Ibid.* Ex. 78

4 *Ibid.* *Ibid.* Ex. 80.

5 Colebrook, Loc. cit. 148 of *Līlāvati*. Art 41 of Brahmagupta. (The Problem is given by commentator). *Gaṇita-sāra-saṃgraha*, vii, 192¹/2. Mikāmis work, Loc. cit. p. 23

6 Colebrook, Loc. cit. 153 of *Līlāvati*, 41 of Brahmagupta (commentator's note), Mikami's work, p. 22.

These problems are found to have appeared in China in the third century B. C. in the *Chiu-Chang Suan-Shu* which seem to speak of a Chinese influence on Hindu mathematics. But I have elsewhere¹ shown that it does not seem that the Indian borrowed only one problem (this one) from the Chinese which if it be true, would be the only instance of Indian indebtedness to China in a cultural relation of these two nations extending over such a long period and in so varied branches of learning.

1 Self. "Relation of Hindu and Chinese mathematics." — A typed copy is preserved in the Controller's office, c. u. (Thesis to which the Griffith's Memorial Prize was adjudged).

NĀGARA APABHRAṂŚA AND NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

BY

PROF. N. B. DIVATIYA, B. A.

The March and April numbers of this year's Indian Antiquary contain an extremely interesting and enlightening article on "The Nāgar Brāhmins and the Bengal Kāyasthas", contributed by Dr. Devadatta R. Bhandarkar. There are two incidental statements in that article which at once arrest attention and challenge inquiry. They are as under :—

- (a) "He (i. e. Hemacandra) not only mentions, but also describes and illustrates, Nāgara Apabhramśa." (Ind. Ant. April 1932, p. 66)
- (b) "As a matter of fact, the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas to this day use the Nāgarī script though they live in Gujarat and Kathiawar, surrounded by people who employ nothing but the Gujarati character for their vernacular." (Ibid, p. 67)

I shall take up (b) first, it being comparatively a smaller issue. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regards this as a *most noteworthy fact*; and so it would be. But is it a fact at all? To me who am a Nāgara of Ahmedabad and for over half a century in permanent touch with the Nāgaras of Gujarat and Kathiavad, the statement comes quite as news to me. On reading it I rubbed my eyes more than once, questioned several Nāgaras of Gujarat and Kathiavad and they all expressed unqualified surprise at the statement. I have with me my father's writing in letters, diaries, manuscripts of his works etc.; they are all in current Gujarati script. This would carry us back to over a century (my father died in 1886 at the age of 63). The experience of the other members of my community must be similar. [I may state incidentally that during Persian influence from Delhi there were Nāgaras of Ahmedabad who wrote the *gāyatrī mantra* (तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवाक्यमभिधत्तवः) in the Persian script!] If Dr. Bhandarkar received occasional letters in Devanāgarī character

written by correspondents from Gujarat Kathiavad, for instance persons like the late Vallabhaji Haridatta Ācārya of Junagadh, who may have used that script in the hope of being understood by a Maratha Brāhmaṇa, it would be dangerous to generalize on such meagre data. If Dr. Bhandarkar has any extensive evidence on this point I should be delighted to know it. For a greater issue depends on the correct answer on this point: viz. That the name Nāgarī Script was given to it because the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas used it. I do not forget the proper value of the several facts advanced by Dr. Bhandarkar as to the existence of the name Nāgarī for the script through several centuries, even since the time when, in the middle of the fifth century, the Jain religious work, Nandi-Sūtra was written, - which includes Nāgarī as one of the eighteen scripts learned by the Tīrthamkara Rṣabhadeva. But to connect this mention with the Nāgara Caste involves an unwarranted jump. I would only ask one question: what about the name, *Devanāgarī* for the script? Whence came the first member, *Deva*, in this compound? And how do we connect it with the Nāgara Caste? May not the name *Nāgarī* have been but a natural abbreviation of the term, *Devanāgarī*? Śāstrī Vrajalāla Kālidāsa consistently calls the script *Devanagarī* not *Devanāgarī* in his *Gujarati-Bhāṣā-no-Itihāsa* (pp. 69 ff) written in 1866 A. D. Not being at all acquainted with English he could not have mistaken the nā (in English) for na (in English). This is not without a significance of its own.

It seems that Dr. Bhandarkar's basis for his statement is, after all, an earlier assertion (more or less unwarranted) made by Sir George Grierson. Thus, Sir George in the L. S. I. vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 327, n. 2, says: "At the present day, they (i. e. the Nāgaras) employ the Nāgarī and not the Gujarati character for their writings."

Again at p. 338 (para 4) of the same work Sir George says :

"Two alphabets are employed for writing Gujarati. One is the ordinary Devanāgarī. It is not much used now-a-days, *except by special tribes, such as the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas*, but the first printed Gujarati books were in that character. The other script is known as the Gujarati alphabet, and is the one in general use."

Once again, at p. 378 in introducing a specimen of what he quaintly calls Nāgarī-Gujarati" (a dialect which does not really exist), he repeats the assertion thus :

"At the present day they employ the Devanāgarī, and not the Gujarati character, as will be seen from the specimen annexed."

The specimen is printed (probably as received) in Devanāgarī. The locus for this so-called Nāgarī Gujarati is given at the top of the specimen as "Bombay Town and Island." Such a locus for this specimen is really strange. Evidently someone, for reasons best known to himself, sent this specimen written in this character. I repeat with all the emphasis I can command that to me, a Nāgara alive and with over 70 years behind me, this assertion, which gains nothing by repetition, is entirely opposed to facts. I may incidentally mention that the first printed Gujarati books were printed in Devanāgarī under certain special circumstances which it would be needless to dilate upon.

Another little point: Dr. Bhandarkar relies mainly on the article on " The Nagars and Nagari Alphabet " (J. A. S. B., LXV, Pt. 1. pp. 114 ff) by Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu. I shall have to deal with an important point in that article soon below. Here I would touch one of Mr. Vasu's statements extracted from that article by Mr. Manshankar P. Mehta in his Gujarati booklet on *Nāgarotpatti*. Referring to p. 124 of that article he tells us that many Nāgara Brāhmaṇas have been now settled in many parts of the Deccan and they even now *write their religious books in Nāgarī Script*. Well, -- what of that? Religious books, presumably in Sanskrit language, would naturally be found written in Nāgarī character. Facts of this nature can render very little help in drawing the required inference. A similar remark would apply to Dr. Bhandarkar's observation based on the fact that the *religious books* of certain Bengal Mahomedans were written in Nāgarī character (p. 67 of Ind. Ant. April 1932).

I may ask one question before I take leave of this part of my article: Sir George Grierson (L. S. I. Vol. IX pt. II. p. 338) mentions the Kāthī script in vogue all over Northern India and says that the Gujarati script closely resembles it. (The plates .1, 2, 3,

in the article on Modern Indian Vernaculars at the end of this April number of Ind. Ant. clearly shows this resemblance, which is more or less close). If this was named after the Kayastha, as presumably it was, and if the Kayasthas, as so well demonstrated by Dr. Bhandarkar, were Nāgaras,—why should the name Nāgarī given to the *bālabodha* script be related to the Nāgaras? Nay, Kāithī script would really have been the script taken along by the Nāgaras with them as human nature's daily food—and not the Nāgarī which naturally would be reserved for occasional use.

It is high time now for taking up the first issue (a).

Well, who really started the myth that Hemacandra treated Nāgara Apabhramśa in his grammar? Ever since I saw Sir George Grierson's statements, scattered incidentally over several places, in this connection, I have been wondering what authority Sir George had for stating that Hemacandra treated Nāgara Apabhramśa. Here are his statements:---

- (1) "This (i. e. the Nāgara form of Śaurasena Apabhramśa) was the Apabhramśa with which the grammarian Hemacandra (fl. 12th century A. D.) was acquainted, and which he made the basis of his work on that language." (L. S. I. vol. IX, pt. II p, 327)
- (2) "The close connection of this old Gujarati with the *Gurjara Apabhramśa of the Prakrit Grammarians* is remarkable." (Article on the *Mugdhāvabodha Mauktika* (sic? *Auktika*) in J. R. A. S., 1902 p. 537 ff reproduced bodily in L. S. I. vol. IX pt. II, pp. 353-364 (This sentence is found in the opening paragraph of the article).
- (3) In his chapter on Language in the *Census of India Report* (vol. I pt. I chap. VII. 503, p, 305) he calls *Gaurjarī* a dialect of Nāgara Apabhramśa parent of modern Gujarati.

Now, Hemacandra has nowhere in his *Siddha Hemacandra* (Prakrit Section) called his *Apabhramśa* by the name Nāgara *Apabhramśa*. It is therefore not easy to understand Sir George's statement noted in (1) above. The earliest Grammarian who

has spoken of *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* as branches of *Apabhraṃśa* is *Mārkaṇḍeya* (flourished at the earliest about the middle of the 15th century after Hemacandra : see my *Gujarati Language and Literature* vol. I p. 261). In the opening portion of the first *Pāda* of his *Prākṛta Sarvasva*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* says :—

7. नागरा प्राचद्वद्व्योपनागरश्चेति ते त्रयः ।

अपभ्रंशाः परे सूक्ष्मभेदत्वात् पृथङ्मताः ॥

एषु त्रिष्वन्येषामन्तर्भावं तत्रैव वक्ष्यामः ।

And at the close of his eighteenth *Pāda* he shows this omnibus inclusion by enumerating about twenty various dialects of which *Gaurjarī* is one.

I say *Mārkaṇḍeya* was the earliest grammarian to give the name *Nāgara* to his *Apabhraṃśa*, because he has not been preceded by any other in this statement, so far as can be ascertained. True, *Rāmaśarman* (*Tarkavāgīśa*) agrees word for word with *Mārkaṇḍeya* in his account of the minor *Apabhraṃśas*. But, as Sir George, in his private letter to me, dated 8th December 1924 states the date of *Rāmaśarman* is unknown (to him). He adds :—

“ Either *Mārkaṇḍeya* copied from him or else copied from an earlier writer (? *Laṅkeśvara*), for the account of the minor *Apabhraṃśa* dialects in their two works is almost word for word the same.”

However, in view of the uncertainty of *Rāmaśarman*'s date, and certain internal indications, to be stated later on, that *Mārkaṇḍeya* probably preceded *Rāmaśarman*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* may be regarded as the earliest grammarian of known date who spoke of and treated *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*. In any case Hemacandra cannot be connected with that name (*Nāgara*) for his *Apabhraṃśa*. *Lakṣmidhara* who, in spite of the variation in the arrangement of his *Sūtras* in his *Ṣaḍbhaṣācandrikā*, virtually follows Hemacandra's grammar, speaks of *Apabhraṃśa*, pure and simple, — not *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*. I shall later on show that *Lakṣmidhara* preceded *Mārkaṇḍeya*. The date accepted by me for *Mārkaṇḍeya* is merely tentative and simply marks the earliest limit. Sir George Grierson, in his letter referred to a little while ago, supports this view. He says there :— •

"About the date of Mārkaṇḍeya, I have always admitted that it is doubtful. At present, it all depends on the date of Raja Vira Mukundadeva of Orissa. The best known king of that name flourished about 1664, but there were others of the same name. I am, however, inclined to think that Mārkaṇḍeya cannot have lived many centuries ago, for his village, Birapratāpapura or Birapura is well-known, and there is a field there still associated with his name."

Rāmaśarman, it is true, mentions and treats *Nāgara*, *Vṛācaḍa* and *Upanāgara* varieties of Apabhraṃśa in almost the same way as Mārkaṇḍeya (see the *Apabhraṃśa* *Stabaka* Ind. Ant. 1923, pp. 2, 3, 4). But as we noted above the date of Rāmaśarman is unknown; and thus it is difficult to dogmatize whether he preceded, or followed Mārkaṇḍeya, or whether both were contemporaries. I shall give reasons later on for the view that Rāmaśarman followed Mārkaṇḍeya. There is, however, a decidedly earlier grammarian, Kramadīśvara (1300 A. D. according to Dr. Belvalkar) who, *just incidentally* mentions *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* ; i. e. less than two centuries after Hamaçandra these dialects were known in some parts of India. But a regular treatment of these seems to have been left to Mārkaṇḍeya at least a century and a half later, if we accept his earliest date 1450 A. D. Thus, my contention that Mārkaṇḍeya is the earliest grammarian who mentions and treats *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa* stands.

But Dr. Devadatta takes us far back to 1150 A. D. and accepting Nagendra Natha Vasu's views, places *Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa* in that date and states that he, Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, enumerated 27 Apabhraṃśas two out of which were *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. (Ind. Ant. April 1932 p. 66). [Dr. Devadatta puts the weight of Sir George Grierson's authority in the scale in his favour by referring us to Sir George's statement at p. 152 of Ind. Ant. Vol. XL. All I find there is that Sir George calls N. N. Vasu's article interesting without committing himself to any view about Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, and he again dwells on his obsession that Nāgaras even now write in Nāgarī script.] I shall soon below show that Dr. Devadatta's reliance on Nagendra Natha Vasu's date (1150 A. D.) for Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa is but a case of dependence on a very fragile reed. But Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar's next step is not easy to understand : He states :—

"In the same period (as Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa) lived Hemacandra. He not only mentions, but also describes and illustrates the *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*." (Ind. Ant. April 1932 p. 66).

In his foot-note Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar cites as his authority for this statement, Sir George Grierson's L. S. I. vol. IX pt. II p. 327. I have already at the outset of my examination of this issue (a) questioned the correctness of this statement of Sir George, for, I repeat emphatically, Hemacandra has nowhere mentioned, described or illustrated *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*; or, to put it more accurately, Hemacandra has nowhere given to the *Apabhraṃśa* of his grammar the name *Nāgara*.

But, curiously enough, to this specific reliance on Sir George Grierson's statement, Dr. Bhandarkar adds, by a subtle implication which can hardly be called a logical inference or even corollary, a hint that Hemacandra and Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa dealt with *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa* as a subject known commonly to both by some curious mental influence. Anyhow if we can show that this reliance on Nagendra Natha Vasu for the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa is futile, the whole fabric is bound to tumble down. Well, then, what is Nagendra Nath Vasu's authority for 1150 A. D. as the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa ?

In his article entitled " *Nāgaras and Nāgarī Alphabet* " (J. A. S. Beng. vol. LXV, 1896 A. D.)--to which Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar refers at page 66 of his article as his authority, Nagendra Nath Vasu states as under:--

P. 116. " About 750 years ago Pandit Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa thus gives an account of different languages in his *Prākṛta Candrikā*:--

(Here follows a list of 27 Apabhraṃśa dialects which includes *Upaṇāgara* and *Nāgara*). It is clear from the above *ślokas* that like the Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, &c. which derived their names from the provinces or their people, the corrupt forms of languages, viz. *Nāgara*, *Upaṇāgara* and *Daiva* were current in some part of the country whose name they bear. "

Foot-note to this is important. It runs thus:--

"Also known under the name of Kṛṣṇa Pandit, son of Narasimha, sprung in the Śeṣa Vamśa. According to Dr. Bhandarkar the

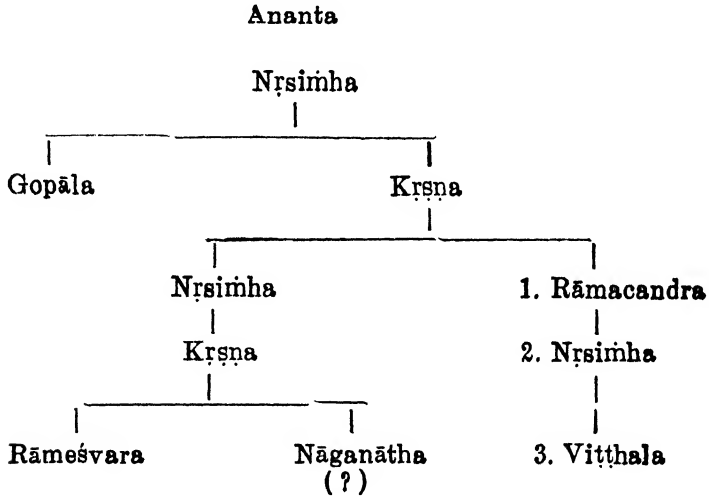
probable date of Rāmacandra nephew of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa is about 1150 A. D. (R. G. Bhandarkar's Report of Sanskrit Mss. 1883-84, p. 59).

Now on looking up Dr. Bhandarkar's Report relied on by Mr. Vasu, what do I find at p. 59 and p. 60? Dr. Bhandarkar computes that--

(a) A great grandson of Rāmacandra lived in 1527 A. D.

(b) Therefore Rāmacandra himself must have lived about 1450 A. D.

The genealogy worked out is as under:--

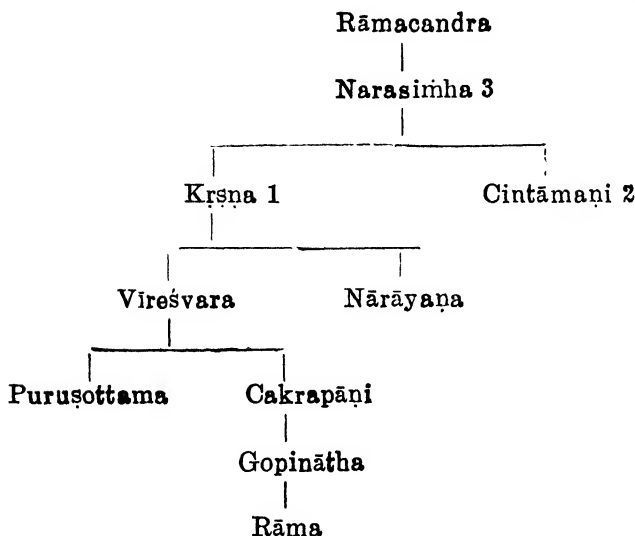


Out of these repetitions of names, one thing which stands out clearly is that Rāmacandra's uncle is not Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa; and that Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar does not give 1150 A.D. but 1450 A. D. as the date of Rāmacandra. Of the two *Nṛsiṃha sūta* Kṛṣṇas one would be Rāmacandra's father, the other his nephew. In either case they (Kṛṣṇa and Rāmacandra) would not be three centuries apart. How and whence, in the face of 1450 A. D. for Rāmacandra, did Nagendra Nath get 1150 A. D. for (Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa) the nephew, (1096 A. D. year of N. N. Vasu's paper = 1900; 1900 minus 750.

=1150 A. D.), it is beyond me to conjecture even. And, besides, nowhere in these pages 59-60 does Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar give Śeṣa as the family name of any of the members in this genealogical tree. However, curiously enough, the Ms. U. U. in Appedix III of the report (which contains the work of Rāmacandra viz. *Prakriyā Kaumudī*) is followed by a Ms. VV, *Rasamañjarī* and its commentary, the latter being written by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, son of Śeṣa Nṛsiṃha. In fact this is where we find the Śeṣa family and Nṛsiṃha as the father of one Cintāmaṇi. It seems that number 1 2 3 are the names for us, that number 2 had, besides Viṭṭhala, two other sons Cintāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa, and that Dr. Bhandarkar's genealogy given at p. 59 of his report was of the Śeṣa family; it is only difficult to guess why the *praśāsti* from which the family tree was constructed omitted the *Vaṃś* name. It is possible, and I hope permissible, to combine this family tree with another, to be presented later on very soon, and place Cintāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa therefrom as brothers of Viṭṭhala (no. 3) in the above tree.

For, we need no longer wander in the wilds of conjecture. We have conclusive evidence about the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. If Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar had referred to the *Chronological conspectus* placed in the paper pocket of the cover of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's valuable work "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar", he would have seen Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa placed in 1600-1650 A. D. This is not the conclusive evidence which I mean. It is found in an enlightening, lucid, and well arranged article, entitled "The Śeṣas of Benares" written by S. P. V. Raṅganātha Svāmi in Ind. Ant. November 1912 vol. XLI pp. 245 ff. I shall take only salient and pertinent matter therefrom :

The family-tree constructed from the *Sūkti-Ratnākara* of Śeṣa Nārayaṇa is as below :—



(Notes :— (a) To 1 &—2 (Kṛṣṇa & Cintāmaṇi) I add Viṭṭhala by combining with the tree given in Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, as already stated above.

(b) Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar assigns the date 1450 A. D. to Rāmacandra. Raṅganātha Svāmi's article states that Nṛsimha (No. 3) belongs to the first half of the sixteenth century (i. e. about 1550 A. D.) A span of something about one century between father and son would seem too big. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's date is inferential, and we can adjust the difference by shifting the dates a decade or two at each end. However, this process may prove defective after all.

Works of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa

Raṅganātha Svāmi gives a list of 10 or 11 works of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, out of which the following three are noteworthy for our purpose :

(a) प्रक्रियाप्रकाशः A commentary on his grandfather's प्रक्रियाकौस्तुभ.

Note : This establishes a link between Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's tree and Raṅganātha Svāmi's tree, enabling us to add Viṭṭhala's name among the sons of Nṛsimha; as Viṭṭhala wrote प्रक्रियाकौस्तुभ-प्रसाद, as his commentary on Rāmacandra's work.

(b) प्राकृतचन्द्रिका—A grammar in metre of what Raṅgasvāmi terms the Jaina Prakrit dialects.

Note :— The dialect, Prakrit, the first of the six is termed आर्ष in this work and it does not treat of Apabhraṃśa as it is an unimportant dialect ; He says :

तच्चार्षे मागधी शौरसेनी पैशाचिकी तथा ।
चूलिका पैशाचिकं चापभ्रंशश्चेति षड्विधम् ॥

And at the end of work¹ he tells us :

अपभ्रंशस्तु यो भेदः षष्ठः सोऽत्र न लक्ष्यते ।

Thus he brushes away Apabhraṃśa as negligible on these grounds :

देशभाषादितुल्यत्वान्नाटकादावदर्शनात् ।
अनत्यन्तोपयोगाच्चातिप्रसङ्गभयादपि ॥

But Nagendra Natha Vasu has quoted the list of 27 dialects given (as he believes) by Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa in his work, wherein he includes Nāgara and Upanāgara as varieties of Apabhraṃśa.

(c) कंसवधम् — A play.

This furnishes conclusive clue to the date of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. This play No. 6 in the *Kūṇyamālā* series, shows in the *Sūtradhāra*'s prologue (*prastāvanā*) that Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa was a contemporary of Giridhara, son of Raja Todarmal, the finance minister of Akbar the Great. Raja Todarmal died in 1586 A. D.; so his son, argues Raṅgasvāmī, must have lived in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa thus flourished in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

How in the face of this clear evidence, can anyone seriously accept the unwarranted date, 1150 A. D.? The range between 1150 and 1625 is so wide that we cannot conceive any element of reconciliation. However let us try to be accurate. The footnote at the beginning of the play says :—

एतन्नाटकं चानेनाकबरमन्त्रिणो राजातोडरमल्लनाम्नः पुत्रस्य गोवर्धनधारी-
त्यपरनाम्नो गिरिधारिणः प्रेरणया प्रणीतम् ।

And on this basis the *tipparī*-writer says that¹ the author flourished in Akbar's time in the latter half of the sixteenth century A. D. But in the *prastāvanā* itself the *Sūtradhāra* informs the *Naṭī* after stating who Giridhara is,

तेन चाहं सबहुमानमाहूय ससमाजेनादिष्टोऽस्मि ।
 पृथ्वीमण्डलमौलिमण्डनमणिः श्रीमन्दुसिंहात्मजः
 कृत्वा कृष्णकविः कुतूहलवशादस्मासु यन्न्यक्षिपत् ।
 नाट्यं कंसवधाभिधानमधुना तस्य प्रयोगोद्यमं
 विद्वद्राजसमाजमानसमहानन्दाय विन्दामहे ॥

which would show that Giridhārī ordered, — not the composition, but — the performance of *Kaṁsavadham*.

Nevertheless the formalities of a play's *prastāvanā* will explain the apparent discrepancy, and we can take it that the composition was necessarily the result of an invitation from Giridhārī; or at any rate the composition could not be very much earlier than the performance. But once again there is another difficulty in date-fixing. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report p. 60 mentions an unquestioned date, 1527 A. D. (1583 V. S) as the year in which a great grandson of Rāmacandra copied *Īrakṛiyā Kaumudī* of Rāmacandra. Thus Kṛṣṇa, an uncle of this great grandson, could not have lived 60 years after the year of that copy. Some sort of adjustment will be necessary by assuming that Giridhara ordered the play कंसवध a good deal before Todarmal's death in 1586 A. D. Thus Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa may have composed the play, say, somewhere about the last quarter of the 16th century; uncle and nephew could very well be contemporaries, and longevity may easily wipe off other differences. And we may accept the last quarter of the sixteenth century or the first quarter of the seventeenth century as the period when Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa flourished. Thus the fixing of such an early date as 1150 A. D. for Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and his reference at that early date to *Nāgara* and *Upināgara* as varieties out of 27 ones of Apabhraṁśa falls to the ground.

Another incidental statement, a virtual reproduction of Sir George Grierson's statements, made by Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar, may be noted and examined. He says (page 66 of his article) :—

"The language which they (i. e. the Nāgara Brahmanas) write, it is true, is ordinary Gujarati, with a slightly greater use of Sanskrit words than is met with in the Gujarati of other castes." Nevertheless, "they are said to have a dialect of their own, called Nāgarī Gujarati." For the statement in quotation marks he refers

us to Sir George's Linguistic Survey, Vol. IX. Pt. II, p. 378. This is all entirely news to me, a Nāgara myself. For, there is nothing like Nāgarī Gujarati so far as I have known, and the specimen of Nāgarī Gujarati given by Sir George at p. 378 carries with it no linguistic or dialectic features peculiar to the Nāgaras. Sir George obtained for his work a translation of an extract from the story of the Prodigal Son from some one in the office of the Collector of Customs, Bombay and located, unwarrantedly, the Nāgara dialect in Bombay town and Island, which in no sense is a Nāgara location. I need not quote the passage, for Sir George virtually gives his case away when he says at the same page, (after stating that the Nāgaras are said to have a dialect of their own called Nāgarī Gujarati) :—

“But their language is ordinary Gujarati with a slightly greater use of Sanskrit words than is met with in the Gujarati of other castes” (This, by the way, is like the definition संस्कृताद्व्या गौर्जरी in Mārkaṇḍeya's omnibus list of dialects.)

There are, no doubt a few formal peculiarities in the speech of Nāgaras in a few localities e. g. Karpālī on the banks of the Narmadā, Surat (where they are fast dying out) and Benares; they are such forms as करीश for करीशु (future, 1st pers. plural); — करांडां, करछ, for (हुं) करछे (present tense, 2nd pers., singular), confined to Charotar, which again is disappearing, and a few others. But, one swallow does not make a summer, such stray features do not make a dialect.

Having fairly well fixed the location of *Nāgara* and *Upa-nāgara* in the several grammatical works, let us attempt their relative positions. I shall at first apply two tests :—

- (a) The mention, or treatment, of *Nāgara* and *Upa-nāgara*;
- (b) The recognition of certain special Apabhraṃśa peculiarities.

I give a list of grammarians for easy reference :—

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. (V) Vararuci | 1st quarter of the 4th Century B. C. |
| 2. (H) Hemacandra | 1112 A. D. [Apabhraṃśa grammar] |

- | | | |
|---------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| 3. (L) | Lakṣmīdhara | Early part of 13th Century A. D. |
| 4. (Kr) | Kramadīśvara | 1300 A. D. or later |
| 5. (Mk) | Mārkaṇḍeya | 1450 A. D. or later |
| 6. (R) | Ramaśarman | |
| 7. (S) | Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa | 1576 A. D. or thereabouts. |

Before proceeding further, let us try and verify the dates of the above writers. Vararuci's date is fairly trustworthy, as given by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who at p. 301 of his *Wilson Philological Lectures*, accepts the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the period of the Nandas, i. e. to about the first quarter of the fourth century B. C. Dr. Belvalkar practically assigns him to this date.

Hemacandra's date is undoubted. He was born in 1145 V. S. (= 1089 A. D.) and died in 1229 V. S. (= 1173 A. D.). Vrajaśāl Kālidās Śāstrī, in his *Gujarati Bhāṣā-no Itihāsa* (p. 40) tells us that Hemacandra wrote his grammar of Apabhraṃśa in V. S. 1168 (= 1112 A. D.).

Lakṣmīdhara—K. P. Trivedi (p. 17 of his Introduction to the (*Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*)) assigns (L) to somewhere before 1532 A. D.

His line of reasoning is this :

"Kumāra Svāmin, son of Mallinātha, quotes Lakṣmīdhara. Mallinātha flourished in the sixteenth century; for one of his verses occurs in an inscription of A. D. 1532. This makes Lakṣmīdhara a contemporary of Mallinātha."

How? I cannot grasp. Assuming that the verse in the inscription is a sure index, all one can say is that Mallinātha flourished *before* 1532, not necessarily in the 16th century. Nor is it quite clear why, because Mallinātha's son quotes (L), he (L) was the father's contemporary.

If we reject K. P. Trivedi's date for (L) and assign the thirteenth century to him, we get over the anomaly created by the fact that (Kr) mentions (ever so much as incidentally) the dialects, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*, while (L) strictly adheres to (H) in his utter silence regarding the two dialects. For (L) follows (H) almost religiously except in a few variations and difference in arrangement. (L) reproduces, though with a varying development, (H)'s erroneous views; thus :—

1. (H) has हुच्च as an *ādeśa* for श्रु with प्र as an *upasarga* when the sense is पर्याप्ति (sufficiency). (भुवः पर्याप्तौ हुच्चः VIII. iv. 390 ; in *Siddha Hemacandra*). The instance given is अहग्नि पट्टच्चइ नाहु. Now पट्टच्चइ really is from प्राप् (प्राप्नोति). Gujarati प्ठांचे. It has nothing to do with प्र + श्रु. I need not discuss the error at length. I have done so in GLL, vol. II, pp. 32-33, pp. 132-3 ; which will soon be out. Now (L) has followed the error but turned पट्टच्च into बट्टच्च (III. iv. 58 ; पर्याप्तौ भुवा बट्टच्चः).

2. Again (H) imagines that हां is the ablative suffix in the case of certain pronouns ; his instances being जहां होन्तउ आगदो and the like (see his VIII. iv. 355). As a matter of fact the हां is the locative suffix and होन्तउ (= भवन्) conveys the ablative idea. I have discussed the question at great length in my article on "The Ablative Termination in Gujarati" (Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee, vol. III, pp. 65 ff). Lakṣmīdhara has altered the हां to हे and dropped the होन्तउ of (H) in his *sūtra* III. iv. 20 (p. 268), a reduction which wipes off the element of copying. His instance is सव्वहं not जहां होन्तउ. K. P. Trivedi (Appendix p. 148) compares this हे with H's हां. Could (L)'s हे be a mislection for हां especially as हे is given for gen. plur. in III. iv. 10 ?

K. P. Trivedi makes (L) contemporary with Mallinātha. As a matter of fact Mallinātha flourished in the early part of the thirteenth century A.D. Mable Duff (page 189) speaks of V. S. 1298 (=1242 A. D.) as the year in which Narahari, son of Mallinātha was born, and refers us to Peterson's first Report of Sanskrit Mss. p. 25, where we find the parentage of Narahari (viz. Rāmeśvara of Vatsa Gotra father of Narasimhabhaṭṭa, father of Mallinātha), as given in the introductory verses to Narahari's commentary on *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (written under the name, Sarasvatī-tīrtha). Narahari's birth date is there given as under :--

सवस्त्र-ग्रह-हस्तेन ब्रह्मणा समलंकिते ।
 $\begin{matrix} 8 & 9 & 2 \\ & & 1 \end{matrix}$

काले नरहरेर्जन्म कस्य नासीन्मनोरमम् ॥

(The figures are placed by me.)

If, then, Narahari (Mallinātha's younger son) was born in V. S. 1298 (=1242 A.D.), Mallinātha himself must necessarily be placed say about 1210 A. D. Thus, there is only one century between

(H)'s *Apabhraṃśa* grammar (A. D. 1112) and (L)'s *षड्भाषाचन्द्रिका*, taking L as Mallinātha's contemporary, earlier though he must have been.

(Kr.) - Dr. Belvalkar has placed (Kr) in 1250 A. D. - 1230 A. D. in his chart. (We have to remember that at the top of his chart he tells us that all the dates are approximate only). He tells us (at page 109 of his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*) that Aufrecht makes (Kr)'s school even anterior to Bopadeva, though Colebrooke places it immediately after. Now "Bopadeva is quoted by Mallinātha (cir. 1350) in his commentary on the *Kumāra*, and he is known to have been the protégé of Hemādri who was a minister to Mahādeva the Yādava king of Devagiri (1200-1271 A. D.) and to his successor Rāmadeva. " (Belvalkar's pp. 104-105). Mallinātha as we have just seen above, belonged to the early part of the thirteenth century. Belvalkar's date cir. 1350 is therefore out by a century. Add to this the further statement at p. 109 that (Kr) wrote seven *pādas* of his *Saṃkṣipta Sūtra* (dealing with Sanskrit) earlier and the eighth dealing with Prakrit was added later. Thus, for the purpose of our investigation (Kr) must be placed fairly later, say, about 1300 A. D., if not later. (Belvalkar's chart shows 1200-1250 A. D. for Bopadeva; but the inquiry in the text takes him right up to 1271 A. D., and even later.)

Mārkaṇḍeya and *Rāmaśarman* : I take them as twins, both because they were apparently closely allied in time, and because their mention and treatment of *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* is almost identical. The occasional differences between (Mk) and (R) are indicated in detail by Sir George Grierson in his publication of *Rāmaśarman's Apabhraṃśa-Stabakas* in Ind. Ant. vol LI and LII 1922 and 1923 A. D. There are two noteworthy features in these *Stabakas* :—

- (1) The difference between (Mk) and (R) consists in additions to (Mk), not omissions.
- (2) While (Mk)'s *Prākṛta Sarvasva* is almost entirely in the common and simple *Anuṣṭup* metre (R)'s *Stābakas* employ various classical and elaborate metres like *Mandākrāṇḍā*, *Upajāti*, *Aupacchandasiḥa*, *Vasantatilakā*, and the like. These

two features, to my mind, strongly indicate that (Mk)'s work preceded that of (R).

So we find that between 1112 A. D. when Hemacandra wrote his Grammar of the *Apabhraṃśa* language, but never uttered the names, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*, and 1450 A. D. or thereafter when (Mk) and (R) appeared in the firmament of Prākṛta grammar writing, the dialects *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* occupied a notice-worthy place.

Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. — We have already gone into the problem of his date and on the strength of the evidence of *Kaṃsavadhama* assigned him the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth century. We have further evidence which I take from Belvalkar : “ Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa was a *guru* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. Jagannātha, the court paṇḍit of the Emperor Shah Jahan, says that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. As Jagannātha was the pupil of the son of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, this gives us Bhaṭṭoji's date, which must be about 1630 A. D. This is also confirmed by the fact that a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji wrote a work in *Samvat* 1693 (= A. D. 1637). Bhaṭṭoji's date being 1630 A. D., Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa may safely be placed about 1600 A. D.

But there is a hitch : Śeṣa Viṭṭhala, son of Śeṣa Nṛsimha, and grandson of Śeṣa Rāmacandra, wrote a commentary, *Prakriyā Kaumudī Prasāda* on his grandfather's work (*Prakriyā Kaumudī*). The earliest Ms. of this *Prasāda* is dated *Samvat* 1605-6 = A. D. 1548-9. Hence, Belvalkar says, Viṭṭhala cannot be later than 1525 A. D. If so, 1600 A. D. for Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa presents a span of 75 years between the two brothers ! This is absurd. Belvalkar's date for Rāmacandra is 1450 A. D. Viṭṭhala, the grandson being in 1525 A. D. The grand father may possibly have lived 75 years before him. But 75 years between the two brothers are an incredible gap. Some adjustment will, therefore, be necessary in this case also. We can very well reckon that कंसवधम् was performed or written, at the instance of Giridhara during the life-time of Todar Mal, and therefore fairly well before 1586 A. D. .

Let us now apply the tests stated before :

(a)

The mention, or treatment, of Nāgara and Upanāgara

(V) Does not mention even *Apabhraṃśa*, much less can we expect any reference to *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. Obviously these dialects did not exist in his time.

(H) Mentions *Apabhraṃśa*, but nowhere does he speak of ^{echt} ¹ less treat, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. It may be that these ^{rooke} ¹ did not exist in his time, or, if they did, he left them ^{ed by} ¹ severely alone.

(L) Holds the same position as (H) in this respect.

(Kr) In the chapter in *Saṃkṣipta-sūtra* on *Apabhraṃśa*, *Sūtra* 70 we find a bare incidental reference to *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara*. (It is noteworthy that (Kr) seems to cover *Māgadhi*, *Paiśāci*, and *Ardhamāgadhi* under the generic name *Apabhraṃśa*.)

We have fixed 1300 A. D. and a little later for (Kr). H. wrote his grammar of *Apabhraṃśa* in 1112 A. D. Thus within a space of nearly two centuries, these minor dialects appear to have just sprouted up, and nothing more.

When we come to (M) and (R), the two dialects, *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* come into prominence, comparatively speaking, by way of recognition and treatment.

(Ś) is the last in the list. He professedly disowns *Apabhraṃśa*, for purposes of treatment, and briefly includes *Nāgara* and *Upanāgara* in his omnibus list of minor dialects, as already noted by us above. To give him the place of honour in connection with *Nāgara Apabhraṃśa*, as N. N. Vasu and, following him, Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar do, is out of perspective, to say the least. However, I have my doubts about the presence of the omnibus list in *Prākṛta Candrikā*, which I state fully in my *post script* to this article. If my doubts are valid, they cut the ground from under N. N. Vasu's main argument.

(b)

Recognition of certain special Apabhraṃśa Features

The neuter gender nominative and accusative singular form for words ending in अ.

Hemacandra has two alternative forms for this: 1. for words without the क suffix and 2. for words with the क suffix. For the former he has उ endings for neuter as well as masculine genders. For the latter he has ङ ending in the neuter gender: *स्यमोरस्योव* VIII. iv. 351. Thus, अहर् for अघर्: and अंयु for अङ्गम्, कमलु for कमलम्, पणु for पर्णम्. But (क्लीबि)कान्तस्यातउंस्यमो: VIII. iv. 354. Thus, भगउं for भग्नकम्, पणउं for पर्णकम्.

It is the treatment of this क suffix in the neuter gender that I apply as a test.

Lakṣmidhara—recognises this उ ending, no doubt, but attempts a needless improvement upon (H) by providing the उं for the past participial forms additionally and specifically: कान्तस्यातउंस्यमो: (III. iv. 25 p. 222 in K. P. Trivedi) कान्तस्य तान्तस्य च अतः स्वमोः परयोः उं भवति नपि नपुंसकलिङ्गे, and instances कुंडउं । तान्ते भगउं भग्नं । करउं कृतम् इत्यादि ।

(H) would cover this भगउं (तान्तुं) under कान्त by tracing it to भग्नकम्. In fact he has given भगउं itself as an instance of कान्त.

Kramadīśvara -- says nothing about उं for कान्तनपुंसक. He has a general उ for all, अतास्वमोरुवा *sūtra* २२ । पुंसि ओच्च *sūtra* २३.

Mārkaṇḍeya, Rāmaśarman-- Both are silent on the point of the उं for कप्रत्ययान्त neuter gender.

(Mk) XVII. 10 gives उ for all genders for all bases (उच्चस्वमोः) in nom. and acc. singular but nowhere does he speak of उं for the कप्रत्ययान्त in अ base. Both (Mk) and (R) supplement the उ suffix by a novel suffix, दु; see Mk. XVII, 7 and (R) *Ap. Stabaka* 7. Instances: रुक्खदु, तरुगिदु, वणदु (Mk), कामिनीदु (R). (R) calls such forms अराष्टक (irregular) and ग्राम्य (boorish). Rāmaśarman follows suit in verse 8 of the *Apabhraṃśa Stabaka*. I say "follows suit" because, for reasons already stated, I regard (Mk) as the model and (R) as the copyist, I differ, with due deference, from Sir George

Grierson's view that "Mārkaṇḍeya must have been acquainted with the present work, or with some of his predecessors, for he quotes almost *verbatim* the long passage, at the end of the chapter here given, which deals with the minor varieties of Apabhraṃśa" (See Ind. Ant. vol. LI, 1922 A. D. p. 14). The mere fact of identity of the particular passage can very well be proof of (R)'s being the copyist and (Mk) the original; and I have already given certain internal indications leading to my view of the question of priority between the two.

The pleonastic र

(H) in his *sūtra* VIII-iv-399 अभृतोऽपि क्वचित् notices this uninvited (प्राक्षित) र. His instance is ब्रासु for व्यासः; the य being first elided under the general rule अधोमनयाम् (III-ii-78).

(L) accepts this fully (III-iii-6) क्वचिदभृतोऽपि and instances ब्रासु for व्यासः.

(Kr) has ब्रासादिर्व्यासादेः (*sūtra* 5) citing the word specimen bodily without marking the phonetic change process. But evidently, at the back of his mind, there is an intention to take र as a substitute for य, almost so, as

(Mk) and (R) regard the genesis of the letter-transformation. For (Mk) has व्यासादेर्यस्य रफःस्यात् (XVII--३) and gives more instances than one. ब्रासु । ब्राक्रोसु । ब्राडि । ब्रागरण् ॥

(R), verse 3, tells the same tale but slightly differently. It says व्यासव्याडिप्रभृतिषु पदेष्वत्ररः स्यादधस्तात् ; i. e. in words like व्यास, व्याडि and the like a र comes as the lower member in the conjunct; which is almost the same thing as saying that य is turned to र; both these writers employ a crude empiric method, as compared with (H).

But throughout we find that the र comes in after the य is kicked out; that is to say, the प्रक्षेप of र is recognised only in cases where य is the lower member of a conjunct. This limited scope is largely widened in *post-Apabhraṃśa* period. I have given a longish list of words with a pleonastic र in my G. L. L. vol II, lecture IV, section III, *Utsarga* I, pp. 433-435—which will show this extension of the principle : पडसुं (= side) < प्रखसुं < पक्षकं ; करोड < क्राड < क्रोटि ; क्षरण < साण < शाण ; and the like are instances in point.

Tessitori §31 calls this a euphonic *r* (it is really pleonastic) and gives instances which are not all to the point, the *r*, as he himself admits, being present in Sanskrit.

The ढ suffix

This suffix, profusely used in *Apabhraṃśa*, is dealt with by (H) specifically in VIII-iv-429 and 431 (डी constructively, as really it is ढ + ई) e g. दोसडा, गोरडी.

(L) gives, word for word, the same *sūtra* (his being III-iii-29) and instances रुम्बडु.

(Kr) is silent on this ढ suffix.

(Mk) — XVII 5 and 6 note डा and डी (fem.); — the आ in डा really is the nom. sing. form. (H) rightly gives डड = अड; virtually ढ; the ढ being a mark-letter for ढिलोप in the base-word. (H) also gives अ, उल्ल which (Mk) ignores.

(R), verse 6, has the same डा and डी; his instance, हिअडा (same as Mk) and गोलडी (गोरडी) different from Mk.

Note:— Tessitori §146 relates this, conjecturally, to the Skr. ट suffix. The conjecture is quite a happy one. We find instances like रथं वधूटीमारोप्य पापः क्वाप्येष गच्छात (*Mahāvīracarita*); गोपवधूटीदुकूलचौराय (*Bhūṣū-pariccheda*); where ट is a diminutive suffix showing delicacy; and, स्वर्गग्रामटिकाविलुण्ठनवृथोच्छूनैः किमेभिर्भुजैः (quoted in *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* I) where टी-टिका is used to show contempt through the diminutive idea. This ढ suffix is profusely used in Gujarati literature, ancient and modern, especially in ancient; in modern literature it is too often a case of namby-pamby effeminacy.

What does this inquiry show us now? Does it not establish the chronological sequence of the grammarians named by me? But, we must cry halt. There may be an alternative explanation. Sir George Grierson notes two schools of Prakrit grammarians: (1) Eastern and (2) Western. To the Eastern belong Vararuci, Lankeśvara, Kramadīśvara, Rāmaśarmaṇ and Mārkaṇḍeya. Under the Western school he places Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmidhara, Simharāja and others who adopted the technology of

the expanded Vālmiki *Sūtras* (See Ind. Ant. vol. V, 1922 p. 13). Could it be that the recognition of Nāgara and Upanāgara depended on the school of grammarians, so also the special Apabhraṃśa features which I discussed just above? Thus (Kr), (R) and (Mk) — all Easterns recognize the Nāgara and Upanāgara dialects, either fully or incidentally, while (H) and (L) — Westerners — ignore them. This would mean that the locus of the dialects was in the East and not in the West, a theory which would not readily be accepted by the advocates of Nāgara Apabhraṃśa.

Again, out of the special Apabhraṃśa features, the most important one is the उ formations in कान्तनपुंसक of अदना bases. This principle accounts for the उ ending of neuter words in Gujarati, पर्णकं, पण्णउं, पातुं (Guj.). Marathi, also a Western vernacular, has ए to correspond to the उ in Gujarati : e. g. गेलें < गयलयं < गतकम्. But this comes from अकं-अयं-ए and not from अउं-उं. All the same the nasal is there. While these features are present in the Western vernaculars, they are absent in Hindi which has आ ending for neuter gender as well as in masculine. Other Eastern vernaculars will also go with Hindi — at least they do not possess the उ ending of Gujarati. Sindhi too has no distinctive neuter gender ending. The pleonastic र and ङ suffix vary in their presence in East and West. In fact we have not enough data for fixing them locally.

Thus, the fact of a grammarian being Eastern or Western will not furnish a true solution ; and we must fall back on the comparatively surer basis viz. chronology, which will show how the Nāgara and the Upanāgara dialects gradually appeared in the linguistic field.

In these circumstances my view that Mārkaṇḍeya was the first grammarian who dealt with Nāgara and Upanāgara, and that Hemacandra has nowhere even so much as mentioned them, stands justified.

Post-Script

Mr. N. N. Vasu, in the article relied on by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar quotes certain *ślokas* which enumerate 27 minor dialects ; these *ślokas*, according to him, are found in Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's *Prākṛta Candrikā*. I obtained from the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute of

Poona a Ms. of *Prākṛta Candrikā* which was copied in V. S. 1776 (⁶रस-⁷गोत्र-⁷गिरिन्दु-¹संमिते ऽब्दे) = A. D. 1720, i. e. about a century after Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's time (1600 A. D. or thereabouts). I went through the Ms. carefully more than once, asked a competent friend to do the same, and the result was that these *ślokas* are *not* there, in any part of the work. How are we to account for this? The absence of the *ślokas* does not leave a gap in the B.O.R. Institute's Ms. A solution, possibly the only solution, lies in the possibility of the *ślokas* being an interpolation in Mr. N. N. Vasu's Ms.. This theory gains colour from a very significant fact: Mārkaṇḍeya, in the Introductory portion of his *Prākṛta Sarvasva* raises in the commentary a possible objection to his statement in the 4th stanza that the Prakrit languages are sixteen in all; viz, how sixteen in all, when some people have said that there are Mahārāṣṭrī, Āvanti, Śauraseni and others eight in number, Śākārī etc., and 27 varieties of Apabhraṃśa, and 11 Piśāca dialects. In enumerating the 27 Apabhraṃśas the list given by (Mk) is the original which must have supplied matter for interpolation to Mr. N. N. Vasu's Ms.. In fact the list is the same as given by Mārkaṇḍeya. Sir George Grierson regards this list as taken by Mārkaṇḍeya from an unnamed author (See his *Apabhraṃśa Stobakas* of Rāmasarmaṇ, Ind. Ant. vol. LII, A. D. 1923, p. 5).

In my foregoing article all observations regarding Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa and his 27 varieties of Apabhraṃśa are to be taken as subject to this interpolation theory.

MISCELLANEA
NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XV

HEMĀDRI'S COMMENTARY ON THE RAGHUVAMŚA
(CALLED DARPAṆA) AND ITS PROBABLE DATE —
FIRST HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY

Hemādri, the author of the commentary called Darpaṇa on the Raghuvamśa was a very learned commentator. This is evidenced by the list of "authors, works and portions of works quoted by Hemādri in his Darpaṇa" published by Mr. S. P. Pandit as an Appendix to his edition of the Raghuvamśa.¹

According to Mr. Nandargikar, Hemādri stands second to Vallabha, another commentator on the Raghuvamśa, chronologically.² He also observes in the same place that this commentary "excels by far all the others both in point of scholarship and judgment." Hemādri mentions other earlier commentators such as Dakṣiṇāvarta, Kṛṣṇa and Vallabha but it is "curious to note that Cāritravardhana and Mallīnātha although they literally imitate him nowhere give his name or at least indicate that these expressions are not their own."³ Cāritravardhana flourished after Vallabha for he quotes him in his commentary. Cāritravardhana imitates Hemādri while Dinakara's commentary which gives its date viz. A. D. 1385 is simply the epitome of Cāritravardhana's commentary. It is clear, therefore, that Vallabha lived long before 1385 A. D. and between him and Dinakara flourished Hemādri and Cāritravardhana.⁴ Hemādri's

1. *Raghuvamśa*, part II, Bombay, 1872, Appendix I, pp. 12-18.

2. *Raghuvamśa*, Poona, 1897 —Critical Notice, p. 13.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

commentary mentions Caturvargacintāmaṇi of the celebrated Hemādri, the writer on Dharmaśāstra.¹ This work is assigned to a period (1260-1270 A. D.).² It would thus be seen that Hemādri's commentary must be assigned to a period between 1260 to 1385 A. D., if Mr. Nandargikar's hypothesis of putting him before Dinakara is accepted.

We have, however, to record the following evidence which to a certain extent upsets Mr. Nandargikar's hypothesis :-

- (1) Hemādri in commenting on verse 20 of Canto XII refers to प्रक्रियाकौमुदी as follows :-

“प्रक्रियाकौमुद्यां च भजनोद्दीर्घमात्रं विवक्षितं न स्त्रीत्वमिति”

- (2) We have been able to identify the above quotation in the recent edition³ of the work by Mr. K. P. Trivedi, where the quotation reads as under :-

“दृढभक्तिरित्यादौ भजनोद्दीर्घमात्रं विवक्षितं न तु स्त्रीत्वम् ॥”

- (3) It is, therefore, perfectly clear that Hemādri knew the Prakriyākaumudī of Rāmacandra and possibly in his time it was gaining in status as one of the authorities on grammar because he refers to it in the same breath with *Kāśikā* in the same place.⁴

- (4) Now as regards the date of Prakriyākaumudī, the following views are available :-

(i) According to Keith⁵ the work was written c. 1400.

(ii) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar thinks that Rāmacandra lived about 1450 A. D.⁶

1. See Comm. on Canto XIII, 52, and Canto VII, 37, 51.

2. *History of Dharmaśāstra* (1930) by P. V. Kane, Vol. I, p. 357.

3. B. S. S. LXXVIII, Part I, 1925, p. 584.

4. Ms. No. 47 of 1873-74, folio 106, a, line. 5 —

“तथा काशिकायां च । दृढभक्तिरित्यादिषु स्त्रीपूर्व-

पदस्याविवक्षितत्वान्तिद्धमिति समाधेयमिति ॥”

5. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 430.

6. *Report on the Search for Mss. for 1888-84*, p. 60.

(iii) Mr. K. P. Trivedi,¹ however, concludes that Rāmacandra flourished in the latter half of the 14th century (i.e. between 1350 to 1400 A. D.).

We are inclined to adopt Mr. Trivedi's conclusion because he notes a Ms.² of the *Prakriyākaumudī* which is dated Samvat 1493 (= A. D. 1437). If a copy of the work is dated A. D. 1437 the work may be presumed to have been written during the *2nd half of the 14th century* i.e. between 1350 to 1400 A. D.

(5) If the above view is accepted, Hemādri, who refers to the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra, must be assigned to a period which is removed at least by 50 years or so. We may be, therefore, not much wrong if we state that Hemādri's commentary was written during the *first half of the 15th century* i.e. between A.D. 1400 to 1450. This conclusion vitiates Mr. Nandargikar's inference that Hemādri lived before A.D. 1385. We may state here that this view is based on the philological argument that Cāritravardhana imitates Hemādri and that Dinakara's commentary is practically an epitome of Cāritravardhana's commentary.

(6) Other evidence in support of our conclusion is the fact that Hemādri refers to *Rūpamālā* a work on grammar in commenting verse 70 of Canto XIII. Presumably the reference is to the work of this name by Vimalasarasvatī³ who is placed not later than A. D. 1350. This work is put prior in chronological order to the *Prakriyākaumudī*. As this work is referred to as an authority on grammar by Hemādri, he must have lived at least 50 years after A. D. 1350 i.e. after A. D. 1400. Our conclusion, therefore, that Hemādri belongs to the *first half of the 15th century* appears to be approximately correct.

1. B. S. S. LXXVIII, Part I, Introduction, p. XLV.

2. MS. No. 20 of 1904 (Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta).

3. Belvalkar : *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 44.

XVI

SOME FURTHER LIGHT ON THE DATE OF ŚRĪKAṆṬHA,
THE AUTHOR OF RASAKAUMUDĪ

In my note in the *Annals*, Vol. XII, pp. 202-4 I have shown that Śatruśālya was the patron of Śrīkaṇṭha (author of *Rasakaumudī*) and that he was identical with Jam Sattarsal of Navanagar (1569 to 1608 A. D.). I also inferred that the B.O.R.I. Ms. of the *Rasakaumudī* was a contemporary copy from the original of the court poet Śrīkaṇṭha, who must have been living in Jam Sattarsal's reign, and that he composed his *Rasakaumudī* about A. D. 1575 i.e. 5 or 6 years after Jam Sattarsal's accession to the gādi.

In the present note I have to record the corroboration of my inferences. There is a poem on the history of the Jam dynasty of Kaccha and Navanagar, especially of Śatruśālya Nṛpa claiming descent from Yadu and Kṛṣṇa, in seven cantos. It is called *Jānavijaya-Kāvya* by one Vāpinātha. Aufrecht¹ records two Mss. of this historical poem, at the end of which the following verse occurs with reference to Śrīkaṇṭha :—

“ आस्ते यस्य समीप एव नगरी द्वारावती श्रीपते-
देवो नागविभूषणोऽस्य नगरोपांतेऽस्ति नागेश्वरः ।
नानाशास्त्रविचारचारुचतुरः श्रीकण्ठनामा द्विजो
यस्यास्ते स चिरायुरस्तु जगति श्रीशत्रुशत्यो नृपः ॥ १०७ ॥ ”

The above verse makes it clear beyond the possibility of a doubt that Śrīkaṇṭha, who is none other than the author of *Rasakaumudī* described by me in my previous note, was a court-poet of Jam Sattarsal, being extremely clever on account of his study of various Śāstras as mentioned in the verse.

The India Office Ms. of the *Jānavijaya Kāvya* is dated Samvat 1866 (= A. D. 1810) while the B.O.R.I. Ms. is dated Samvat 1805 (= A. D. 1749) and hence older.

1. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, p. 206—“ P. 9 ” which is the same as B. O. R. I. No. 183 of 1879—80 and iii, 44—“ IO-2351 ” described by Eggeling on p. 1511 of Part VII of *India Office Mss. Catalogue*, 1904.

XVII

A RARE MANUSCRIPT OF A COMMENTARY ON THE
MEGHADŪTA CALLED *SĀRODDHĀRINĪ*AND ITS PROBABLE DATE (*between* A. D. 1173 AND 1561)

Mr. Nandargikar in his edition of the Meghadūta¹ describes a Ms. of a commentary on the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa called *Sāroddhārini*. This Ms. is No. 157 of 1882-83 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. It is dated Samvat 1617 (=A.D. 1561). According to Mr. Nandargikar it is a "very learned commentary." "It abounds in quotations from numerous authors and in grammatical, philological, rhetorical, and critical disquisitions. It refers in several places to older commentators but does not name any of them."

Dr. K. B. Pathak² who has also made use of this Ms., records this commentary as "next only to Mallinātha's work in point of merit."

As Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* does not record this Ms. or any other Mss of this important commentary, the only available B.O.R.I. Ms., though in a damaged condition, must be regarded as very rare and important.

As regards the date of this commentary Dr. Pathak³ thinks it is composed after Mallinātha's commentary "as we find in it a reference to his explanation of माल as मालाख्य क्षेत्रं in verse 16." I have examined this reference in the Ms. of *Sāroddhārini* referred to above. It appears as under on folio 8 :—

“अत्र कोचिन्मालं मालाभिधानं क्षेत्रं” इति ब्रुवते तन्न युक्तं”

Dr. Pathak identifies this reference with the following line⁵ in Mallinātha's commentary :—

1. *Meghadūta* with Mallinātha's commentary, Bombay, 1894, Critical Notice, p. 7.
2. *Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, (Second Edition), Poona, 1916. Introduction, p. xxi.
3. *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
4. In a commentary on the Meghadūta (Ms. No. 158 of 1882-83 dated Samvat 1626, i.e. A.D. 1570 — fol. 19) the expression “मालं मालाभिधानं क्षेत्रं” is found.
5. Pathak's Edition of the Meghadūta, Poona, 1916, p. 11.

“मालं मालाख्यं क्षेत्रं”

It will be seen from the above quotations that the *Sāroddhārīnī* does not mention Mallinātha by name. We are, therefore, not positively sure from this vague reference whether it pertains to Mallinātha or any other commentator who preceded the *Sāroddhārīnī*. Even though quotations are given in the commentary the names of the sources drawn upon are not mentioned and consequently it has become difficult to fix the date of composition of this commentary. On a cursory perusal of this decaying Ms I have been able to get the following references :—

यदुक्तं अनेकार्थं (fol. 2) ; यदुक्तं (fol. 16) ;

तथा च उक्तं (fols. 4, 9, 21, 22, 26, 33, 46 etc.) ;

रामायण (fol. 6) ; दंडो (fol. 33).

In these few references the only reference which could be of use for chronological purposes is the following :—

On folio 2 -- “छायाशब्दः पञ्क्तिवाचकोऽप्यस्ति यदुक्तं अनेकार्थं ॥

छायापञ्क्तौ प्रतिमायामर्कयोषित्यनातपे ।

उक्तो च पालने कांतो शोभायां च तमस्यपि ॥”

I have succeeded in indentifying this quotation in the *अनेकार्थसंग्रह*¹ of Hemacandra where it is found as under :—

“छायापञ्क्तौ प्रतिमायामर्कयोषित्यनातपे ।

उक्तोचे पालने कांतो शोभायां च तमस्यपि ॥ ३५१ ॥”

(the reading “उक्तो च” for उक्तोचे is evidently a scribal error).

The above identification enables us to put the date of the *Sāroddhārīnī* between Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṃgraha* and A. D. 1561, the date of the present Ms. As Hemacandra died in A. D. 1173² we may for the present fix the date of the *Sāroddhārīnī* between A. D. 1173 and 1561. If Dr. Pathak's identification of reference to Mallinātha is corroborated by any other evidence internal or external we may put the date of the *Sāroddhārīnī* between A. D. 1420³ and 1561.

1. *Anekārtha-saṃgraha*, ed. by Zacharie, Vienna, 1893, p. 27.

2. Duff: *Chronology of India*, p. 152.

3. Keith: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 87, foot-note 2.

XVIII

A QUOTATION FROM THE *HANŪMANNĀTAKA*
IN THE COMMENTARY ON MEGHADŪTA BY
MAHIMAHANSAḢAGANĪ, COMPOSED IN
SAMVAT 1693 (= A. D. 1637)

Dr. S. K. De in his elaborate study of the " Problem of the Mahānāṭaka " ¹ states that Ānandavardhana (middle of the 9th century) and Dhanika (end of 10th century) quote verses which occur in the Mahānāṭaka or Hanūmannāṭaka, but these quotations being anonymous cannot establish the antiquity of the Mahānāṭaka. Dr. De further adds that a large number of quotations mostly anonymous, from the Mahānāṭaka is also found in Sanskrit Anthologies. Out of *ten* quotations given as *hanūmataḥ* in the Śārṅgadharapaddhati (about A. D. 1363) only *two* can be traced, one in the recension of Madhusūdana and the other in that of Dāmodara. ²

I find from the above useful data gathered by Dr. De that the quotations ascribed to Hanūmat and identified in the two recensions of the Mahānāṭaka are two only. It may, therefore, be useful to record and identify any further quotations from the Mahānāṭaka.

While examining the Mss of the commentary on the Meghadūta by Mahimahaṅsagaṇi in Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute I came across the following quotation:--

Msⁿ No. 389 of 1884-87, folio 36 --

“अत एवोक्तं हनूमन्नाटके

कुत्रायोध्या क रामो दशरथवचनाद्वदकारण्यमागात्

कासौ मारीचिः क मा कनकमयसृगः कुत्र सीतापहारः

सुग्रीवो राममैत्री क जनकतनया चक्षणे प्रेक्षितोऽहं

योष्यो संभावमानस्तमपि घटयति क्रूरकर्मा विधाता ”

1. Ind. Histo. Quarterly, Vol. VII. pp. 537-627,

2. Ibid., p. 542.

The above verse appears as under on p. 70 (Act V) of the edition of the *Mahānāṭaka* (Madhusūdana's recension) by Rāmatārana Śīromaṇi, 1870 -

“कुत्रायोध्या क्व रामो दशरथवचनाह्ण्डकारण्यमागात्
 क्वासौ मारीचनामा कनकमयसृगः कुत्र सीतापहारः
 सुग्रीवो राममित्र क्व जनकतनयान्वेक्षणे प्रेषितोऽहं
 योऽर्थो सम्भावनीयस्तमपि घटयति क्रूरकर्मा विधाता ॥ २६ ॥

As the above verse cannot be traced in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, the possibility of its being a second-hand quotation from this anthology is negatived and the statement of Mahimahamsaṅgaṇi that it is taken from the *Hanūmannāṭaka* appears to be correct.

BIŒKA PLATES OF RAŒABHAŒJADEVA OF THE
REGNAL YEAR 16

BY

ADRISH CHANDRA BANERJĒ, M. A.

This grant was edited for the first time by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar nearly fifteen years ago. But as his transcription is far from correct it is being re-edited. I have prepared my reading from the excellent facsimiles reproduced with Mr. Mazumdar's article.' As it is the custom to name the copper plate grants according to the find-spot, I have changed the title of the plates.

This grant is reported to have been found at BiŒka, a sub-divisional town in Sonepur feudatory State, in Orissa. It had also a seal partly broken (not reproduced by Mr. Mazumdar) on which the the body of a Bull is represented, the head seems to have disappeared with the broken part of the seal. Above the animal is engraved the legend : *Rāṇaka ŚrĒ RaṇabhaṇjadevaŒya*.

"The charter consists of three copper plates of which the first plate alone bears an inscription on the inner side only. The plates are rather irregular in shape their average height (length ?) and breadth may be put down as 5" and 7" respectively. The ring which is half inch in thickness and three inches in diameter, passes through the hole cut at the left margin of the plates, contains the oval seal of the grantor (donor) at the top."

The inscription is very badly inscribed and contains many mistakes. The language is no doubt Sanskrit but it is wretched, even the quotations are not properly done. The grant was inscribed by Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḁi, who is called a '*vaṇika*' and '*suvarṇakāra*'.

The record belongs to the reign of *Rāṇaka Raṇabhaṇjadeva*, of the spotless Bhāṇja family who was the 'lord of both the

1. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. II. pp. 167-77.

2. *IbĒd.* p. 167.

Khiñjalis'. Raibahadur Hiralal tried to identify this Rañabhañja with the king of the same name ruling over a place called Khijjīnga Kōṭṭa in Orissa. But the absurdity of such a hypothesis was first demonstrated by late Mr. R. D. Banerji and conclusively proved by my friend Mr. C. C. Dasgupta.¹ Following grants of this king are also known :—

- (1) Singhara plates of the year 9.²
- (2) Daśapalla grant of the year 24.³
- (3) Baudh grants of the years 24 and 54.⁴
- (4) Unpublished Baudh grants of the year 58 and another.

Before we begin consideration of the text it would be well to point out some peculiar points about these plates. The first point is that no mention is made of any ancestor of the donor excepting his father. The second point is that though the grant mentions the myth about the progenitor of the family being born out of an egg, it does not mention Gandhāta who is described as an ancestor of the king in some of his grants. This Gandhāta seems to be the same man as King Gandhamārdana of local tradition at Baudh, in whose honour a village called Gandhātaṣaṭi was established (represented by modern Gandharāḍi in Baudh state).⁵

Rañabhañja seems to have begun his life as a feudatory of some powerful king. In all his earlier grants he is invariably described as a Rāṇaka together with the adjectives *Samādhigata pañca-mahā śabda*. Later in life he seems to have become an independent sovereign, because in his land grants of the years 54 and 58 he is called a *Mahārāja*.

The king is described in this as well as in other grants as *Ubhaya Khiñjaly = ādhipati*. Now the question that requires to be settled is where was this Khiñjali maṇḍala situated? Raibahadur Hiralal is of opinion that ancient Khiñjali is modern Keonjhar.⁶

1. Banerji-*History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 166 fn. 1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XII, pp. 231-2.
2. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. VI, p. 175.
3. *Ibid.* p. 165 ff.
4. *E. I.* p. 321, ff.
5. *J. B. O. R. S.* 1929, pp. 72-74.
6. *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 292.

On the other hand late Mr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that the ancient Khiñjali maṇḍala was the name of the country on both banks of the Mahānadi, near and about the modern states of Sonepur, and Baudh.¹

The grant which is issued from Dhṛtipura, the capital of the Bhañjas is dated in the 6th day of a month not specified, in the 16th regnal year of the king. It records the grant of the village of Tasapaikera on the river Mahānadi in the Uttarapalli division of the Khiñjali maṇḍala. The donee was Śrīdhara, a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, son of Balabhadra, and grandson of Vāpula, a student of the Madhyāmdina branch of the Yajurveda. He was an immigrant from the village of Bhaṭa Nirola then residing at Kāmāri.

Text

Line

1. Om* svasti । Sa[m]hāra-kāla-buta-bhug—vikarāla ghora-sa[m]bhānta-kimka²
2. ra kṛtānta bhinnam [1*] bhinnāndhak—āsura--mahagahana — ātyatra³ । tad = bhairava[m] Hara-
3. vapur = bhavataḥ papātuḥ⁴ ॥ Durvvāra vāraṇam-raṇam-pratipakṣa-Lakṣmī ha-
4. tha-grabanam suprasṛṇa⁵ pa[pra]tāpā [11*] Bhañjā-narādhipatayo vahava vabhuvu-
5. r = udbhutayo⁶ = tra bhuva⁷ bhuri-sahasra saṁkhyāḥ ॥ Teṣā [m] kule sakala-bhutala-
6. pāla-mauli-māl-ārcit=āṅghri-ju(yu)galo valavām⁸ nṛpo=

1. J. B. O. R. S. 1929. pp. 83-84.

* Expressed in symbol as well as in words.

2. Read *kimkara*.

3. Read *ātapattram*.

4. Read *prapātu*.

5. Read *suprasṛta*.

6. Read *udbhutayettra*.

7. Read *bhuvi*.

8. Read *valavān*.

7. huta || [ɪ*] Śrī-Śatrubhañja ity = atula-dhiḥ [||] Tasy =
ātmaja [ḥ] svayambhu-vat || Anyo-
8. nya mada¹-māna milita- samuddhata- nrpa-cakra-ca-
tunga² va [ba] la kṣo-
9. bha calita -dharā -mandala [lo] gaja- turaga- kṣura- nird-
-dhāraṇa pasarad³-ātula
10. dhuli- vitāna- samocchanna jany-āṅgana[no] -ga[ja]
-skandha | vedikā-svayamvar-āyata || [ɪ*]
11. pariṇīta-bh[ja]aya-lakṣmī-samānandita-paurajana-mana-
sāh⁴ Śrīmad -- Bhañja-
12. bhupatiḥ purād = Dhṛtipura-namnā[ḥ] || Sa[Śa]rad-
amala dhavala-kara-yaśaḥ paṭa-
13. la dhavalita-dig = vadano || Anavarata-pravṛta⁵-san-
māṇa dān = āna-

Second Plate : First side

14. [ɪndi] ta sakala-jano aṇḍaja-va[m]śa prabhavaḥ parama-
vaiṣṇava mātāpitṛ pā-
15. dānudhyāta[to] Bhañj--āmala-kula-tilaka Ubhaya-khiñ-
jaly - ādhipati [ḥ] sama [ā]
16. dhigata-pañca-mahāśabda⁶ mahāsāmanta-vandita Stambhe
śvari lavdha-vara-
17. prasāda || Rāṇaka [ḥ] Śrī Rāṇabhañjadeva [ḥ] kuśali ih =
aiva Khiñjali-maṇḍa-
18. le bhaviṣād⁷-rāja- rājanak = antaraṅga-kumārāmānya⁸-
mahāsamanta-vrā [brā] hma-

-
1. Read marda.
 2. Read caturāṅga.
 3. Read prasarada.
 4. Read mānasah.
 5. Read pravṛta.
 6. Read śabda.
 7. Read bhaviṣyad.
 8. Read kumārāmātya.

19. na pradhānā any = aṅca¹ daṇḍapāsika- cāṭa- bhāṭa-
vallaḥha jātiyā-
20. n ॥ Yathārhi² mamnayati³ vodhayati samādiśayati c =
ānyat ॥ Sa-
21. rrvataḥ s[ś]livam — asmākam ॥ viditam = astu bha-
vataḥ⁴ utrapali⁵ pravati-
22. vaddhaḥ⁶ Mahānadi vimala-jala-viji⁷ prakṣālita
Tasapaikarā gāma⁸
23. catuḥ-sima-paryanta nidhā⁹ upanidhi-sahita mātā-pitr =
ātmajaśva¹⁰ puṇyā-
24. bhi vṛddhye salila-dhārāḥ-puraḥsareṇa vidhinā । Bhārad-
vāja-gotra Ā-
25. Ņgirasa vāriśyatya¹¹ pravarāya Yajurveda madhyānna-
śākhāḥ¹²-dhyāi । bhāṭa
26. Nirola vinirgata Kāmāri-vāstavya bhāṭa-putra Śrī-Śrī-
dhara Śrī-Vā

Second Plate : Second side

27. pula-sutaḥ Śrī-Va[Ba]labhadra-naptre vidhi-vidhānena
saviśaya tāmvrāśa-
28. sana pratipāditoyaḥ¹³ pāra [m] parya-kul-āvatāreṇa yavad¹⁴
ved [ā] । nu vacamne-

-
1. Read *anyaśca*.
 2. Read *yathārham*.
 3. Read *mānayati*.
 4. Read *bhavatām*.
 5. Read *uttarapalli*.
 6. Read *prativaddha*.
 7. Read *vici*.
 8. Read *grāma*.
 9. Read *nidhye*.
 10. Read *ātmajaśca*.
 11. Read *bārhaspatya*.
 12. Read *madhyāṁdina*.
 13. Read *pratipādito*.
 14. Read *yavad*.

29. na yatha [ā] | Kāṇḍa [t] Kāṇḍa [t] prarohanti || śāsanena
pratinasi sahasreṇa viro-
30. hasi¹ evaṁ buddh[v]ā parārdh=ma² parato vaṁś-
āvatareṇa — āpi asmān-anurodhā [t] dharmma-gau-
31. ravā = ca na kenāci[t] smalp = āpi³ vādhā karaṇiyā
[m] | tathā c=okta dharmma-śāstreṣu [u*] Pha-
32. la [m] kṛṣṭā mahi [m] -dadyā [t] sa-vija-śasya-medini
yāva [t] sūrya kṛta [m] lo-
33. ke tāvat svarge mahiyate || Veda-vākyas-mayo⁴ jihva
vadanti ṛṣi-
34. devatā[h] bhūmi harttā tath — ānyacca aho mā [m]
haro mā hara | [u*] Yath = āpsu
35. patitaṁ śakra tailavindu visarpati || Evaṁ bhūmi-kṛtaṁ
dānam sasye sasye⁵ pra-
36. rohati || Ādityo Varuṇa Viṣṇu [m] V[B]rahmā Soma
[o] Hutāsana [h] | Śūlapānis = tu bha-
37. gavāṁ⁶ abhinandati bhūmida[m] | [u*] Aṣphotayanti
pitarah pa [pra] valghayanti pi-
38. tāmaḥ[h] bhūmi-dātā ka[ku] le jātā [āh] sa me tā
[trā] tā bhaviṣyati || Rvhubhir = vvasu-
39. dhā dattā rājanah⁷ sagara-ādbhi || Mārud-aphala samkā-
ya paradatte-

Third Plate: First side

40. su pālita⁸ || Yasya Yasya yadā bhūmi tasya tasya tadā
phalaṁ | [u*] Svadattām

* 1. Read virodhasi.

2. Read parārdhamca.

3. Read svalp—āpi.

4. Read veda—vāk-smṛtayo—jihva.

5. Read śasye—śasye

6. Read bhagavān.

7. Read rājabhiḥ.

8. Read bhud = aphala-samkā vah paradatt—eti pārthivaḥ.

41. paradattām=vā yo hareta[m] vasumdhara[m] ॥ Sa
viṣṭhāyā kṛmir bhūtvā pitṛbhi [h]
42. saha pacyate ॥ Hiranyam=ekam gāmekam apy=
ārdham aṅgulam | haram nara-
43. kam āyāti yāvad-ābhūti-samplavaḥ ॥ Bhumiṁ yaḥ pratiga
[gr] phāti yao = ca bhu-
44. mi prayacchati | ubhau tāu puṇyā-karmmanau niyatau¹
svargga-gaminau | [u*] Ha-
45. rate hārayate bhumi[m] manda-vu[bu]ddhis stamava
[vr]ta | savvaddho² varuṇaḥ
46. pāśai[s] tiryā[g]-yonīṣu ja[jā]yate ॥ Mā pāṛthivaḥ
kadāci[t] v[b] rahma-
47. sva[m] manas = ādi³ ānausa⁴ dha[r]ma[m] bhāṣajya
[m] etata[m] halā-halam viṣam ॥ Avisa[m]
48. viṣam ity = āhu[r] v[b]rahmasva[m] visa[m] ucyate |
viṣa[m] ekākino hanti vra[br]hmasva[m] pu-
49. tra pautrikam | loha-curnṇa = āśva curnṇāṇ = ca jaraye
naraḥ vrahmasva [m] tṛṣu lokaṣu
50. kaḥ pumā[n] jaramisyati⁵ ॥ Vājapeya sahasrāṇi
Āśvamedha⁶ śatāni ca ga-
51. vā[m] ko [ti] pradattena bhumi-hartā na śyudhyanti ॥⁷
Iti kamala-d[al] = āmbu-vindu-lolā-

-
1. Read *niyatam*.
 2. Read *baddho*.
 3. Read *manasūd—api*.
 4. Read *āneṣa*.
 5. Read *jarayisyati*.
 6. Read *āśvamedha*.
 7. Read *buddhati*.

Third Plate : Second side

52. Śrī¹ anuointya-manuṣya-jivitañ—ca sakalam —idaṁ uda-
hṛtañ—ca vu
53. dhaiḥ² na hi purasaḥ parakirttayo vilopyā || Vijaya-
rāja samva [t] sa-
54. re so[ṣo] das=ābdi ṣaṇ³=divase utkina⁴—ñca vaṇika-
suvanākāra⁵ Sivaṇāga
55. Paṇḍi suta mahārājakiya- mudre = natih ||

-
1. Read śrīyam
2. Read buddhū.
3. Read ṣaṭ. °
4. Read utkina=ñca.
5. Read suvarṇakāra.

REFERENCES TO THE BAUDDHAS AND THEIR PHILOSOPHY IN UMĀSVĀTI'S TATTVĀRTHABHĀṢYA AND SIDDHASĒNA GANĪ'S COMMENTARY TO IT

BY

PROF. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

I have come across some references pertaining to the *Bauddhas* and their tenets in *Vācaka Umāsvāti's bhāṣya* to his splendid work *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* and its commentary composed by *Siddhasēna Ganī*. So far as I know, no scholar has seriously devoted himself to the study of this commentary, which is, in my opinion, a precious mine of information pertaining to various topics.

First of all we shall examine in this connection, the *bhāṣya* and then turn our eyes to the commentary.

We come across the word *Tantrāntariyāh*, in three places in the *bhāṣya*, firstly when *Umāsvāti* discusses the *nayas* or stand-points (I. 35 ; p. 121¹), secondly when he deals with the nether regions (III. 1 ; p. 232), and thirdly when he is interpreting the meaning of *pudgala* (V. 22 ; p. 354).

If we refer to the commentary (p. 121) we see that the *bhāṣya-kāra* uses this word in the first place to signify a non-Jaina, a *Jaina* being designated as *svatantra* or having the same scriptures as his own. In the remaining two places he distinctly alludes to the *Bauddhas* or *Māyāsūnavīyas* as the learned commentator has pointed out on p. 232 and p. 354 respectively.

The commentator refers to the *Bauddhas* under several names: (i) मायासूतवीय on pp. 70, 232 and 354 (part I) and p. 67 (pt. II); (ii) बौद्ध on p. 85, (iii) शाकलिकचीवरक on p. 30, and (iv) सुगताक्षिप्य on p. 123 (part II).²

1. The number of the page refers to my edition, published in the D. L. P. Jain P. F. Series.

2. These and other references given in this article are by no means exhaustive.

Out of these *Māyāsūnaviṇṇa* means son of *Māyā*. This may imply that the tradition of Lord *Buddha* being the son of *Māyā-devī* was current in the time of the commentator.

By *Śākalikacīvaraka* the commentator seems to allude to the fact that a Buddhist monk has to wear a garment consisting of several pieces and patches.

At least in two places, pt. I, p. 32 and pt. II, p. 67 he has even mentioned the name *Buddha*.¹ He has also referred to his staunch followers and famous philosophers, *Vasubandhu* and *Dharmakīrti*, the former with as well as without his nickname *Amiṣa-grādhā* on p. 68, lines 1 and 29 (pt. II) and the latter with his magnificent work *Pramāṇaviniścaya* on p. 397 (pt. I).

The *bhūmikā* (pp. 4-5) to *Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa* written by *Tripiṭakācārya Rāhula Samkṛtyayana* deals with 18 Buddhistic *nikāyas* mentioned by *Siddhasena* on p. 123 (pt. I). [As these appear to refer to the 18 schools or sects of the *Hīnayāna* Buddhists, it will not be fruitless to consult *Dīpaṃsa* (Ch. V, 39-48) *Mahāvaiṣa* (Ch. V.), *Mahābodhivaiṣa* and the commentary on *Kathāvatthu*. Even the article "The sects of Buddhists" by J. W. Rhys Davids published in J. R. A. S., July 1891 (pp. 409-422) may be studied in this connection, as it throws light even on the relationships etc., of these sects.

The well-known doctrine² of five *ānantarya pūpas* mentioned in *Nāgārjuna's Dharmasaṃgraha* (p. 13) is discussed by *Siddhasena* on p. 67 (pt. II).

Now we shall refer to the passages quoted by him from the Buddhistic works. For instance, on p. 232, he observes:—

“यथा हि वर्षति देवे प्रततथारं नास्ति वीचिका वा अन्तरिका वा एवमेव पूर्वायां दिशि लोकाततो नैरन्तर्येण व्यवस्थितास्तथाऽन्यास्वपि दिक्ष्विति”³

1. The name *Sugata* occurs in pt. II. on pp. 66 and 123.

2. This is treated by *Śīlāṅka Sūri* in his commentary to *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*.

3. Up-till now I have not succeeded in tracing the original sources of this and the following quotations. So will any veteran scholar of Buddhism kindly point them out to me and oblige?

On page 354 he has remarked as under:—

“अस्त्यार्यसम्मितीयानामात्मा सौत्रान्तिकानां तु चित्ततणुकसन्ततौ तत्पुल्ल-
प्रज्ञप्तिः, चित्तसन्ततौ वेदनासञ्ज्ञा चेतनादिधर्मशुक्तायां चक्षुरादिसहितायां च चित्ते-
मान्योन्यानुविधानात्, इत्येषा चित्ततणुकानां धर्माणां सन्ततिरहङ्कारवस्तुत्वादात्मेत्युपच-
र्यते, तथा पुनः पुनर्गत्यदानात् ‘पुल्ल’ इत्युपचर्यते, योगाचाराणां तु विज्ञानपरिणामः
पुल्लः ॥ यथाऽऽह—

‘ आत्मधर्मोपचारो हि, विविधो यः प्रवर्तते ।

विज्ञानपरिणामोऽसौ, परिणामः स च त्रिधा’ ॥ ”

In the end, I may enumerate the topics dealt with by me in this article: (1) designation of the *Buddhas*, (2) their various schools, (3) names of their prominent philosophers and their standard works, and (4) some of the main features of Buddhism accompanied by quotations at times.

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1. For an incidental reference to these systems see “The place of the *Aryasatyas* and *Pratityasamutpāda* in *Hinayāna* and *Mahāyāna*”, an article published in the *Annals of B. O. B. I.* (vol. XI, pp. 101-129).

RĀJAPRAŚNĪYASŪTRA, ITS CLAIM AS UPĀṄGA, ITS TITLE, ETC.

BY

PROF. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

As is well-known to a student of *Jaina* literature *Śruta*¹-*jñāna*² or the *Jaina āgama*³ is divided for facilitating⁴ its study into two groups (i) the *aṅgapraviṣṭa* and (ii) *aṅgabāhya*⁵ (also known as *anaṅgapraviṣṭa*⁶). The first group includes the 12 *aṅgas*, composed by the *Gaṇadhara*s, whereas the latter comprises the remaining canonical works composed by saints immediately next to the *Gaṇadhara*s.⁷

The *aṅgabāhya Śruta-jñāna* is further classified as (i) *āvaśyaka* and (ii) *āvaśyakakaryatirikta*,⁸ the former having six sub-divisions, such as *sāmāyika*⁹ etc., and the latter having only two namely (i) *kālika*¹⁰ and (ii) *utkālika*,¹¹ both of which include a number

1. Reserving the question of its origin for some other occasion, I may state that this word reminds me of two things: (1) the word "suyam" occurring in सुयं मे आउसं etc. in several *Jaina āgamas* e.g., *Ācārāṅga*, *Sthānāṅga*, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, etc., and (ii) *Śruti*, the designation for the *Vedas*.
2. For the various synonyms of this *Śrutajñāna* such as *āgama* etc. see *Vācaka Umāsvāti's bhāṣya* of *Tattvārthādhigamaśūtra* (I, 20, p. 88.)
3. This is not to be confounded with the *āgama* meaning the oldest *Śaiva* canon confirming to the *Vedas* and not entirely separated from the *Vedic* religion like that of later *Śaiva* sects.
4. Vide *Tattvārthabhāṣya* (I, 20) and its commentary (p. 94).
5. See *Haribhadra Sūri's* commentary to *Āvaśyakaśūtra* and its *niryukti* (p. 25, edn. *Āgamodaya Samiti*).
6. Vide *Tattvārthabhāṣya* (I, 20, p. 9).
7. Ibid., pp. 91-92.
8. See *Nandīśūtra* (sūtra 44, p. 202, edn. A. Samiti).
9. The remaining five are (a) *caturvīmśatistava*, (b) *vandanaka*, (c) *pratīkramapa*, (d) *kāyotsarga* and (e) *pratyākhyāna*.
- 10-11. The sacred works which are allowed to be read during the first and the last *pauruṣis* of the day and of the night as well go by the name of *kālika śruta*; the rest can be read at any time except *kāla-vela* and are known as *utkālika śruta*. See *Nandīśūtracūṛpi*,

of sacred works. *Rājaprasnīyasūtra*¹ belongs to the latter class, and it is considered as the *upāṅga* of *Sūtrakṛta*, the 2nd *āṅga*.²

I, for one, fail to realize how these two are related to each other as *āṅga* and *upāṅga*, when there is practically no connection between the contents of these two works, except that both refer to *akriyāvāda* – a subject, by no means uncommon to other *āgamas*, etc.

Upāṅga -- Now, a few words about the *upāṅgas* before I proceed further. According to the *Jaina* tradition at least 300 years old, the number of the *upāṅgas* is 12, there being one *upāṅga* corresponding to one *āṅga*. In this connection it will be worth-while to reproduce here the following passage from *Prameyaraṭnamāṇjūṣā*, *Sānticaṇḍra Gaṇi*'s commentary (pp. 1-2) to *Jambūdvīpaprājñapti* :—

“तत्र अङ्गानि आचाराङ्गादीनि प्रतीतानि, तेषामुपाङ्गानि क्रमेण अस्मिन् —
१ आचाराङ्गस्य औपपातिकम्, २ सूत्रकृदङ्गस्य राजप्रदनीयम्, ३ स्थावाङ्गस्य जीवा(जीवा)भिगमः, ४ समवायाङ्गस्य प्रज्ञापना, ५ भगवत्याः सूर्यप्रज्ञप्तिः, ६ ज्ञाताधर्मकथाङ्गस्य जम्बूद्वीपप्रज्ञप्तिः, ७ उपासकदशाङ्गस्य चन्द्रप्रज्ञप्तिः..., ८ अन्तकृदशाङ्गस्य कल्पिका, ९ अनुत्तरौपपातिकदशाङ्गस्य कल्पावतंसिका, १० प्रदन्व्याकरणस्य पुष्पिता, ११ विपाकश्रुतस्य पुष्पचूलिका, १२ दृष्टिवादस्य वृष्णिदशा (अन्धकवृष्णिदशा) इति”.

The 12 *upāṅgas* are not referred to, in *Samavāya*, the 4th *āṅga*, though, in its 12th *samavāya* there are mentioned several other objects 12 in number. What does this imply?

Furthermore is it not rather very strange that we do not come across any reference to “*upāṅga*,” much less to its number and its relationship with the *āṅga* even in *Nandīsūtra*, where a very big number of *āgamas* is mentioned along with their various divisions and subdivisions?

No doubt, we notice in this *Nandīsūtra*, all the works later on

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1. Some of the works written in a *Sūtra* style are themselves so named.
 2. This is partly supported by Siddhasena Gaṇi's commentary; for, it only helps us to believe it to be an *upāṅga* but it does not enlighten us as to its being an *upāṅga* of a particular *āṅga*.

styled as *upāṅgas*, and that, too, in the very order above referred to, though, at times another work or works intervene.¹

The earliest work to which I have traced up-till-now the use of the word *upāṅga* is *Umāsvāti's Tattvārthabhāṣya* (I, 20, p. 93). It is but natural that we find this word in its commentary (p. 94) composed by *Siddhasena Gaṇi*. But, strange to say, this erudite commentator, too, has not supplied us with a list of the 12 *upāṅgas*; for, he has named only two *upāṅgas* and those also, in an order just the reverse from the one mentioned in *Prameya-ratnamāñjūṣū*.

Moreover, is it not more than significant that we do not find the names of the 12 *upāṅgas* in *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, a magnificent lexicon of *Hemacandra Sūri*, as well as in its commentary by the same author, a *Jaina* polygraph, even when he has respectively stated in these two works “ सोपाङ्गान्यङ्गानि ” (II, 159) and “ सहोपाङ्गैरौपपातिकादिभिर्वर्तन्ते सोपाङ्गानि ” (p. 104) ? Can this be looked upon as a sufficient ground to infer that he did not endorse the number of the *upāṅgas* as 12 or that he did not believe that there was any order ?

If we were to consider the relationship between the *aṅgas* and the *upāṅgas*, in most of the cases we shall find that there is hardly any connection between an *aṅga* and its *upāṅga* so far as the subject-matter is concerned. Will it be too much to say that

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1. To elucidate this remark the corresponding portion is being cited as follows :—

“ उक्कालिअं अणेगविहं पण्णत्तं, तं — दसवेआलिअं, कप्पिआकप्पिअं, चुल्ल-
कप्पसुअं, महाकप्पसुअं, उववाइअं, रायपसेणिअं, जीवामिगमो, पण्णवणा, महापण्णवणा,
पमायप्पमायं, नंदी, अण्णओगदाराइं, देविदत्थओ, तंदुलवेआलिअं, चंदाविज्झयं, सरपण्णसी,
पोरिसिमंडलं, मंडलपवेसो, विज्जाचरणाविणिच्छओ, गणिविज्जा, ज्ञाणविभत्ती, मरणविभत्ती.
आयविसोही, वीयरागसुअं, सलेहणासुअं, विहारकप्पो, चरणविही, आउरपच्चक्ख्वाणं,
महापच्चक्ख्वाणं एवमाइ ... । स किं तं कालिअं ? कालिअं अणेगविहं पण्णत्तं, तं
जहा :— उन्नज्झयणाइं, दसाआ, कप्पो, धवंहारो, निसीहं, महानिसीहं, इसिभासिआइं,
जैब्बुदीवपन्नत्ता, दविसागरपन्नत्ता, चंदपन्नत्ती, खुड्ढिआ विमाणपविभत्ती, महाल्लिआ
विमाणपविभत्ती, अंगचूलिआ, वग्गचूलिआ, विवाहचूलिआं, अरुणोववाए, वरुणोववाए,
गरुलोववाए, धरणोववाए, वेसमणोववाए, वेल्धरोववाए, देविदीववाए, उट्ठणसुर, समुट्ठण-
सुर, नागपरिआवाणिआओ, निरयावालियाओ, कप्पिआओ, कप्पवडिंसिआओ, पुप्फिआओ,
पुप्फचूलिआओ, वण्णीदसाओ, एवमाइयाइं.”

Upāśakadaśāṅga and *Candraprajñapti* as well as *Jñātādharma-kathāṅga* and *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, have no common subject, which may enable us to deduce their *aṅgapāṅgabhāva*? *Drṣṭivāda*¹ and *Vṛṇidasā* can very well be included in this very category, but this case is reserved, since the contents of *Drṣṭivāda* are not sufficiently known, owing to its being lost.

Thus, the conclusions we can safely arrive at so far as the *Śvetāmbara* literature is concerned are that (i) the word *upāṅga* can be traced up to *Tattvārthabhāṣya*, (ii) its number was regarded as more than two, at least by *Siddhasena Gaṇi*, (iii) its order and its relationship with the corresponding *aṅga* date back to *Śānticaṇḍra Gaṇi*'s time at least, and (iv) that there was a difference of opinion regarding them amongst the *Śvetāmbaras* in his time.

It will not be amiss to add here that a splendid work like *Tattvārtharājavarṭika* has not even mentioned the word *upāṅga*, though it gives an elaborate treatment of the various classifications of *Śruta-jñāna*. Even *Śrutaskandha*, a *Digambara* work is silent on this point. What does this convey?

With this digression, if it can be so called, we shall now examine the title of this 2nd *upāṅga*.

The title — *Rājaprasāniya* is called *Rāyapaseniya* in Prakrit, but this seems to be hardly justifiable. For, *Paṇha* and *Pasina* are the two Prakrit renderings of the word *Praśna*. Consequently, the Prakrit name of *Rājaprasāniya* ought to be either *Rāyapaṇhiya* or *Rāyapasiniya*. Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to establish a linguistic connection between the Sanskrit and Prakrit titles of this *upāṅga*.

This title *Rājaprasāniya* seems to imply a work dealing with the questions asked by a king, a fact corroborated by the contents of this work, since it contains the queries raised by king *Pradeśi*.²

1. The 14 pūrvas form an important part of this work. Various theories have been propounded as regards their origin etc. The present writer hopes to deal with them at an early date.

2. This reminds us of *Milinda*--questions in the Buddhist literature,

It may be mentioned in this connection that *Weber* has suggested that the real title ought to be *Rājapradetiya*, (*Rājapaesiya*¹ in Prakrit), as it is thoroughly significant.

Siddhasena Gani, in his commentary to *Tattvārthabhāṣya* has referred to this *upāṅga* under altogether a new title viz. *Rājaprasenakiya*.² I have not up-till-now come across any *Jaina* work, prior or posterior to this commentary where it is so named. Will any scholar kindly enlighten me as to its propriety and oblige?

Contents — Birth of king *Pradesi* as *Sūryābhadeva*, his celestial grandeur and enjoyments, his staging of a ³drama⁴ and a dance⁵ in the presence of *śramaṇa bhagavan Mahāvīra*, even when He neither gives His assent nor expresses His dissent, description of the *vimāna* of *Sūryābha*, and the questions pertaining to *Jiva*'s identity with body raised by him and their replies by *Keti nirgrantha*,⁶ a follower of Lord *Pārśva*⁷ are some of the main topics treated at length in *Rājaprasānīyasūtra*.

1. There seems to be a possibility of this word (रायपदसिय) being mistaken for रायपसेजि। Even if it is so, this wrong title must have been in vogue since a very long period.
2. Even on p. 51a of the palymara Ms. No. 7 of the Government 1881-12
Mss. Collection deposited at the B. O. R. Institute, this is so spelt.
3. A beautiful description of this along with its 32 varieties is one of the many attractive features of *Rājaprasānīyasūtra*.
- 4-5. For a connection between these two viz. *nāṭaka* and *nṛtya* see the last lecture in *Āryavidyāvyākhyānamālā* p. 233 ff.
6. This is the name by which the *Jaina* saints are generally referred to in the non-*Jaina* literature, e. g. *Majjhimanikāya* I. 370--375 etc.
For other Buddhist references, *Pali English Dictionary* (edited by *Rhys Davids*) may be consulted.
7. Very recently I happened to notice a casual remark in the *Calcutta Review* May 1932 (p. 268) where the historicity of *Pārśvanātha* is doubted by Dr. P. C. Bagchi M.A., D. Litt., the reviewer. I would like to know the criterion or criteria necessary for establishing the existence of an individual. Will the reviewer or any other scholar be pleased to elucidate this point?

REVIEWS

BUDDHISTIC STUDIES, EDITED BY DR. B. C. LAW, Ph.D., M.A.,
B. L., xii + 900 pp. 4 pl. Thacker, Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta
and Simla, 1931.

Dr. B. C. Law's energetic and versatile abilities have in this work resulted in a large volume of great interest to students of Buddhism. We have here a collection of thirty-six essays contributed by Eastern and Western scholars. It is indeed a matter of congratulation to find East and West engaged in a work of common learning and research, but there is no doubt that as a whole it is an achievement of Eastern scholarship, for more than two-thirds of the chapters are by Indian, Sinhalese and Japanese authorities, and Jain scholarship has also contributed.

One of the merits of a work of this kind is that it serves to bring into relief the obscure or neglected portions of a field of study, and to contribute items which not merely fill up gaps, but which may put the whole subject in a new light. Such is the first chapter in the volume by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on *The Buddhism of Maṇimekhalai*, an epic (or a portion of an epic) which throws light on the type of Buddhism found in Tamil-speaking lands during the early centuries of the Christian era. The spread of Buddhism to the south is still largely hypothetical, and it is such investigation of details and indirect evidence that we shall be gradually able to see our way more clearly, and piece together an intelligible picture. Another chapter, entitled *Buddhism in Tamil literature* by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, goes partly over the same ground, and each essay supplements the other.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar contributes the second chapter on the *Buddhist Councils*. The various views regarding these nerve-centres of history vary from complete credulity to complete scepticism, and the author marshals the facts that must be accounted for in forming a balanced historical judgment. He also explodes some of the now hoary theories and speculations that have been based upon the facts. Three chapters by the editor deal mainly with the period of the lifetime of the Founder, *Six heretical teachers, Gautama*

Buddha and the Faribrājakas, and Some Ancient Indian Kings. This is a period which the author has made specially his own. In all these we are in a region which, even if it can be said to have been brought within the range of history, still requires the application of modern historical principles. The learned editor has diligently collected the data on which they must work, and applies his usual skill in laying bare and smoothing out the evidence. There are two chapters on different aspects of Indian education, and each writer seems to have succeeded in excluding all the evidence adduced by the other. That on *Ancient Indian education from the Jātakas* is by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, and its range is shown by its title. The present paper, he tells us, is part of a comprehensive work on ancient Indian education in two volumes, Brahmanical and Buddhist, and is now ready for the press. This should add greatly to our knowledge of ancient Indian thought.

What may be called the philosophy of Buddhism is mainly included in the chapters on *The Buddhist Conception of Māra*, by the editor, *Dukkha and Sukha*, by Mr. E. H. Brewster, *Faith in Buddhism*, by Dr. B. M. Barua, *Saṃsāra or Buddhist philosophy of birth and death*, by Rev. Nārada, *Wanted a philosophy of life, Buddhism*, by Mr. C. E. Ball, *Nibbāna*, by Rev. Nārada, *Man as willer* by Dr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *on Karma*, by Dr. S. Tachibana, and *Christian Mysticism in the light of the Buddha's doctrine*, by Dr. G. Grimm.

Without being invidious special attention may be drawn to *Chips from a Buddhist Workshop* from the veteran pen of Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, and Dr. S. Dasgupta's *Philosophy of Lankāvatāra*. These are the two chief essays which deal specially with Mahāyāna developments. The *Chips* is concerned rather with the mode of development of the later doctrines than with their philosophical significance, but it is the only sound method. We must know first how the schools arose and split up if we are to place the literature in an intelligible order of development. It is one of these schools exemplified in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra which Dr. Dasgupta expounds and carefully distinguishes from other forms of Buddhist idealism.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar writes in a refreshingly common-sense way about *Aśoka and his Mission*. He shows what Dhamma meant for Aśoka, and deals with the painful perverseness of those who are surprised that Nirvāṇa is not mentioned in the inscriptions, as if Nirvāṇa could have had a meaning for lay people who were not aiming at it. History is further represented by Dr. R. Mookerjee on *The Authenticity of Asokan Legends*, Dr. Hem Chandra Rai Chaudhuri on *Buddhism in Western Asia*, *A short History of Ceylon* by Dr. W. Geiger, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* by Dr. W. A. de Silva, *Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China* by Mr. Louis Finot, and *Buddhist Festivals in Ceylon* by Mr. S. Paranavitane. No less important for history is the long and excellently documented chapter by Mr. C. D. Chatterjee on *Some numismatic data in Pāli literature*.

Vinaya is discussed by Dr. M. Nagai in his deeply interesting and candid chapter on *Buddhist Vinaya discipline or Buddhist Commandments*. Mythology and iconography are dealt with in the chapters on *Buddhist worship and idolatry* by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *A comparative study of Hindu and Buddhist Mythology* by Mr. Bankim Chandra Chaudhuri, and By Mr. N. Ray in his *Notes on Bodhisattva Lokanātha and other Mahāyāna gods in Burma* with six excellent photogravures. Grammar is represented by the Rev. R. Siddhartha's chapter on *Origin and development of Pāli language with special reference to Sanskrit grammar* and Dr. A. B. Keith on *The home of Pāli*.

The catholicity of the volume is shown by an excellent chapter contributed by Mr. K. P. Jain on *Mahāvīra and Buddha*. Neither religion loses anything by a temperate statement of the principles which each holds essential. Indeed the calm temper of the whole volume is what we should expect from writers who all share devotion to the common principle of *ahiṃsā*, and the editor is to be sincerely congratulated on the success of his enterprise.

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THE CHĀNDOGYAMANTRABHĀṢYA OF GUṆAVIṢṢU
EDITED BY DURGAMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA, Sanskrit Śaḥi-
tya Parishad, Calcutta 1930.

The work under review is an old and important commentary on select Vedic Mantras that are recited by a Chandoga or Sāmavedin householder in connection with the performance of various domestic rites. GuṇaviṣṢu is a much respected commentator and his readings and interpretations of Vedic Mantras are regarded authoritative in the province of Bengal and in Mithilā in Bihar. The need of a scholarly edition of this work has long been a desideratum and this critical and handsome edition issued under the auspices of the Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad will be welcome to all.

The book was edited in 1906 by Mahāmahopādhyāya Parameshwar Jha of Mithilā. That was a nice edition but there was no division into chapters. It also lacked references to the original sources. In Bengal, parts of GuṇaviṣṢu's Bhāṣya have been printed times without number as explanations of Mantars in the Paddhati compiled by Bhavadeva. But in very few of these there is any serious attempt to settle the real text. In the edition of Pandit Shyamacharan Kaviratna numerous emendations have been freely made without the support of Mss., and what is worse, he has rejected some passages unwarrantedly.

The Mantras commented upon in the Chāndogyamantrabhāṣya are divided into eight sections, all arranged in accordance with the order of the rituals for which the Mantras are meant. The compilation, either made by the commentator himself or handed down to him by tradition in the form of a Mantrapāṭha, contains more than four hundred Vedic Mantras taken from the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the four Vedas. The largest number of them, however, are taken from the Mantra-brāhmaṇa and the Gobhila-Gṛhya-Sūtra, two Sāmaveda works.

The commentary though sometimes wanting in the elaborate etymological discussions of the celebrated scholiast Sāyana, is marked for its brevity, simplicity and directness of style. The

commentator seems to have followed at times a school of interpretation different from that followed by Sāyana.

The present editor professor Bhattacharyya has acquitted himself very ably. With the help of various materials detailed in his Introduction he has been able to settle the true text of the commentary which in several places seemed to be hopelessly corrupt.

The Introduction contains a valuable account of the work and its author Guṇaviṣṇu. The data have been gathered not only from the printed texts but also from a number of manuscripts. The discussions show that the editor Professor Bhattacharyya has carefully studied the relevant writings of scholars including Oldenberg, Stöner, Jørgensen and Winternitz and has brought critical ability to bear upon the subject. From the evidences supplied by the works of Aniruddha, Halāyudha, Raghunandana, Satrugna, Nityānanda and Rāmanātha the very legitimate conclusion is reached that Guṇaviṣṇu lived during the 12th century of the Christian era at the courts of Ballālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. This also was the conclusion of Mahāmahopādhyāya Parameshwar Jha. Passages have been quoted from Sāyana's commentary to show that Sāyana is in several places indebted to Guṇaviṣṇu.

The most notable feature of the present edition is the number of indices and appendices. They are indispensable for the proper utilization of texts of this kind. To the alphabetical index of the Mantras occurring in the text, a very useful list of the 'Viniyogas' of every Mantra has been added, and a concordance of the Mantras covering more than thirty pages together with a list of quotations contained in the body of the work has been appended. In this concordance the editor has not merely used the Vedic Concordance of Bloomfield, but has sometimes corrected it, and, what is more important, he has adduced readings from four new works that had not been used by Bloomfield.

The present text edited is much more improved than that of Mm. Parameshwar Jha. Some of the important improvements noticed in the edition are given below :—

- (1) Portions of the commentary not found in Mahāmahopādhyāya Jha's edition have been supplied in this (pp. 149, 150, 152)
- (2) Some quotations attributed to Śruti in Mm. Jha's edition have been traced to Smṛti works.
- (3) Errors in quoting Pāṇini's rules as also Śruti passages have been corrected.
- (4) Correct readings of Mantras with three commentaries, have been discovered ; and in all this the editor has been guided by the original Vedic text as well as Guṇaviṣṇu's manuscripts.
- (5) Occasional emendations of the Mantra texts and their commentaries have been made on a comparison of several manuscripts with other allied works such as the Brāhmaṇa-Sarvasva of Halāyudha and the Sāmaga-Mantra-Vyākhyāna of Rāmanātha, e. g. , 'Sahaḥ' 'Utsāhaḥ' in this edition (p. 152) instead of 'mahaḥ' 'Utsavaḥ' of the previous edition (p. 172).
- (6) In the Mm. Jha's edition, grammatical disquisitions are sometimes found supplied in respect of commentaries on wrong readings of certain Mantras which have been corrected in the present edition, e. g. , 'pañvimśa' which should really be 'padvimśa', has been commented on in Mm. Jha's edition (p. 55) thus :

Pañvimśa iti pacer = acaḥ paro viśo nipātanād vargāntaḥ

Jha's edition	Present edition
Yr̥styam, p. 18	Vṛṣṇyam, p. 17 (mantra)
Tyamadyān, p. 19	Tvamadyā, p. 18 (mantra)
Pramiṇo Yudhāyayan, p. 21	Pramiṇo yudhā jayan p. 19. (mantra)
Viśvarūpe, p. 21.	Viṣurūpe, p. 20. (mantra)
Pañvimśaḥ, p. 55.	Padvimśaḥ, p. 49. (mantra)

Pr̥thuhā, p. 134.	Pr̥thvahā, p. 114 (mantra); (this reading however is given in the foot-note of Jha's edition)
Viprān Viṣṭhayā, p. 163.	Viprā naviṣṭhayā, p. 141. (mantra)
Viṣṭhayā Viśeṣeṇa Sthitayā, p. 163.	Navīṣṭhayā atyantābhinavayā, p. 152. (commentary)
Anuneyam, p. 168.	Arthaneyam (= Arthanā + iyam p. 148 (commentary)
Mahāḥ Utsavaḥ, p. 172.	Sahāḥ utsāhah, p. 152 (commen- tary)

S. N. PRADHAN

KĀMARŪPAŚĀSANĀVALĪ, BY PROF. PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA, M. A., Vidyāvinoda. Published by MR. SURENDRA CHANDRA RAICHAUDHURI, Secretary, Rangpur Sahitya Parishat. Price Rupees Six only. 1338 B. S.

We have here the text, and Bengali translation with elaborate historical and exegetical notes of seven copperplate grants and one Rock Inscription— all belonging to Kings of Assam up to the time of Dharmapāla (*circa* 12th century). Most of these records were already thoroughly studied by the present editor in different Bengali journals and in some cases in English journals as well. The work under review, therefore, is a collection of the papers of the editor, written during the last quarter of a century, with necessary additions and alterations as was required by later thought and further investigations.

This is the second collection of inscriptions to be published in Bengali. The first was the *Gauḍalekhamālā* (Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. I) by the late lamented Akṣayakumāra Maitreya published twenty years back in 1319 B. S. Of similar works in other Indian vernaculars reference may be made to the three volumes of Jain Inscriptions edited and published by Mr. Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta. But it must be said to the credit of the editors of the Bengali volumes that they have carried out their task in the right scientific way.

There are some notable peculiarities in several of the grants, as pointed out by the editor, to which the notice of the readers needs be drawn. (1) The absence of imprecatory verses in the concluding portions of grants issued by Kings of Kāmarūpa, save and except the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman which, however, is found to have been issued from Karnasuvarna in Bengal. (2) The composition of portions of a grant by the royal donor as in the case of the first eight verses of the Puṣpabhadra copperplate of Dharmapāla (p. 173). (3) The use of epithets of the royal donor after the conclusion of the formal part of the grant as in the case of the Guākuḍi copperplate of Indrapāla II which has been styled the "Strange copperplate" (pp. 132 f. n. 3). •

Some facts of interest from the point of view of social and cultural history not referred to by the editor may also be noted here. The skill in archery of a Brahman named Hīmāṅga—one of the donees in the Śubhaṁkarapāṭaka grant of Dharmapāla (first half of the twelfth century)—is described in detail (p. 156). We know of another Brāhmaṇa of Bengal, Kedāramiśra, whose qualities as a warrior as well as a man of letters are referred to (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—Vol. XI. p. 243). Another Brāhmaṇa the grand-father of the donee of the Puṣpabhadra copperplate of Dharmapāla is described as having possessed, like the donor, a knowledge of the fine arts (pp. 173, 174) which were generally acquired by Kṣatriyas alone.

The same Brāhmaṇa is also described as having had his intellect developed by means of his study of Mīmāṃsā. It is to be noted that this system of philosophy, which required a thorough acquaintance with the Vedic literature was popular from fairly early period in Eastern India where Vedic studies were neglected at least in a later period (*Ind. Ant.* 1929, p. 202).¹

As a matter of fact it may be reasonable to suppose that Vedic studies as well as Vedic rites were not entirely neglected during the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries in Bengal² or Assam. In the records, we are dealing with, it is definitely stated that Bhijjāta studied the Yajurveda with all its accessories (p. 64), that Devadatta was the chief of Vedic scholars, the Vedas having had their aims fulfilled in him, that his son was a regular performer of Vedic sacrifices (*agnyāhita*) (p. 99), and that Devadhara who was an *adhvaryu* duly practised Vedic rites (p. 78). It does not seem that all these statements were nothing but formal.

The learned editor has suggested some new interpretations of particular words, expressions etc. Some of these are worth noti-

-
1. An epithet of this Brāhmaṇa — *Cāṇakya māṇikyabhu* — may mean, as supposed by the editor, that he was, as it were, the source of the jewels (i. e. the moral maxims) of Cāṇakya. A knowledge of these would, thus, seem to have come to be regarded as highly commendable at that time.
 2. C. Chakravarti — Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute — Vol. XI, pp. 243-4; D. Bhattacharya — *Haraprasāda-Saṁvardhana-lekṣamālā* (in Bengali) — Vol II. pp. 207 ff.

cing. The symbol used at the beginning of most epigraphic records is usually taken to be nothing but *Cīmkūra* or *Pranava*. But as Mr. Bhattacharya has rightly pointed out (pp. 55-6) this is the symbol known as *Āñji* in Bengal and used at the beginning of letters of the alphabet until sometime back. It cannot be *pranava* as it is, in some cases, found used even before *Pranavas*.

But all his interpretations are not free from doubts. According to him (p. 31. f. n. 1) the *Himālaya* is also a *Kulācala*, but this is well-known as a *Varṣaparvata* which separates one *varṣa* from another. In cases where there is reference to eight *Kulācalas* as in the *Mohamudgara* of Śaṅkarācārya the *Mahendra* and not the *Himālaya* should be counted in the list. As a matter of fact the *Mahendra* is regarded as a *Kulācala* in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (VIII. 7. 6.).

Prākāmya (p. 101. f. n. 5) is stated to be one of six *Aiśvarya*s while it is really one of eight as appears from the list quoted by the editor himself.

The explanation of the unusual epithet *Govaṛṇamūnavaidya*--applied to *Prasthānakalaśa*, the poet who composed the document recorded in the 'First copperplate of Dharmapāla'—as one conversant (*Vaidya*) in the measurement of letters in speech (i. e. prose and poetic composition) is ingenuous (p. 161. f. n. 1). But it cannot be supposed to be free from all doubts.

It may be stated here that the practice of referring to paddy grains in terms of a cardinal number (e. g. thousands) without mentioning the unit of measurement (p. 72)—a practice followed in more than one record—is still found in some parts of Eastern Bengal where, however, 'hundred' is used in place of 'thousand'.

* The editor has omitted to take note of some of the latest theories raised in connection with some of the records. Thus there is no reference either in the body of the book or in the section called *Saṁyojanī O Saṁśodhanī* (Addenda and Errata) to the question raised by Mr. Ramtarak Bhattacharya as early as 1919 (in a paper entitled '*Pañcakaṇḍa O Tāmraśāsna*' read before the sixteenth session of the *Śrīhaṭṭa Vaidik samiti*, and by Mr. J. C. Ghosh (I. H. Q.

—VI. 60ff.) with regard to the location of the land granted in the Nidhanapura copperplate of Bhāskaravarman. Neither is there any reference to the issue opened by Mr. Ghosh (*loc. cit.*) and supported by Mr. K. M. Gupta (I. H. Q.--VII. 718ff) with respect to the identification of the donees of the said grant with the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas on the basis, among other things, of what are supposed to be their surnames as found in the record in question.

The identification of Śrāvastī in the Silimpur copperplate (Ep. Ind. XIII. 283 ff.) with some region in Gauda as suggested by Mr. R. G. Basak has been refuted by the present editor (p. 164-5) and according to him it is to be located in some part of Aasam. But it is to be noted that another scholar has of late come forward with further arguments to support Mr. Basak (*Ind. Ant.* 1931 - pp. 14-18).

The learned editor has deviated in one point from the usual practice observed in editing inscriptions. He has, as is done in the edition of old texts, incorporated the emended readings in the body of the book pointing out the readings found in the footnotes. It is not known if this will be appreciated and followed by epigraphists.

Some minor inaccuracies and misprints are found to have crept into the book. We may mention the following. मविष्यास्तव has become मविष्यास्तव (Introduction p. 19 f. n.), Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar has become Dr. Nanigopal Majumdar (Introduction p. 26, f. n. 2), °ररुपती has become °ररुद्धती (p. 138 l. i).

Question of funds seems to have prevented the learned editor from appending facsimiles of all the plates some of which are in private possession, rendering it difficult to check the readings in doubtful cases, if any.

On the whole, the work is a very important publication, which will be indispensable to every scholar dealing with the history of Eastern India.

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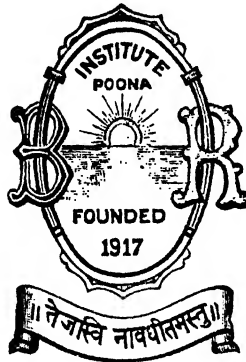
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VOL. XIV]

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[PARTS III-IV

THE VIṢṆUSVĀMIN RIDDLE*

BY

RAI BAHADUR AMARNATH RAY, B. A.

I

Viṣṇusvāmin is a veritable riddle to us. He is said to have been the founder, or at least the most important teacher of the Rudra Sect of Vaiṣṇavas. The other three sects are known as the Śrī, the Catuḥsana and the Brahmā Sects, connected with the names of Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Madhva respectively. About this, the following verse is often quoted :—

“ Rāmānujaṃ Śrīḥ Svīcakre Madhvācāryaṃ Caturmukhaḥ
Śrīviṣṇusvāminam Rudro Nimbādityaṃ Catuḥsaraḥ.”

Very little, however, is known about Viṣṇusvāmin. Aufrecht credits him with the authorship of a gloss on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa: while another writer of eminence¹ ascribes to him authorship of commentaries on the Vedānta and the Gītā, and mentions him as an author of the Madhvācārya Sect, earlier than

*Read at a meeting of the Sanskrit-Bengali Association of the University of Dacca on the 28th January, 1932.

1. See Indexes to the “ Sarvadarśana-Saṃgraha”, edited by M. M. Vāṣu-
deva Śaastri Abhyankar.

Madhva himself, which is rather amusing. Elsewhere¹ we find it said that Viṣṇusvāmin wrote Commentaries on the Vedas. These are all pure guesses, and all that we may safely hold is that Viṣṇusvāmin, as the founder or the Chief Ācārya of a sect, must have written some works which have unfortunately been lost. This would appear strange as the works of all the three other leading Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas have been carefully preserved, and as Viṣṇusvāmin evidently did not belong to a hoary antiquity. Yajñeśvara, in the Āryavidyā-Sudhākara (p. 24) says that Viṣṇusvāmin's father was the prime minister of a Draviḍa Chief under the Emperor of Delhi, so that Viṣṇusvāmin lived after Moslem influence had spread to the South. R. G. Bhandarkar² holds that Viṣṇusvāmin lived in the thirteenth century A. D.

That great scholar says that Viṣṇusvāmin's philosophy was the same as that of Vallabha. This might be an inference from the fact that a certain section of Vallabhācārya's followers trace their sect to Viṣṇusvāmin, or from the account of Viṣṇusvāmin's philosophy to be found in the 'Sakalācārya-mata-saṅgraha' by Śrinivāsa, the well-known author of another work, the 'Yatindra-matadipikā,' a summary of Rāmānuja's a Śribhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras. Any one familiar with the Anubhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras by Vallabha will not fail to observe that this account of Viṣṇusvāmin's Philosophy reads like a concise but faithful summary of that commentary. It appears likely that by Śrinivāsa's time, which was possibly some part of the eighteenth century, Viṣṇusvāmin's philosophy had come to be identified with that of Vallabha. But, in his commentary on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, III. 32. 37, Vallabha refers to an interpretation put on the verse by the followers of Viṣṇusvāmin, Madhva and Rāmānuja, and from the nature of that reference, some of Vallabha's followers hold that Vallabha was not a teacher of the Viṣṇusvāmin Sect and that his philosophy was different.³

-
1. See the accounts of Vallabhācārya in Prajñānānda Sarasvati's History of the Vedānta Darśana (in Bengali) Vol. II., and in the Bengali Viśvakoṣa.
 2. See 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Sects.' p. 77.
 3. I am indebted to Professor G. H. Bhatt, of the Baroda College, a member of the Vallabhācārya Sampradāya, for this reference.

The History of 'the Vedānta Philosophy by Prajñānānanda Sarasvati,'¹ and the Bengali *Viśvakoṣa*² mention a tradition that Viṣṇusvāmin would not admit into discipleship any one but a Brahman willing to adopt the life of a Saṁnyāsin. The tradition among a certain branch of the Vallabhācārya sect, to which I have already referred, is that Viṣṇusvāmin had a disciple, named Jñānadeva, who, in his turn, had two disciples, named Nāthadeva or Nāmadeva and Trilocana, and that Vallabha was a disciple of one of these two. This tradition appears to be fictitious. We know definitely that Vallabha was born in 1479 A. D., and if this tradition were true, Viṣṇusvāmin would be a teacher who lived between the latter half of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the fifteenth centuries. This is highly improbable. Then, again, the Bhaktamālā tells us that Jñānadeva was the son of a Brahman, outcasted for reverting to the life of a householder after having adopted Saṁnyāsa, that Nāmadeva was widow's son, and Trilocana a non-Brahman tailor. Vallabha himself is alleged to have renounced saṁnyāsa and to have reverted to the life of a householder. All this would conflict with Viṣṇusvāmin's alleged fastidiousness in the selection of disciples. Vallabha is also known to have advised his followers not to shun the good things of life, a teaching contrary to the rigorism ascribed to Viṣṇusvāmin. Then again, in his Commentary on the Brahmasūtras, Vallabha denies that a Śūdra was entitled to Brahmayidyā and it would be curious if in the face of such opinion, he permitted himself to be initiated by a Śūdra, nay, an ati-Śūdra.

The "Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta"³ tells us that Caitanyadeva sharply rebuked one Vallabha Bhaṭṭa for having differed in his Commentary on the Bhāgavata, from Śrīdhara Svāmin's interpretation, thereof. In a recent edition of the 'Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta,' we find it stated that this Vallabha Bhaṭṭa was a different person from Śuddhādvaitin Ācārya of that name; but it is generally believed that the 'Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta' refers to this Ācārya; and Kṛṣṇadāsa, the author of the Bengali Bhaktamālā,

1 & 2. See the account of Vallabhācārya in each of these works.

3. 'Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta', Pt. III. Ch. 7.

writing in the eighteenth century, distinctly says so in the very beginning of his account of Vallabhācārya.¹ Then again, some Bengali Vaiṣṇavas hold that the Śrīdhara Svāmin, from whom Vallabha is alleged to have differed, and who was the well-known author of commentaries on the Gītā; the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, was an Ācārya of the Viṣṇu-svāmin Sect.² M. M. Professor Bhagavata-kumar Shastri has expressed the same opinion in a letter written to me. I shall revert to this matter later on, but I may say here that the interpretation of verse 37, ch. 32, Bk. III, of the Bhāgavata which Vallabha, in his Commentary thereon, ascribes to the followers of Viṣṇu-svāmin, Madhvācārya, and Kāmānuja, is to be found in Śrīdhara's ṭīkā on that verse: and nobody ever believed or suggested that Śrīdhara belonged either to the Rāmānuja or Madhvācārya Sect. Then, again, one finds it difficult to find out why Vallabha should have materially differed from Śrīdhara Svāmin, if both belonged to the same sect, namely, the Viṣṇu-svāmin sect. In his commentaries on the Brahmasūtras or the Bhāgavata, Vallabha never even mentions Viṣṇu-svāmin as a Pūrvācārya, and in the first commentary he claims that his exposition was original and that he owed it to the grace of Śrīkrṣṇa.

“ Nānāmatadhvānta vināśanaksamo
Vedāntahrtpadma-vikāsane patuḥ
Āviṣkṛto'yaṁ bhuvi bhāṣyabhāṣkaro
Mudhā budhā dhāvata nā'nyavartmasu.”

Then again,

“ Śrīkrṣṇakṛpayaivā'yaṁ Siddhānto hr̥di bhāṣate.”

The late lamented M. M. Haraprasad Shastri told me that Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the father of Vallabha, was a follower of the Viṣṇu-svāmin cult, whom the oppression of the Moslem rulers of the Telugu Country compelled to seek abode in Benares. Vallabha might have been connected with the Viṣṇu-svāmin Sect,

1. No Commentary on the Bhāgavata by any other Vallabha Bhaṭṭa has come down to us.
2. See Introduction to the Bhagavadgītā with the commentary of Viśva-pāṭha, published by the Gauḍīya maṭha of Calcutta,

In some way, direct or indirect, but it seems clear that he did not own absolute allegiance to that teacher's doctrines. His ascendancy, on the other hand, appears to have been one of the reasons which have relegated Viṣṇusvāmin, his works, and his Śuddhādvaita to the limbs of oblivion. Then again, in this country, it has been the fashion to refer every new doctrine to antiquity; the Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja has been traced back to Śrī or Lakṣmī, the dvaita of Madhva to Brahmā, and the dvaitādvaita of Nimbārka to the mythical Catuḥsanas, viz., Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, and Sanat-Kumāra. There could be nothing strange, therefore, in the fictitious attempt to connect Vallabha with Śiva through Viṣṇusvāmin. I may here narrate a certain myth which has been invented in order to connect Viṣṇusvāmin with Rudra or Śiva. The Hindu Bhaktamāla by Nābhāji has nothing more to tell us about Viṣṇusvāmin than what we have learnt from the Sanskrit verse about the four Vaiṣṇava Sects I have already quoted. He paraphrases that verse in this way :—

“Ramāpsddhati Rāmānuja Viṣṇusvāmi Tripurāri
Nimbāditya Sanakādi Madhukara Gurumukha cāri.”

Nābhāji has so many things to say about so many saints, but has nothing to add about Viṣṇusvāmin. Nor does Priyadāsa, in his gloss on the Bhaktamāla, add to our knowledge. But in a recent *ṭikā*, called the ‘Vārttika-tilaka’ first published in 1852, and possibly written not much earlier, we find the following mythical connection established between Rudra and Viṣṇusvāmin. There was a man, named Premānanda or Paramānanda, who used to devoutly worship the God Varadārāja of Viṣṇu-Kāñcī. Varadārāja was much pleased, and asked the God Śiva of Śiva-Kāñcī, his friendly neighbour and disciple, to initiate Premānanda into the Cult of Bālagopāla, — as if he could not do it himself, — and this was readily done. Viṣṇusvāmin, is said to have been the 48th teacher in apostolic succession from Premānanda and 50th from the God Varadārāja, the Śiva of Śiva-Kāñcī evidently coming between Varadārāja and Premānanda.

We have a few references to Viṣṇusvāmin, in the account of Raseśvaradarśana in the ‘Sarvadarśanasamgraha,’ from which Yājñeśvara appears to have collected his scanty materials for the

brief but rather inaccurate exposition of Viṣṇusvāmin's philosophy, to be found at p. 124 of the 'Āryavidyā-Sudhākara'. It is generally believed that Mādhava, the brother of Sāyaṇa, the commentator on the Vedas, both the brothers being ministers of the Vijayanagar Kings, was the author of this work, and that he came to be known as Vidyāranya Muni on adopting Samnyāsa. Some people deny that this Mādhava and Vidyāranya were identical, while others say that there were three Mādhavas who lived about this time and who were all authors. Mādhava, the brother of Sāyaṇa, was according to these Scholars, the writer of certain chapters of the 'Pañcadaśī', of the 'Jivanmuktiviveka' and other works, a second Mādhava, who was a fighting minister of the Vijayanagar Kings, wrote the commentary on the Sūta-Samhitā, while a third Mādhava, being the son of the first Mādhava's brother, Sāyaṇa, was the author of the 'Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha.' There is a third view that Mādhava, brother of Sāyaṇa, was the author of the 'Sarvadarśanasamgraha', with the exception of the last chapter containing the account of Śāṅkara-Vedānta which was added by Sāyaṇa's son or somebody else, and which is not to be found in some editions of the work. I find myself in agreement with this third view, but this is certainly not the place to enter into a discussion on the subject.

In the account of Raseśvaradarśana we find it stated that according to Viṣṇusvāmin, the śarīra of Nṛsiṃha was 'nitya' or eternal, and the following verse is quoted in support of the statement, as from a work, named the 'Sākārasiddhi':—

“ Saccinnityanijācintya-pūrṇānandaikavigraham
Nṛpañcāsyamahm vande Śrīviṣṇusvāmisammatam ”¹

A follower of Viṣṇusvāmin, by name Garbha-Śrīkānta Miśra, is mentioned as having established that Nṛsiṃha had the viśeṣaṇas 'Sat', 'cit' etc. It need not be supposed, however, that this exposition of Viṣṇusvāmin's doctrines gives a correct account of that teacher's philosophy. Mādhava appears to have sarcastically pointed out how the Raseśvarites would twist the meaning of the

1. It might be noted that this verse does not say that the 'Śarīra' of Nṛsiṃha is eternal.

well-known Śruti passage ' Raso vai Saḥ ', equating , Rasa ' with that blessed thing, mercury,—and of the sayings of old and recent teachers, like Govinda-bhagavatpāda (the guru of great Śaṅkara), and the author of Sākāra-Siddhi; respectively, in order to find support for their eccentric doctrine therein. Viṣṇusvāmin and Garbha-Śrikānta are not so mentioned as if they belonged to a remote past.

Śrīdhara Svāmin, in his ṭikā on verse, I. 7. 6. of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quotes the following verses of Viṣṇusvāmin :—

"Taduktam Viṣṇusvāminā —

Hlādinyā samvidāśliṣṭaḥ saccidānanda Īśvaraḥ
Svāvidyāsamvṛto Jīvaḥ saṅkleśanikarākaraḥ.

Tathā --

Sa Īśo yadavaśe māyā sa Jīvo yastyārditaḥ
Svāvirbhūtaparānandaḥ Svāvirbhūta-suduḥkhabhūḥ
Svādiguttha-viparyāsa-bhava-bhedaja-bhisucaḥ
Yanmāyayā Jusannāste tamimam Nṛharim numah "

In his ṭikā on verse, III. 12. 1-2, of the same Purāṇa, again, Śrīdhara names Viṣṇusvāmin and quotes a part of the third verse above; while in the ṭikā on the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, verse, I. 12. 70, he quotes the first of the above verses as from a work, named the ' Sarvajña-sūkti ' (taduktam Sarvajñasūktau) ' which would show that Viṣṇusvāmin used to be known as the ' Sarvajña '. N. Venkatarāman ' tells us that this distinction, which later Śaṅkarācārya earned, has been transferred by tradition to the great Śaṅkara. We know also that a few others have from time to time earned this distinction. We may take it, from their common adherence to the Nṛsimha Cult, that the Sarvajña Viṣṇusvāmin, quoted from by Śrīdhara and Viṣṇusvāmin, mentioned in the Rasesvaradarśana account, were identical.

The question which now engages our attention is whether this Sarvajña Viṣṇusvāmin could have been the author of the commentary on the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad and of the

1. See , Śaṅkarācārya the great and His Successors at Kāñci ', p. 82-84.

Prapañcasāra Tantra, works erroneously attributed to the great Śaṅkara. Pandit Vidhushekhara Shastri has proved that these works could not have been written by Śaṅkara.¹ These works must, as matter of fact, have been composed long after Śaṅkara's time. Śrīdhara, in his *ṭikā* on the Bhāgavata, X. 87. 21, quotes the following Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya passage :—

"Yam sarve devā namanti mumuksavo brahmvādinaśca", (II. 4.) and proceeds, —

"Vyākhyātam ca Sarvajñair bhāṣya-kṛdbhiḥ,—muktā api līlayā vīgraham kṛtvā bhajanta iti."

Śrīdhara here quotes with slight variations, — possibly he quotes from memory, — from the commentary on the Upaniṣad, passing for a work of Śaṅkara, for there the passage is explained thus :—"Muktāśca līlayā vīgraham parigrhya namanti tyanu-śaṅgaḥ." Vamśīdhara Śarmā, the writer of the 'Bhāvārtha-dīpikā-prakāśa,' which is a *ṭikā* on Śrīdhara's annotation, explains the words 'Sarvajñairbhāṣyakṛdbhiḥ,' as 'Sarvajñairbhāṣyakṛdbhir bhagavatpūjyapādair-Nṛsimha-tāpanyām,' meaning that Śrīdhara was quoting from Śaṅkara's commentary on the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya. Vamśīdhara's recent age is responsible for this mistake, for not even the credulous Mādhava, the author of the Śaṅkaravijaya attributes this work to Śaṅkara, and Śrīdhara who appears from my researches about him, to have been a late fourteenth, or early fifteenth century teacher, at the East, could not possibly have mistaken a recent work like this commentary for a work of Śaṅkara.² In the introduction to his *ṭikā* on the Gītā, Śrīdhara refers to Śaṅkara as the 'bhāṣyakāra' and in the *ṭikā* on verse 20, ch. XIII, of that work,

1. See Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Memorial Volume III. pt.2 p.100 et seq.

2. Śrīdhara quotes Gauḍapāda, Śaṅkara, Suresvara, and Ānandabodhī-cārya; he knew Cit-Sukha's commentaries and also Vidyā Śaṅkara's commentary on the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad; but he does not quote from the 'Pañcadaśī'; the great source of inspiration to subsequent Advaitin writers. Possibly the fame of the 'Pañcadaśī' had not spread as far as Benares, where Śrīdhara used to live, in his time. His commentaries were known in Bengal early in the sixteenth century, if not earlier.

he speaks of Śaṁkara thus :—‘Śrīmacchamkarabhagavadbhāṣyakṛd-bhīḥ;’ he does not refer to Śaṁkara as Sarvajña. Again, if Śrīdhara had known two ‘Sarovajñas’, one being the author of the ‘Sarovajña-Sūkti’ and the other of the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpaniya commentary, one might expect him to have indicated their difference. It should be remembered also that both these Sarvajñas were followers of the Nṛsimha Cult. The Commentator Sarvajña mentions, in six places, that the Prapañcasāra tantra is a work of his; and that tantra devotes a whole chapter to Nṛsimha rituals.

The Nṛsimhapūrvatāpaniya Upaniṣad inculcates ‘Nṛsimhākāra-brahmavidyā’, and the ‘Sākāra-Siddhi’, referred to in the Rasesvara-darsana account, might possibly have had some connection with that Upaniṣad or with the commentary thereon. Vidyāranya, in the beginning of his commentary on the Nṛsimhottaratāpaniya Upaniṣad, after stating that the Nṛsimha-pūrvatāpaniya dealt with ‘Nṛsimhākāra-brahma’ observes as follows: “Tathā hyuktaṁ vārttikakṛdbhīḥ :—

“Nṛsimhabrahmavidyāiṣā vyākhyātā jñānasiddhaye”

This vārttika appears to refer to the following passage in the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpaniya commentary - “Tāpaniyopanīṣacchri - Nṛsimhākārabrahmaviṣayā sstī nirākārabrahmapratipattiyupāyabhūta.” In another connection in his commentary, Vidyāranya quotes three verses of the Vārttikakāra, and in a third, one other verse. In Advaita Vedānta literature, Sureśvarācārya is generally known as the Vārttikakāra, but the verses quoted cannot be traced to that great teacher’s works. The fact that the Nṛsimhākārabrahmavidyā appears to have been the topic common to the ‘Sākārasiddhi’ and to the Vārttika work quoted from by Vidyāranya, leads one to think that the two works might, after all, be identical. The last Vārttika quoted runs as follows :—

“Sarovajñakarunānunnā vicārajñānakāmanā
• Ikṣanopacayānnādirūpenātha vivartate.”

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1. See lines 1-2 of the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpaniya commentary p. 3. Ānandāśrama Edition.
 2. See commentary on the Nṛsimhottaratāpaniya Upaniṣad, p. 145, Ānandāśrama Edition.

This means literally that the desire for discrimination and knowledge, not moistened by the grace of the omniscient, takes the false shapes of Īkṣāṇa (observation or contemplation) upacaya (accumulation or growth), and anna (food or matter). There is an evident pun on the word 'Sarvajña', which, while referring directly to God, refers indirectly to the Sarvajña commentator of the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya, not unlikely the Vārttikakāra's Guru. This Vārttika brings in the doctrine of 'prasāda' or grace. No wonder that the worshippers of a manifestation of Viṣṇu, believing in the doctrine of divine grace, should for a time, have been counted as a Vaiṣṇava sect, in spite of their Māyāvāda metaphysics. The devotion of this Vārttikakāra to the commentator discloses his temperamental likeness to Garbha Śrīkānta Miśra, whom Mādhlava, in the Raseśvaradarśana account, describes as 'Viṣṇusvāmiparinātāntaḥkaraṇa' that is one whose inner organs were wholly bent towards the feet of Viṣṇusvāmin.

Mr. A. Govinda Wariyar tells us that a section of Śaṅkara's followers early took to the worship of Nṛsimha and Pārthasārathi'. I may point out here that there is a common error that Śaṅkara's followers are Śaivas. As a matter of fact, his followers make no choice among the five deities, 'pañca-devatā' as they are called, viz. Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇapati, Sūrya and the Devī. People living in the country where Śaṅkara was born still point out an image which Śaṅkara used to worship before leaving home. The late Mr. Tilak has pointed that, in his recognised commentaries Śaṅkara, in giving instances of pratikopāśanā, several times refers to the Śālagrāma Śilā,² but never to the 'Lingam' of Śiva. It is said that Padmapāda, the distinguished disciple of Śaṅkara, was a devotee of Nṛsimha, nay a Nṛsimha-siddha. No mention of Nṛsimha is to be found, however, in the fragment of the 'Pañcapādikā' which has come down to us, and the story might have been invented after the spread of the Nṛsimha cult among Śaṅkara's followers with a view to make it look ancient. Cit-sukha, the author of the 'Tattvapradīpikā and Nṛsimhāstama,

1. See 'Vilvamaṅgala Svāmīars' —I. H. Q. June, 1931.

2. See Brahmasūtra - I. 2. 7., 1. 3. 14., and 4. 1. 3. and Chāndogya Commentary 8. 1. 1.

the author of the 'Bhedadhikkāra' and the 'Bhāvārthaprakāśikā' are found making obeisances to Nṛsimha, while Śrīdhara is never tired of bowing to that deity. I have already said that some Bengal Vaiṣṇavas contend that Śrīdhara was an Ācārya of the Viṣṇusvāmin Sect. But it is known that his metaphysics was substantially the Advaitavāda of Śaṅkara, though he differed from that great teacher in adhering to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa doctrine that *Bhakti* for a līlāvātāra of Viṣṇu was the easiest way to liberation. That is exactly the position of the commentator of the Nṛsimhapūrvatāpanīya, who says, in a passage already quoted, that Nṛsimhākārabrahmaavidyā led to the realisation of the Supreme Brahman. If Viṣṇusvāmin were the author of this commentary, as I think he was, those who say that Śrīdhara was a teacher of the Śaṅkara sect, and those who contend that he was an ascetic of the Viṣṇusvāmin sect, would find their respective position equally vindicated, for, in that case, Viṣṇusvāmin and Śrīdhara would both be merely teachers of a branch of the Śaṅkara sect with Vaiṣṇavite leanings, which went in for Nṛsimha worship.¹

It appears likely that this branch of the Śaṅkara sect came to be looked upon as the Rudra sect, not because as the Bhaktimāla Vārttika tells us, the fictitious Premānanda was initiated by the Śiva of Śiva-Kāñci, but because the Nṛsimha-rūpa is a rudra-rūpa of Viṣṇu as will appear from the following passages from the Nṛsimha-pūrvatāpanīya (I. 6) and the Prapañcasāra Tantra. The first passage runs thus:—

"Om ṛtaṁ satyaṁ param brahma puruṣaṁ Nṛkesarivigrahaṁ, Kṛṣṇapiṅgalamūrdhwaretaṁ, virūpākṣaṁ, Śaṅkaraṁ nīlalohitaṁ umāpatim piṇākinam" etc.

In explaining 'virūpākṣaṁ' the commentator says 'lalāṭa-netreṇa rudratāṁ prāpnoti.'

1. That Śrīdhara belonged to the Śaṅkara sect is clear. He says that he wrote his ṭīkā on the Gītā after consulting the commentary of Śaṅkara and a ṭīkā thereon, add that, in ṭīkā on the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, he merely simplified the commentary of Citsukha. Nīlakaṇṭha, in the introduction to his ṭīkā on the Gītā, distinctly mentions Śaṅkara and Śrīdhara as having belonged to his own Sect.

The Prapañcasāra thus describes Nṛsimha :—

“Ugram vīrajutaṁ mahāntikamatho Viṣṇuṁ jvalantānvitam
Samproktā 'tha ca sarvatomukha-Nṛsimhārnam-stathā bhīṣanam.”

The Nṛsimha cult appears from the evidence of its two Upaniṣads and of the Prapañcasāra, to have mixed up Tāntrika rituals with Advaita Vedānta, and its adherents began gradually to replace Nṛsimha by Kṛṣṇa. But it seems possible that a section of its followers thought that māyāvāda vedānta and bhakti went ill together, and this led to the final supersession, at the instance of Vallabha of Nṛsimha by Bālagopāla and Viṣṇusvāmin's māyā-bhakti Śuddhādvaita by the Śuddhādvaita of Vallabha which he calls Brahmovāda.¹

I might say in passing that the 'Prabodhasudhākara', another work wrongly attributed to Śaṅkara, appears to me to have been written either by the author of the two works just mentioned or by some other writer of the same school. The work abounds in erotic imageries which remind one of the Prapañcasāra Tantra, and also of Viṣṇusvāmin's line Hlādinīyā Samvidā-Ślistāḥ Saccidānanda Īśvaraḥ,” while the same partiality for 'Saguṇopāsanā' is noticeable in the two sections of the work, named, 'the twofold bhakti', and 'The unity of Saguna and the nirguṇa'. Again, in the brief summary of the Kṛṣṇa-līlā contained in the work, the epithet 'Nṛhari', which means both 'Nṛsimha' and 'puruṣottama',

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1. Inside Śaṅkara's school, however, the tradition of the Viṣṇusvāmin branch continued for some time more, as will appear from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Commentary on the Gītā and his 'Bhagavad-bhaktirasāyanam', from Viṣṇu Purī's Bhaktiratnāvalī, and from Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Mahābhārata. I have attempted to show elsewhere that Īśvara Purī, the Guru of Śrī Caitānya and Mādhavendra Purī, the Guru of Īśvara Purī belonged to this branch of the Śaṅkara sect.

is applied six times to Kṛṣṇa, no other epithet being used so often.'

But if the identification of the author of the *Prapañcasāra* and the *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya* commentary with Viṣṇusvāmin is to hold good, it remains to be explained how the authorship of these works came to be attributed to Śaṅkara. The attention of the reader is invited to the second opening verse of the *Sarva-darśanasamgraha*, where Mādhava salutes his guru 'Sarvajña Viṣṇu':—

“Param gataṁ sakaladarśanasāgarānā-
Mātmocitārtha-caritārthita-Sarvalokam
Śrīśārṅgapāṇitanayaṁ nikhilāgamajñāṁ
Sarvajña-Viṣṇugurumanvahanamāśraye 'ham”.

N. Venkataraman rightly identifies this Sarvajña Viṣṇu with Vidyā-Tīrtha or Vidyā-Śaṅkara Tīrtha², the great scholar and adept in tantras and mantras, whom both Mādhava and Sāyaṇa salute as their Guru, and whom Mādhava is said to have placed on the Śaṅkarācāryapīṭha at Śrīṅgeri. There is a magnificent commemoration building over his vesting place at Śrīṅgeri, constructed under the supervision of Bhāratī Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha. Mādhava, in the introduction to his *Jaiminīya Nyāyamālā*, thus refers to Vidyā-Śaṅkara's omniscience:—

“Vidyātīrthamunistadātmani lasanmūrti-stvanugrahikā
Tenāsya svaguṇairakhaṇḍitapadaṁ sārvañnamudyotate.”

Let us remember also that Śrīdhara calls the commentator of *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya* 'Sarvajña'. In the very first verse introducing that commentary, the commentator mentions that his

1. Then, again, the prose 'Upadeśasāhasrī' might not unlikely have been a work of the same author. At para 18 of that work we find Brahman described as endowed with 'anantaśakti' and again with 'acintyaśakti' and it might be that Vallabha took his idea of Brahman's acintyaśaktitva' from this work, and this idea is responsible for the nomenclature of Jīva Gosvāmin's philosophy 'Acintyabhedābheda-vāda'.

2. Śaṅkarācārya the great and his followers at Kāñcī—p. 93.

Guru's name was the one by which this Upaniṣad was known, that is, 'Nṛsiṃha' :—

"Yannāmnopanīṣatkhyātā tapanam tam vidhum gurum

Prapamyopāsanagarbhām tad-vyākhyām śraddhaya 'rabhe."

We know from the Śringeri and Kāñci Tables of Ācāryas that Vidyā-Śaṅkara was the disciple of Nṛsiṃha or Narasiṃha Tīrtha.² So it is clear beyond doubt that Vidyā-Śaṅkara was the author of this commentary, of the Prapañcasāra Tantra and possibly also of the 'Prabodha-Sudhākara' and the prose 'Upadeśa-sāhasrī.' The Śringeri chronology spreads Vidyā-Śaṅkara's pontificate at Śringeri over the period 1228-1333 A. D. which is unthinkable. There must have been gaps at both ends. All that one may safely hold is that he lived a long life covering a portion of the period 1200-1333 A. D. It looks possible that Viṣṇusvāmin was his original Saṁnyāsin name, that Mādhava while retaining the epithet Sarvajña, abbreviates the full name, for the sake of the metre, into Viṣṇu, and that he took the name Vidyā-Tīrtha or Vidyā-Śaṅkara Tīrtha on ascending the Śringeri pīṭha. We have already seen that, according to Bhandarkar, Viṣṇusvāmin, the alleged founder of the so-called Rudra Sect of Vaiṣṇavas also lived in the thirteenth century. Surely there could not possibly have been a plethora of Sarvajñas or Sarvajña Viṣṇus in the thirteenth century A. D. For aught we know, the distinction has been rarely achieved.³ It appears certain, therefore, that Viṣṇu-Svāmin and Vidyā-Śaṅkara were identical : and as he was a Śaṅkarācārya of the Śringeri Pīṭha, his works have come to be confused with the works of the great Śaṅkara. If all the works which pass current for works of Śaṅkara were critically studied, it might possibly turn out that they are the works of at least half a dozen authors. Vidyā-Śaṅkara is stated to be the author of the Vākya-

1. It is strange that this verse hitherto escaped the attention of scholars.

2. We get the same information from a Śringeri work, 'The Guru varṇa Kāvya by one Lakshmana Shastri, published by the Vāṇivilāsa Press, Śrīraṅgam.

3. We hear of Sarvajña Śaṅkara, Sarvajñātma muni, Sarvajña Viṣṇusvāmin, Sarvajña Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭāraka Bhāsarvajña and Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa, who wrote an annotation on the Mahābhārata,

bhāṣya on the Kena Upaniṣad.' In that commentary, differing from Śaṅkara, he interprets the expression, 'Brāhmi Upaniṣat' as 'Upaniṣad meant for Brahmins'. This partiality towards Brahmins is similar to the attitude which tradition ascribes to Viṣṇu-Svāmin, namely, that he would not admit into discipleship any one but a Brahmin who would adopt Saṁnyāsa. I have also stated that Prajñānāṇanda Sarasvatī and the writer of the Bengali 'Viśvakośa' tell us that Viṣṇusvāmin wrote commentaries on the Vedas. No such Commentary has come down to us. As regards Sāyaṇa's commentaries on the Vedas, it is said by some that they were the joint production of Mādhava and Sāyaṇa. Sāyaṇa himself, however, repeats in the commentaries that they were composed under the patronage of King Bukka and the inspiration of Vidyā-Tīrtha. That Vidyā-Śaṅkara or Vidyā-Tīrtha was a great adept in the Vedas would appear from the following identical reference to him in Sāyaṇa's commentaries and also in Mādhava's 'Jīvanmuktiviveka' :—

"Yasya niḥśvasitam vedā yo vedebhyo'khilam jagat
Nirmame tamaham vande Vidyātīrthamaheśvaram".

Vidyā-Śaṅkara might have had some hand in the composition of the commentaries in Sāyaṇa's name, and that might be the only truth behind the tradition about Viṣṇusvāmin's authorship of commentaries on the Vedas. Some of Viṣṇusvāmin's sayings were called 'Sarvajña-sūkti'. It is not strange that the sayings of one whose exhalation was the Vedas should be called 'sūkti' in imitation of the Vedic 'Sūktas'.

Vilvamaṅgala, the author of the 'Kṛṣṇakarnāmr̥tam', is held by some to have been an ascetic of the Viṣṇusvāmin sect. A Govinda Wariyar, however, says that the Vilvamaṅgalas were all Ācāryas of one of the two Śaṅkarite *Madhoms* at Trichur.² He says that there were three Ācāryas of this name known to have been authors, and he fixes them for the 9th, the 13th and the 17th centuries respectively. He says that the first of these Vilva-

1. Mahāmahopādhyāya Shridharshastri Pathak in the Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, Vol. I. p. XCIX.

2. See 'Vilvamaṅgala Svāmīns'. I. H. Q., June, 1931,

maṅgalaś was the author of the 'Kṛṣṇa-Kaṇāmṛtam'. K. Rama Piśharoti is of the same opinion.¹ The seventeenth century Vilva-maṅgala could not possibly have written the 'Kṛṣṇakaṇāmṛtam' which was a favourite work of Śrī Caitanyaadeva, but I do not think that the author could have lived in the 9th century. A. Govinda Wariyar bases his conclusion on the fact that the author of the 'Kṛṣṇakaṇāmṛtam' in his gloss on a work of Śaṁkara, - Wariyar does not give us the name of this work, - calls himself a pupil of Padmapāda, and he takes this Padmapāda as identical with Śaṁkara's first disciple of the same name. The author of the 'Kṛṣṇa Kaṇāmṛtam' in the very first verse tells us that his Guru was one Somagiri, but he also mentions that he had Śikṣāgurus, and if one Padmapāda were his 'Vidyāguru', it does not necessarily follow that he would be identical with Śaṁkara's illustrious disciple, Padmapāda. There is a ṭīkā on the Prapañcasāra tantra by one Padmapāda, and people identifying him with Śaṁkara's disciple, Padmapāda, ascribe the authorship of the tantra to Śaṁkara. But we have proved it beyond cavil that the author of the Prapañcasāra was Vidyā-śaṁkara. Who then was this Padmapāda, who commented on the Prapañcasāra? The Śringerī chronology mentions no Ācārya of this name. But we have a valuable piece of information supplied by the 'Madhva-vijaya' by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, being the traditional biography of Madhvācārya. We learn from that work that Madhva had a dialectical contest with a great Advaitin monk, whom the author with abominable taste, calls 'Śaṁkara'. Both C. N. Krishnaswami Iyer and C. M. Padmanabh Achar identify this monk with Vidyā-śaṁkara. The Madhva-vijaya relates another encounter of Madhva with the Śringerī monk, Padmatīrtha after Vidyā-śaṁkara's death. As we have said before, the Śringerī chronology does not mention this Padmatīrtha, but the very fact that it allots the unconscionable long period of one hundred and five years Ācāryaship to Vidyāśaṁkara would tend to show that there are some gaps in this chronology and, relying on the account of the 'Madhva-vijaya', we may hold that Padmatīrtha came between Vidyā-Śaṁkara and Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha, who is named in the Śringerī table immediately after Vidyāśaṁkara. It seems likely that

1. See, 'Kulaśekhara in Kerala- Ibid-,'

this Padmatīrtha was the Padmāpāda who commented on the 'Prapañcasāra', and who was also the teacher of Vilvamaṅgala. It is possible to trace the erotic emotionalism of the 'Kṛṣṇakarmāmṛtam' to the author of works like the 'Prapañcasāra' and 'Prabodhasudhākara' but not to the great Śaṅkara or to his disciple Padmāpāda. As a result of the present discussion, those who say that Vilvamaṅgala was a Śaṅkarite Saṁnyāsin and those who attach him to the Viṣṇusvāmin sect would be equally truthful.

It would appear as if Vidyā-Śaṅkara and his disciples re-enacted the drama of Śaṅkara's life. He was like Śaṅkara, considered an avatāra of Maheśvara, and his works are passing for Śaṅkara's works. One of his followers, commenting on his Prapañcasāra has come to pass for Śaṅkara's disciple, Padmāpāda, and was actually named Padma Tīrtha; another follower of his wrote a Vārttika on his Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya commentary and called it the 'Sākārasiddhi' in imitation of the Vārttikakāra Sureśvara's works such as 'Naiṣkarmyasiddhi' and 'Svārājya-siddhi'.

To sum up. The conclusion to which I am led by an examination of the available materials is that the tradition about the existence of a Rudra Sect of Vaiṣṇavas before Vallabha and about Viṣṇusvāmin having been the founder or chief teacher thereof is a semi-myth and that Viṣṇusvāmin, as matter of fact, was the same person as Vidyāśaṅkara, the guru of Mādhava and Sāyana. Yajñeśvara's statement in the 'Āryavidyāsudhākara' that the Viṣṇusvāmin sect become extinct no sooner than it had come into existence and was revived, later on, by the genius of Vallabha would also bear me out. The merging of Viṣṇusvāmin into Vidyā-Śaṅkara on the one hand, and the ascendancy of Vallabha on the other, are the real reasons why we know so little about Viṣṇusvāmin.

Yajñeśvara has culled his information about Viṣṇusvāmin from a work of the Vallabhācārya sect, namely the 'Sampradāya-pradīpa', written by one Gadādhara Dvivedin, a devoted follower

of Viṭṭhalanatha, one of the sons of Vallabha.¹ The work exists only in manuscript, and my attempt to get a transcript of the portion of it which relates to Viṣṇusvāmin has not yet succeeded. One does not really know whether it contains anything more than what Yajñeśvara has borrowed from it; nor should one be surprised if it gives a fictitious account of Viṣṇusvāmin similar to the one given in the Vārttikatilaka on the Bhaktamāla. In any case, no serious critic would think of attaching greater importance to an avowedly sectarian work, than to evidence derivable from independent sources.

Here ends my attempt to weave a history of Viṣṇusvāmin out of the very scanty available yarn. An unbiassed pursuit of the present clue might unearth more details about him. That he has become quite a riddle to the historian of Indian Philosophy and Religion is due, not to his hoary antiquity, as supposed by some, but to the fact that the search for him has not been conducted in right quarter, tradition having been relied on to a greater extent than is permissible in historical investigation.

That I have taken a lot of pains over the history of this teacher is due to the fact that a study of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava literature has led me to the belief that if one is to trace the origin of the peculiar cult of *bhakti*, - tinged with erotic emotionalism, - of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, he will have to look, for the intermediate stages of development, to works like the commentary on the Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya Upaniṣad, the Prapañcasāra Tantra, the Prabodhasudhākara, the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtam and Śrīdhara's Commentaries, rather than to the literature of the recognised Vaiṣṇava Sects. The history of the Caitanya Sect has hitherto been wrongly written. But that is another story :

1. The name of the author has been supplied by Prof. G. H. Bhatt of the Baroda College.

II

After the original paper had been given at the meeting of the Sanskrit-Bengali Association of the Dacca University, a kind friend of mine¹ brought to my notice certain matters relating to the subject, for which I am extremely thankful to him. He first pointed out that Aufrecht in his *Catalogue*, Vol. I, P. 402 B, mentioned the existence of a manuscript of a *ṭikā* on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* by Viṣṇusvāmin among the collection of manuscripts owned by the Government Sanskrit College at Benares. On inquiry, however, I have been able to ascertain through the kindness of Principal Gopinath Kaviraj and of a friend of mine, now staying at Benares,² that the manuscript referred to by Aufrecht, viz. No 226 of the Collection, is really one of the 'Subodhini *ṭikā* on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, by Vallabhācārya, and that there is not in existence, among the Benares Government Sanskrit College Collection, any manuscript of any work by Viṣṇusvāmin. Aufrecht has simply copied the mistake of author of the *Catalogue* of manuscripts of the Government Sanskrit College.

The next thing pointed out to me was a brief account of Viṣṇusvāmin in Wilson's *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 119-20. It appeared on a perusal of the same, that Prajñānānda Sarasvati and the writer of the note on Vallabhācārya in the *Bengali Viśvakosa* had both borrowed their account of Viṣṇusvāmin from this work. The only additional matter Wilson mentions is a tradition about Viṣṇusvāmin having been the fifteenth in apostolic succession from the God, Viṣṇu. This appears to be a variation of the silly tradition referred to in the *Rājavārttika ṭikā* on the *Hindi Bhaktamāla*, and the discrepancy between the two accounts only proves the unreliability of the whole tradition. Wilson, unfortunately, does not mention the authorities from which he had gleaned his information about Viṣṇusvāmin.

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1. Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerji, M. A., keeper of Manuscripts, University of Dacca.
 2. Babu Manmathanath Chatterji, at present of 56/2, Lakṣmīkuṇḍa Benares.

The third thing pointed out to me by the same kind friend was an account of three manuscripts of the 'Sampradāya-Pradīpa' by Gadādhara, referred to in the original paper, in H. P. Shastri's Catalogue, Vol. IV.¹ The manuscripts mention that Viṣṇu-svāmin was the son of the minister of a Dravīdian Chief, and that he was born early in the Kali era, which is nonsense, because the writer says that Viṣṇusvāmin preached the 'Śrī-Gopijana-vallabhākhyā tattva' and harmonised all Śāstras with the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. It is further said that Vilvamāṅgala, author of the Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛtam, belonged to the Viṣṇusvāmin Sect, and that he inspired Vallabha, in a dream, to preach the Bālagopāla cult. The work was composed in the year 1554 A. D.

The same Catalogue (p 95), contains an account of a biography of Vallabha, named the 'Caritracintāmaṇi' by one 'Devakinandana'. It is stated by this author that all the four Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas, - Rāmānuja, Madhva Viṣṇusvāmin and Nimbārka, - incarnated in order to undo the mischief done by Śaṅkara's preaching of the Māyāvāda. This positively disproves Viṣṇusvāmin having incarnated early in the Kali era.

The Catalogue (pages 106-7) contains an account of 'Vaiṣṇava vārttāmālā' by one Śrīnātha Deveśa, from which we learn that Vallabhācārya's great grandfather, Yajñanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was a follower of the Viṣṇusvāmin Cult. So it appears that Vallabha was rather remotely connected with this cult and did not find it difficult to break away from it and preach a new doctrine.

I have stated in the original paper that Īśvara Puṇi and Mādhavendra Puṇi, the teacher and teacher's teacher respectively, of Śrī Caitanyadeva, appeared to have been ascetics of the Viṣṇusvāmin branch of the Śaṅkara Sect, and that the erotic emotionalism of the Bengal School of Vaiṣṇavism must have developed from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa through the Viṣṇusvāmin Literature. These statements are borne out by the 'Sampradāya-pradīpa', for Gadādhara, who wrote only twentyone years after

1. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection, under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV (History and Geography), pp. 97-106,

the death of Śrī Caitanya, mentions, that the Caitanya sect was a sub-sect (upaśampradāya) of the Viṣṇusvāmin sect.

III.

The foregoing paper was sent to Professor M. Hiriyanna of the Mysore University for favour of his opinion, and that erudite Professor, while holding that the conclusion I had attempted to reach appeared to be quite plausible, very kindly pointed out certain difficulties, which I propose to deal with in this place.

(1) He first says that the terms in which the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha refers to Viṣṇusvāmin (Viṣṇusvāmin-matānusāribhiḥ) seem to indicate that Viṣṇusvāmin was regarded as a fairly old writer at the time. To this it may be said that an eminent teacher does not take a long time to found a school. Viṣṇusvāmin appears to have lived long, and everybody knows that the great Śaṅkara founded a School even during his very short life-time. It may further be pointed out that the Sarvajña Viṣṇu referred to by Mādhava in his second prefatory verse appears to be no other than Viṣṇusvāmin.

(2) The learned professor next points out that there is in the Mysore Government Oriental Library an unpublished Commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras by one Cinmaya Muni, a writer who appears to have lived in the 18th Century, and that the writer says in the prefatory Stanza that he simply elucidates the Commentary by one Viṣṇu, who was possibly no other than Viṣṇusvāmin. Professor Hiriyanna has not read Cinmaya's Commentary but says that according to a note on it by the Library authorities, it advocates the Bhedābheda-vāda. I am grateful to Rao Bahadur Professor B. Venkatesachar of Bangalore who has, since this note was written, examined 'Cinmaya's Commentary. He tells me that the library note is incorrect and that Cinmaya is an Advaitin of the Śaṅkara type. If the Viṣṇu whom he follows is Viṣṇusvāmin, that would only support my hypothesis. . .

THE DATE OF THE BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆA

BY

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I

The date of the *Śrī Bhāgavata* is admittedly one of the many intriguing of textual problems of Oriental Research. The astonishing uncertainty concerning its date would seem to be hardly consistent with the unrivalled popularity which this Purāṇa has always enjoyed. But this is a feature so common with reference to works and authors in Indian history that we have little reason to be surprised at it. Thanks, however, to the increased application of scientific methods of research to the study of indigenous texts, there is every possibility of our stabilizing one much - neglected aspect of our history and literature.

The unsettled nature of the chronology of the *Bhāgavata* has given rise to a number of varied and amusing theories propounded by pioneers and protagonists. Wilson, Macdonell, Colebrooke and Burnouf placed the Purāṇa in the 13th century. Winternitz took a more sympathetic view of the *Bhāgavata* and thought that "in any case, the work cannot be so late as that" and was pleased to date it about the 10th century A. D. in consonance with the views of C. V. Vaidya whose date for the *Bhāgavata* is the earliest so far claimed by anybody.¹

The theory of Bopadeva's authorship of the *Bhāgavata* was at one time fashionable² especially among ultra-reformers. This

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1. Except for the opinions of Pargitar, Farquhar and Radhakrishnan who assert that the Purāṇa belongs to about 900 A. D. but have not cared to substantiate their opinions in any manner.
 2. " I am myself inclined to adopt an opinion supported by many learned Hindus who consider the celebrated *Śrī Bhāgavata* as the work of a grammarian Bopadeva supposed to have lived about 600 years ago" — Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii, p. 467 (Wilson ; Preface, *Vīṣṇu Purāṇa*).

theory was never seriously countenanced in learned circles; but had its own advocates among extremists. We need only refer to Svāmi Dayānand Sarasvatī, the leader of this extremist school, who fondly believed in Bopadeva's authorship of the Purāṇa and assigned it accordingly to the 13th century :—

• और यह भागवत बोपदेव का बनाया है जिसके भाई जयदेव ने गीतगोविन्द बनाया है । देखो । उसने यह श्लोक अपने बनाये “हिमाद्रि” नामक ग्रन्थमें लिखा है कि श्रीमद्भागवत पुराण मैं ने बनाया । उसलेख के तीन पत्र हमारे पास थे । उन्हें से एक पत्र खोगया है । उसपत्र में श्लोकों का जो आशय था उसको हमने दो श्लोक बना के नीचे लिखे हैं । जिसको देखना हो वह हिमाद्रि ग्रन्थमें देख लेवें । हिमाद्रिः सचिव-स्यार्थे सूचना क्रियतेऽधुना - श्रीमद्भागवतं नाम पुराणं च मयेरितं विमुषा बोपदेवेन श्रीकृष्णस्य यशोन्वितं¹ ॥

The Svāmiji's theory needs no elaborate refutation since no scholar with any reputation to lose would now think of upholding such a view. As professor Winternitz rightly remarks, “this supposition seems to rest only on the fact that Bopadeva is the author of the *Muktīphala* a work dependent on the *Bhāgavata* and of the *Harilīlā* an Anukramanī (index) to the *Bhāgavata*.” Apart from the powerful textual evidences to be indicated in the following pages—which would amply disprove this silly theory and establish the existence of the *Bhāgavata* long before either Bopadeva or even his grandfather could have seen the light, it deserves to be noted that the *Harilīlā* of Bopadeva not only lacks any evidence in support of Bopadeva's authorship of the Purāṇa but, what is more, also contains statements which clearly presuppose the prior existence of the Purāṇa :—

आनन्दस्य हरेर्लीला वक्ता भागवतागमः

स्कन्धैर्द्वादशभिः शाखाः प्रतन्वन्दिजसेविताः

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1. The Svāmiji continues unblushingly :— इसी प्रकार बोपदेव पण्डितमें बनाकर, हिमाद्रि सचिवको दिया । जो विस्तर देखना चाहे वह बोपदेवके बनाये “हिमाद्रि ” ग्रन्थमें देख लेवे ॥ pp. 218-19 *Satyārtha Prakāśa* Hindi Edn., Ajmer 1930. The Svāmiji, it will be seen, pretends to quote from a work called *Himādrī* by Bopadeva whom he further styles a brother of Jayadeva !! No work of Bopadeva entitled *Himādrī* has however been known ! And the feigned quotations given from Bopadeva's *Sūctī* (p. 219) are flatly opposed to the statement in the *Harilīlā* of the genuine Bopadeva.

इतीदं द्वादशस्कन्धं पुराणं ब्रह्मसंमितम्¹ ।

इति भागवतस्यानुक्रमणी रमणीकृता ।

विदुषा बोपदेवेन मिषक्लेशवस्तुना² ॥

We shall not therefore, waste any more time in refuting this stupid theory.

Quite apart from the foregoing theory, the 13th century was suggested as a suitable date for the Purāṇa by other scholars like Macdonell. Still, it cannot be maintained for a host of reasons.

Mr. C. V. Vaidya, so far as I can see, was the first to attempt to controvert this general but unsubstantiated belief among scholars. His own conclusion is indicated at great length in the course of a brilliant article published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1925, vol. i; wherein Mr. Vaidya's lower limit of the 10th century A. D. is arrived at by arguing backwards from Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda* where the cult of Rādhā plays a prominent part while the same is totally absent in the *Bhāgavata*. While I entirely agree with Mr. Vaidya's contention that the Purāṇa must be far earlier than the 13th century, I cannot either accept his conclusion that it belongs to the 10th century or his argument in that direction. I am fully persuaded that our Purāṇa is far earlier than Mr. Vaidya suspects. Mr. Vaidya has mostly relied on specious reasonings and feeble data and has nowhere tried to adduce sound external textual testimony in support of his contentions. For instance, he is "tolerably certain that the *Bhāgavata* precedes Madhva²" not because the latter is the author of a well-known commentary on the *Bhāgavata* and makes numerous citations from it; but, because "on a general survey of the *Bhāgavata* one cannot doubt that the Vaiṣṇavism of *Bhāgavata* is neither influenced by nor akin to the Vaiṣṇavism of Madhva³" !

1. *Harilīlā*, Calcutta Oriental Series No. 3 with Commentary of Madhusudana Sarasvatī.

2. J. B. B. R. A. S., p. 153.

3. J. B. B. R. A. S., p. 152.

Again, the *Bhāgavata* is later than Śaṅkara not because Mr. Vaidya could say that Śaṅkara makes no reference to it¹ or show that it could not have been known earlier than Śaṅkara; but simply because (i) it treats of Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu which *could not have happened* till a long time after Śaṅkara and (ii) of its "representation of Kapila as an incarnation of Viṣṇu *which Śaṅkara rejects*"² (Italics mine). It is to be feared, that arguments such as these are purely *ex cathedra* and have no foundation on facts. Mr. Vaidya would have done better to have taken his stand on the *terra firma* of sound external textual evidences alone as having a decisive value in virtue of their being next only to epigraphic evidence in importance.

Madhva's thorough familiarity with the Purāṇa, his unbounded admiration for it, his having written a critical commentary on it and his numerous quotations from it would be enough to utterly discredit the once fashionable theory of Bopadeva's authorship still lurking in some quarters and the consequent ascription of the Purāṇa to the 13th century; as well as the unsubstantiated, but die-hard belief of some Orientalists in such a date quite apart from Bopadeva's authorship. Madhva, who lived between 1238-1317 A. D., was an elder contemporary of Hemādri³ who is believed to have lived between 1260-1309 A. D., to whose court Bopadeva was attached. It is clear, therefore, that Madhva would have paid scant respect to the *Bhāgavata* had it been a work of Bopadeva written in his (Madhva's) own lifetime! From another source we learn that the Purāṇa was extant and widely popular during Madhva's times. It will be interesting information that there were known several 'recensions' of the text also in Madhva's times! Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya, the biographer and the son of a direct disciple of Madhva, who lived about 1350 records in his Life of Madhva, an incident that once in his boyhood,

1. A reference to the *Bhāgavata* is made in the *Sarva Siddhānta Saṁgraha* attributed to Śaṅkara (Madras, 1909). For a repudiation of Śaṅkara's authorship of this work see the present writer's Note on the Authorship of the *Sarva Siddhānta Saṁgraha* published in the *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Poona, Vol. XII, pp. 93-96.

2. J. B. B. R. A. S., p. 153.

3. Not *Himādri* as Svāmī Dayānanda has him!

4 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

the Ācārya gave out in an assembly, a certain reading as the correct text of the Purāṇa which was disputed by the other members. When challenged to cite some other passage (*gadya*) in the V chapter, according to the correct text, the Ācārya did so; and on examination of a number of manuscripts, the passage was found in one of them.' This episode simply illustrates the wide popularity enjoyed by the Purāṇa the creeping in of different readings of the text if not also the existence of distinct 'recensions' of the text already in the beginning of the 13th century. That it is much earlier than the 13th century is made clear by a quotation from *Nārāyaṇa Aṣṭākṣara Kalpa* given by Madhva, in his commentary on the *Gītā* wherein mention is made of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as a work of Vyāsa:—

वेदादपि परं चक्रे पञ्चमं वेदमुत्तमं
भारतं पञ्चरात्रं च मूलरामायणं तथा
पुराणं भागवतं चेति संभिन्नः शास्त्रमुद्भवः
(इति नारायणाष्टाक्षरकल्पे)

Another quotation from the *Nāradiya* speaks of the *Bhāgavata* as one of the Viṣṇu-Vedas:—

पञ्चरात्रं भारतं च मूलरामायणं तथा ।
तथा पुराणं भागवतं विष्णुवेद इतीरितः ॥

II

Notwithstanding the limitations of an *argumentum ex silentio*, the masterly silence of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja about the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has to be satisfactorily accounted for by every one who prefers a date much earlier than both these philosophers, for the *Bhāgavata*. But it should be remembered that no thoroughly satisfactory reason could be given in such complicated cases where a celebrated writer says no word about a great work which

1. गुरोरूपान्ते अवधेनैर्द्विजैः संपञ्चयेर्मगवते कदाचन ।

बहु प्रकारे लिखिते तु वाचिने प्रकारमेकं प्रभुरभ्यधाद्बुद्धम् ॥

* * * *

अदोषशिष्यश्च तदाज्ञया तदा परित्यायीक्षी समस्तपुस्तकं ।

स तत्र हनैकतमे स्थितं त्यजन् तावदभ्यायं निकायमभ्यधात् ॥

Madhva Vijaya - IV, 49-50.

is otherwise known to have existed in his days. The reason would lie primarily in the sheer caprice of the writer and only secondarily in other considerations. To cite but a few instances: Hiouen Tsang, the Buddhist Monk who came to India on a cultural mission, translated not the well-known *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* of Kanāda but Guṇa-candra's text-book on the Vaiśeṣika system! Again, the same writer mentions a number of Nyāya works but entirely omits to mention the *Nyāya Sūtras* of Gautama! His own forte being Yoga, he mentions a number of works on Yoga-Śāstra but, curiously enough, makes no mention of the *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali!

Whatever the reason for Śaṅkara's indifference¹ to the Purāṇa, the silence of such a staunch Vaiṣṇava philosopher like Rāmānuja over a Purāṇa which espouses the cause of Vaiṣṇavism in a special manner is claimed to be really suspicious. Though, few scholars to-day would go to the extent of denying that the *Bhāgavata* existed prior to Rāmānuja, yet, there seems to be a general acquiescence in the view of his unfamiliarity with the work. It will be useful therefore, to note a few quotations from the *Bhāgavata* in the *Vedānta-Tattva-sāra*, a work attributed to Rāmānuja for what they are worth. Apart from the prejudice of fashionable belief, there is nothing to disprove Rāmānuja's authorship of this work, so far as I can see:—

वेदान्तसूत्रकारोपि स्वयोगमहिम्ना इदमेव निश्चितमाह श्रीभागवते:—

मक्तियोगेन मनसि सम्यक् प्राणिहितेऽमले ।

अपश्यत्पुरुषं पूर्णं मायां तु तदुपाश्रयाम् ॥

यया संमोहितो जीवः आत्मानं त्रिगुणात्मकं ।

परोपि मञ्जुतेऽनर्थं तत्कृतं चाभिपद्यते ॥

1. Max Müller, *Six Systems*.

2. Wilson's statement (Preface: Viṣṇu Purāṇa) that the *Bhāgavata* was cited as an authority and made the subject of comment by Śaṅkara is infinitely amusing. His explanation that " the existence of this comment rests upon the authority of Mādhva or Mādhava " is worse. The Professor is evidently having in mind Madhva who, however, is not guilty of any of the statements attributed to him ; and a commentary on *Bhāgavata* by the real Mādhava = Vidyāraṇya is practically unknown.

अनर्थोपशमं साक्षाद्भक्तियोगमधोक्षजे ।

लोकस्याजानतो बिद्वांश्चक्रे सात्वतसंहिताम् ॥ ¹

‘अदृष्टादश्रुताद्भावान्न भाव उपजायते’ इत्येकादशे भगवद्वचनात् ॥ ²

किं च, ‘मुक्तिर्हित्वान्यथारूपं स्वरूपेण व्यवस्थितिः’ ³ इत्यनुसारेण ॥

तथा च वेदस्तुतो ⁴—

बुद्धीन्प्रियमनः प्राणान् जनानाममृतमृग्यभुः ।

मात्रार्थं च भवार्थं च आत्मने कल्पनाय च ॥ ⁵

Rāmānuja's silence about the Purāṇa in his other works—the *Śrī Bhāṣya* and the *Gitā Bhāṣya* may require a word of explanation. The evidences to be adduced presently, would conclusively prove the existence of the *Bhāgavata* many centuries before Rāmānuja. Such being the case, the reasons for Rāmānuja's silence over the work in his major works, must be sought elsewhere than in the theory of either its non-existence or his unwillingness yet to recognise it as an authority.⁶ It would have been noted by all those familiar with the *Śrī Bhāṣya* and the *Gitā Bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja that he accords the first place of honor to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and cites his texts mostly from that Purāṇa. Sudarśana Sūri, the classical commentator on the *Śrī Bhāṣya*, in one place, sums up the reasons for Rāmānuja's ‘partiality’ to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which explains fully, his seeming indifference to the *Bhāgavata*:—

एवं प्रासिद्ध्यातिशयलब्धसजातीयप्रबन्धातिशयत्वात्, तत एव नष्टकोशत्वाभावात्, अतिविस्तृततया प्रक्षेपशङ्कारहितत्वात्, अन्यपरोक्तिसिद्धपरिग्रहातिशयवत्त्वात्, सामान्य-प्रश्नपूर्वप्रतिवचनरूपत्वेन अनाग्रहशुल्लत्वात्, अत एव ईदृशवैलक्षण्यपरहित, करणदोष, बाधकप्रत्यय स्वव्याहतिमत्प्रबन्धान्तराणां एतद्विरोधे सति दौर्बल्यस्यावर्जनीयत्वाच्च श्रीमद्वैष्णवं इदं पुराणं प्रमाणतमम् ॥

1. *Vedānta Tattva Sāra*, of Rāmānuja, Pandit, Reprints, p. 29.

2. Op., cit., p. 37.

3. Op., cit., p. 50.

4. Op., cit., p. 54.

5. *Bhāgavata*, X, 87, 2,

6. Cf. Prof. Winternitz's remarks in this connection (to be quoted anon).

7. *Śrūṭa Prakāśa* of Sudarśana, p. 413, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1899.

Such is the real reason for Rāmānuja's 'partiality' to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and his non-reference to the *Bhāgavata* — whose metaphysical standpoint besides, is identical with that of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; so that, Rāmānuja refrained, most sensibly, from unnecessarily multiplying texts in support of his position; for, his non-citation from *Bhāgavata* would not, in the least, have jeopardised his interpretations. Prof. Winternitz is, therefore, entirely ignorant of the real reason when he writes that Rāmānuja, in the twelfth century, did not yet recognise it as an authority¹; for, he does not mention it and *alludes* only to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.² To be sure, Rāmānuja not merely "alludes" to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* but quotes at every step from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the learned Professor's statement seems to me to be simply misleading. However that may be, the Professor's instantaneous conclusion from Rāmānuja's silence about the *Bhāgavata* that he "did not yet recognise it as an authority" is entirely unwarranted. The Professor would do well to remember that writers of the eminence of Rāmānuja are under no obligation to quote every work that they recognise as authoritative. To mention but one telling instance, Madhva recognises the *Mūlarāmāyaṇa*, (a work distinct from Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*,) as highly authoritative³; but, so far as I have seen, Madhva has nowhere cited passages from this work! An indirect piece of evidence testifying to Rāmānuja's acquaintance with the *Bhāgavata* may be noted. In his *Vedārtha Saṁgraha*, Rāmānuja speaks of the three-fold classification³ of Purāṇas as Sāttvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa. A well-known passage in the *Padma Purāṇa* speaks of the *Bhāgavata* as one of the six

1. Winternitz; *History of Indian Literature* (Tr), p. 556.

2. ऋग्यजुः सामाथर्वाश्च मूलरामायणं तथा
भारतं पञ्चरात्रं च शास्त्रमित्यभिधीयते—

3. यथाकृतं मास्त्यै :— संकीर्णसिात्विकाश्चैव राजसास्तामसास्तथा इति.

× × × × × तत्तत्कल्पोक्तपुराणेषु सत्त्वादिगुणमयेन ब्रह्मणा क्रियत इति चोक्तं ॥
Vedārtha Saṁgraha, Pandit Reprints, p. 156.

Sattvika Purāṇas.¹ Fortunately, a list of *Purāṇas* in the *Matsya*.² (which is relied upon by Rāmānuja himself in setting forth a threefold classification of the *Purāṇas*) includes the *Bhāgavata* too. All this would tend to show that the *Bhāgavata* could not have been unknown to and unrecognised by Rāmānuja.

III.

We shall now proceed to note one important external textual evidence which unmistakably proves the existence of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* much earlier than the 10th century — the date, or, more precisely, the lower limit proposed by Mr. Vaidya.

Abhinavagupta, the well-known exponent of the *Dhvani* school and the illustrious champion of the *Pratyabhijñā* school of Kashmir Śaivism, who flourished towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, was intimately acquainted with our *Purāṇa* to which he refers by name³ and quotes a few passages in the course of his arresting gloss on the *Gītā*⁴ :—

1. वैष्णवं नारदीयं च तथा भागवतं परम्
गारुडं च तथा पादं वाराहं शोभनं स्मृतं
सात्त्विकानि पुराणानि शोभनानि शुभानने ॥

2. *Matsya Purāṇa* chap. 53. verses 20-22. The *Matsya* further specifies the extent of the *Bhāgavata* as 18000 ślokas which agrees well with facts.

3. Abhinavagupta's pointed citations from the '*Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata*' also show that the claims of the *Devī Bhāgavata* to be called '*Bhāgavata*' advocated by some and referred to by Mr. Vaidya (p. 145) are spurious since a disinterested scholar of the type of Abhinava clearly understands the '*Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata*' alone by the term *Bhāgavata* ! Mr. Vaidya's statement on the definition of the *Bhāgavata* given in *Matsya* (ch 53) :

यत्राधिकृत्य गायत्रीं वर्णयते धर्मविस्तरः दृष्टासुरावधो यत्र तद्भागवतमुच्यते ॥

that "the first line does not apply to this *Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata*" (p. 145) is equally unsound. Śrīdhara, in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata* quotes these very passages from the *Matsya* and shows their application to 'this *Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata*'. Madhva, in his *Bhāgavata Tātparya* writes :— गायत्रीभाष्यरूपोऽसौ वेदार्थपरिवृंहितः ॥ The opening verse of the *Devībhāgavata* is a base and clumsy attempt to embody the *Gēyatrī* mantra and metre into itself and cannot stand comparison with the grandeur of the opening verse of our *Bhāgavata*.

4. Abhinava's *Gītā Vyākhyā*, p. 594, Nirnayasagar, Bombay.

यथा वा श्रीमद्भागवते —

निब्रूय द्वियते नक्तं व्यवायेन च वा वयः ।

दिवाचार्येहया राजन् कुटुम्बभरणेन वा ॥

देहापत्यकलत्रादिष्वात्मसैन्येष्वसत्स्वपि ।

तेषां प्रमत्तो निधनं पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति ॥ (Bhāg. II, 1, 3-4).

- तत्रैव एकादशस्कन्धे आत्महत्याशब्दवाच्यो निर्णीतो भगवता,

यथा :-

सुदेहमायं सुलभं सुदुर्लभं ।

प्लवं सुकल्पं गुरुकर्णधारं ।

मयानुकूलेन नभस्वतेरितं

उमान्भवाब्धिं न तरेत्स आत्महा ॥ इति ॥ (Bhāg. XI, 20, 17).

Abhinavagupta having flourished in the 10th century, it needs no great ingenuity to show that the Purāṇa must have been composed at least some centuries earlier to have acquired such a profound esteem. Many scholars, including Mr. Vaidya himself (p. 157), are wedded to the belief that the author of the *Bhāgavata* was a South Indian and that the Purāṇa must have originated in the extreme South (presumably on the banks of the Tāmraparṇi to which reference is made by the author of the Purāṇa!). It would be impossible in that case, to deny that at least a few centuries must have elapsed before a South Indian composition like that — (especially a Purāṇic work which, besides, covered no new ground) could have won its way to the extremity of the North (Kashmir) and secured unquestioned authority in the 10th century! It is no use trying to mince matters and deny the 'Viṣṇuite' tenor of the Purāṇa. We have already seen that the author of the *Brūta Prakāśa* hints that this was exactly one of the reasons why Rāmānuja did not want to use it viz; to avoid looking overmuch sectarian. The Vaiṣṇavite tenor of the Purāṇa being thus undeniable, it follows that but for the tremendous popularity of the Purāṇa in the North about the 10th century A. D., Abhinavagupta would not have cared to cite it for his own

1. Vide — 'Domicile of the Author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa', Amarnath Ray, I. H. Q., March 1932, pp. 49-53.

purposes especially in the face of his avowed Śaivite predilections and his authoritative connection with a vigorous system of Śaiva philosophy ! It would scarcely improve matters to argue that Abhinava was not a bigot. Bigotry or no bigotry, Abhinava could have had no soft corner in his heart for the :

यत्पादनिःसृतसरित्प्रवरोदकेन

तीर्थेन मूर्ध्निविधत्तेन शिवः शिवोऽसृत् । of the *Bhāgavata* not to speak of : वैष्णवानां यथा शंभुः towards the close ; and if, in spite of the persistent provocation which that Purāṇa must give to every ardent Śaiva, Abhinava felt obliged, for whatever reason, to quote it, it must be the irresistible popularity alone of the work that could have goaded him to do so. Another interesting reference by Abhinava to the Gajendra Mokṣa episode : गजेन्द्रमोक्षणादीनि हि चरितानि परम-कारुणिकस्य भगवतः सहस्रशः श्रूयन्ते ॥ clearly shows that he must have swallowed the lavish praise of Viṣṇu which that episode contains to the exclusion, nay, derision, of all other deities :—

एवं गजेन्द्रमुपवर्णितानिर्विशेषं

ब्रह्मादयो विविधलिङ्गभिदाभिमानाः ।

नैते यदोपसृष्टुर्निखिलात्मकत्वा-

त्तत्राखिलामरवरो हरिराविरासीत् ॥ (viii, 3, 30).

These and other considerations compel us to conclude that the popularity enjoyed by the *Bhāgavata* in N. India, in the 10th century was simply irresistible, — that the time had come when it could no longer be ignored by the *noblesse* of scholars whatever their sectarian sympathies and mental reservations. I submit, once again, that such a wonderful eminence could not have been attained within any short period of time and that this fact alone compels us to date its composition necessarily a few centuries earlier allowing a reasonable period of two centuries or so far its gradual migration from the extreme South and its spread in the North.

Another allied consideration also lends great support to this suggestion. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was quite well-known to Alberuni who was in India in about 1030 A. D. and who records its name among the 18 Purāṇas read out to him from another list

in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.¹ It is needless to comment further on the value and validity of such a matchless piece of external testimony which compels us to date the *Purāṇa* a few centuries earlier. Surely, the composition of the *Purāṇa*, its mention in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, its quotation by Abhinava and mention by Alberuni could not all of them be placed, most bureaucratically, in the 10th century itself as Mr. Vaidya's theory would oblige us to do. I therefore plead for a more charitable interval of breathing-space for the *Purāṇa*.

IV

Mr. Vaidya, however, is adamant in holding the *Bhāgavata* to be distinctly posterior to Śaṅkara and unless this lower limit of his is shown to be untenable, we cannot safely ask for a time-limit of two to three centuries before the 10th for the composition, spread and prestige of the *Bhāgavata*. We shall, therefore, devote our attention, now, to an examination of the thesis of the Post-Śaṅkarite origin of the *Purāṇa* maintained by Mr. Vaidya. As already remarked, this thesis rests wholly on ambiguous and questionable hypotheses and on the theorist's taking his stand on mythopoetic beliefs and philosophical doctrines dealt with in the *Bhāgavata*. It is to be feared that no conclusive argument can be based on such colorless testimony. It is very difficult to fix the date of the origin of mythopoetic beliefs and philosophical doctrines with anything like certainty or say when exactly they came to be crystallised into definite views and it would be hazardous to base chronological researches on such elusive testimony.

But, to proceed. Mr. Vaidya declares that the appearance of the Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu in the *Bhāgavata* points to a date long after Śaṅkara, since it is after the final overthrow of Bud-

1. "Another somewhat different list of *Purāṇas* has been read to me from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. I give it here in extenso.....
Brāhma, Pādma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhāgavata i. e. *Vāsudeva*"
 p. 131, Alberuni's *India*, Sachau, Trübner, 1914. The juxtaposition of the term *Vāsudeva* with reference to *Bhāgavata* in Alberuni shows that it is to the '*Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavata*' that he is referring and not to the *Devī Bhāgavata*.

dhism by Kumārila and Śaṅkara that "Buddha could have been begun to be looked upon as an incarnation of Viṣṇu" (p. 148).

But the conception of Buddha as an avatāra is not at all a Post-Śaṅkarite event; but is a much older affair! Mr. Vaidya says, "In the Mahābhārata (about 3rd century B. C. according to, my view) Buddha is not mentioned though his tenets are" (148). [Italics mine]. If it were not again *his own Mahābhārata* that is referred to, we may venture to point out that if he would read through the Epic with open eyes, he would find in it the Buddha mentioned as an avatāra of Viṣṇu; that the name of his father too, is correctly¹ given!

ततः कलियुगस्यादौ द्विजराजतरुं श्रितः ।

भीषया मागधेनैव धर्मराजग्रहे वसन् ॥

काषायवस्त्रसंवीतो मुण्डितः शुक्रदन्तवान् ।

शुद्धोदनसुतो बुद्धो मोहयिष्यामि मानवान् ॥

(*Mokṣadharmā*, 348, 42-43).²

Neither the *Mokṣadharmā Parva* nor the particular section under reference could be dismissed as an interpolation since the Epic is known to have existed in its present form as early as 500 A. D.³

1. Mr. Vaidya is rather hard upon the author of the *Bhāgavata* when he writes with reference to ततः कलौ संप्रवृत्ते संमोहाय सुरद्विषां ।

बुद्धो नाम्नाऽजिनसुतः कीकटेषु भविष्यति ॥ of the original. "Here Buddha and Jina are confounded and the author seems to know not much of either" (p. 148). The term जिनसुत does not, however, mean 'son of Jina' as Mr. Vaidya misunderstands; but is, simply, a term of reproach not infrequently used by polemical writers: cf आलंकारिकतन्त्रैः नोत्प्रेक्षणयि; यन्नुद्भाषितं नैयायिकतन्त्रैः -- etc. This term, Mr. Vaidya will further see, embodies the historical truth of the close affinity between Jainism and Buddhism and that the author of the *Bhāgavata* knows more than Mr. Vaidya suspects! I cannot, for the life of me, understand the point in Mr. Vaidya's sapient comment: 'Here Buddha and Jina are confounded'. To say (as does the author of the *Bhāgavata*) that X is the son of Y is not, I believe, to confound the two!!

2. Kumbakonam Edn.

3. "The Epic in 500 A. D. was practically of exactly the same length" and in 462 A. D. there is a [land grant mentioning the extent of the Epic as it is today — p. 287, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, (Macdonell).

Śaṅkara is perfectly familiar with the *Mokṣadharmā Parva* and quotes it frequently in his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and elsewhere. Indeed, his familiarity with the Parva is thorough to the minutest detail. To mention but one illustration in point, witness his commentary on the *Gītā* iii, 1, where he quotes a passage¹ (from the *Mokṣadharmā*) with the remark: इति शुक्रानुशासनम् । Examining the *Mokṣadharmā* carefully, we find the passage in question occurs there in a speech put into the mouth of Śuka ! Such being the case, there is no inherent difficulty in supposing that Śaṅkara could have had easy access to the passage in the *Mokṣadharmā* representing Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu come to mislead the ungodly.

Nor is the above the only place in the *Mokṣadharmā* where the Buddha is spoken of as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. Attention may be drawn to:—

मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।

रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्कीति ते दश ॥

(*Mahābhārata* xii, 348, 2).

And for aught we know, Śaṅkara would very well have used this information as a double-edged device to discredit his opponents and to win back the straying sheep to the fold of orthodox Brahmanism. The existence of Brahmans in open sympathy with Buddhistic tenets is admitted by Mr. Vaidya himself who speaks of the "Vaiṣṇavas who were less hostile to them than others owing to their also professing and practising Ahimsā." (p. 148).

Moreover, Mr. Vaidya assigns no reason for the momentous event of Buddha's inclusion among the Avatāras. And he has already forfeited the only plausible reason for it by assigning it to a period long after Śaṅkara and Kumārila. It seems ludicrous to suppose that more than a thousand years after the death of Buddha and long after "the final blow of Buddhism" had been given, the Brahmans invented the theory of Buddha being an

1. कर्मणा बध्यते जन्तुर्विद्यया च विमुच्यते ।

तस्मात्कर्म न कुर्वन्ति यतयः पाददर्शिनः ॥

Avatāra. Mr. Vaidya forgets that after the 'final blow' was given, there was, indeed, no earthly necessity to *deify* the Buddha on the part of the enemies of Buddhism! A more reasonable hypothesis would be to maintain that the deification of Buddha was an act of self-preservation and a bold stroke of Brahmanical diplomacy to stem the tide of Buddhism and prevent the rapid conversion of men of their own community to Buddhism.

The growing popularity of Buddhism and the weight and prospect of royal patronage that it carried with it as a bait turned men's minds towards it and created a favorable atmosphere among the Brahmans and others for the spread of Buddhism. The orthodox among them watched with great anxiety this turn of events. Already, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, Buddha passed for a God and the power and prestige of Buddhism seemed to engulf Brahmanism which seemed well-nigh in danger of extinction. It was at such a time that a mighty effort was made by the Brahmans to deprive Buddhism of its hold on the intelligentsia and the masses. The days were not yet favorable for drastic measures. It was not very hard to convince the intelligentsia of the metaphysical bankruptcy of Buddhistic nihilism and appeal to the metaphysical satisfyingness of Hinduism. But it was not so easy to cajole or convince the masses who were out of reach of the esoteric truths of Brahmanism. How to reclaim the allegiance of the masses from the glamor of Buddhist Ethics and Religious Organisation which had their own charm over the masses then (as now in the case of Christianity)? There was the tuzzle. The Brahmans (an admittedly resourceful community that they were), rose equal to the occasion and by a bold stroke of diplomacy stole a march over Buddhism by coolly assimilating many of its influential doctrines and institutions and ended up by claiming Buddha himself as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu!! The doctrine of Ahimsā was proclaimed from house tops with one voice and the rank and file of the Brahman community turned vegetarian from that time onwards. A more austere reform could scarcely be imagined. The institution of Monasteries and allied practices of Vasso or Winter Retreat corresponding to Cāturmāsya were assiduously absorbed by the Brahmans. To crown all this, Brahmanism proclaimed Buddha an avatāra and killed Buddhism by a fraternal

embrace! The idea of the divinity of Buddha being already established firmly among the Buddhists and their admirers among the Hindus, it was virtually impossible to eradicate the spell of this belief'; and the only safe course left for the Brahmans was to out-Herod Herod by a show of subscribing to this doctrine by proclaiming him an Avatāra of Viṣṇu. At the same time, caution was taken to give a bad name to the Avatāra by calling him as one come 'to delude the undeserving' -- which further was too ambiguous to offend the Buddhists alone! and which also had the additional advantage of providing the still staunch admirers of the Buddha among the faithful the pleasure (a very short pleasure it would be as the Brahmans very well knew) of laughing in their sleeves at the diplomatic folly of the Brahmans and other orthodox Hindus. The device wore on until its very clumsiness disappeared behind the crust of time. The device itself could not at the time have been regarded as either clumsy or nonsensical since it was not a theory to be put to the test of extraneous criticism but was simply intended to lull the doubting conscience of half-Buddhists among the faithful -- especially among the masses. These would easily be satisfied with the honor shown to Buddha in their own old religion which would reconcile them both to the new and the old faith without necessitating any violent changes of faith and enable them to live at peace with their prosperous Buddhist brethren. They would not care very much to see if the honor done to Buddha was a real one or if it was simply a make-believe.

The conception itself of an Avatāra come to delude the unworthy is not so indefensible or puerile as it may now appear to us. It is partly ingrained in the nature of Hinduism itself and is traceable to the *Rgveda* :--

खले न पर्षान्प्रतिहन्मि शूरि ॥

किं मां निन्दन्ति शत्रवोऽनिन्द्राः ॥

-
1. Cf. "The priesthood not being able to deny that Buddha was an Avatāra interpolated forged ślokas and absurd stories saying that Buddha came to mislead the asuras " and an amusing tirade in a similar strain by a 'cultured' writer (now no more) in *Bhārata Dharma*, June 1928 (p. 42).

गृण्वे वीर उग्रमुग्रं दमायन्
अन्यमन्यमति नेनयिमानः ।
एधमानद्विभयस्य राजा
चोष्क्यते विश इन्द्रो मनुष्यान् ॥

The conception is familiar to many Purāṇas' in one form or other; and it is clearly deducible from the Gītā.²

The theory of God incarnating himself to mislead the ungodly and prevent their participation in Vedic Sacrifices and access to Right Knowledge is current coin among the commentators of the Vedānta. Accordingly, they look upon whatever system is hostile to them as the result of a vicious and misleading campaign on part of God to delude the undeserving :—

ननु कथं मोहनार्थत्वं पाशुपतस्य ? उक्तं हि भगवत्प्रणीते तत्त्वप्रतिपादकतया सात्विके
श्रीमति वाराहे पुराणे ॥

एष मोहं सृजाम्याशु यो जनान्मोहयिष्यति ।

त्वं च रुद्र महाबाहो मोहशास्त्राणि कारय ॥

(Sudarśana Sūri: *Śrutaprakāśa*).³

वेदब्राह्म विद्याः सुखैरिणां बन्धनायोपादिदेशेति पौराणिकाः

(Śaṅkara: *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya*).

भ्रान्तिमूलतया सर्वसमयानामयुक्तिः ।

न तद्विरोधाद्वचनं वैदिकं शङ्क्यतां ब्रजेत् ॥

(*Anu Bhāṣya*: Vallabha and Madhva).⁴

तथा च शिवो न परमेश्वर इति भ्रमः गौतमादिशापदोषसमुद्भवोऽवैदिकानामेव ।

(Advaitānanda: *Brahmavidyābharaṇa*).⁵

अतः (पञ्चरात्रस्य) त्रयीविहितसंस्कारविपरीतसंस्कारविधानांशे व्यामोहकत्वं इति दिक् ॥

(Appayya Dīkṣita: *Parimala*).⁶

1. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iii, 17, 41 where Viṣṇu is said to have produced a being to delude the Asuras, from his own Body! (मायामोहं शरीरतः समुत्पाद्य)
2. Cf. IV, 8; xvi, 19—20.
3. *Śruta Prakāśa*, p. 1600, Medical Hall Press, Benares, 1889. Cf. also: *Nyāya Paribuddhi*, of Vedānta Deśika who quotes the same authorities — p. 288; Brahma Vādin Press, 1913.
4. Bombay Sanskrit series, p. 544.
5. Advaita Mañjarī Series, p. 521.
6. Nirṇaya Sagara Press, 1917, p. 575.

व्यासचरणैर्वेदानामव्याकुलत्वे संपादितेऽपि पुनर्देयत्यामोहनाय प्रवृत्तस्य भगवतो बुद्धस्याज्ञया, 'त्वं च रुद्र महाबाहो ' स्वागमैः कल्पितैस्त्वं च जनान् महिमुत्थानं कुरु, इत्येवंरूपया महादेवादयः स्वांशेनावतीर्य, वैदिकेषु प्राविश्य, सर्वमेव लोकं व्यामोहितवन्तः ॥

(Vallabha : *Anubhāṣya*).¹

सर्वज्ञस्य कथं विरुद्धप्रलापः तत्राह प्रद्वेषो वेति । वेदबाह्या अत्र प्रजा ग्राह्याः ॥

(*Ratnaprabhā*).²

It is needless to multiply instances.

There is thus nothing grotesque about the theory of a मोहनाय अवतार; and such a theory could very well have been made use of by the forerunners of the Brāhmanical revival in the campaign against Buddhism. Śaṅkara himself, a pucca controversialist that he was, could not have failed to make use of the Buddha Avatāra theory both to discredit the faith and at the same time to warn the wavering against the pernicious character of Buddhism. There is every reason to believe that the doctrine of Buddha as an Avatāra was well-known to Śaṅkara. Concluding his tirade against Buddhism, in the course of his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, Śaṅkara writes :—

अपि च, बाह्यार्थविज्ञानशून्यवादत्रयमितरेतरविरुद्धमुपदिशता सुगतेन स्पष्टीकृतमात्मनोऽसंबद्धप्रलापित्वं, प्रद्वेषो वा प्रजासु विरुद्धार्थप्रतिपत्त्या विमुह्येयुरिमाः प्रजा इति³ ॥ This refers unmistakably to the deceitful campaign of Buddha⁴ the Avatāra of Viṣṇu even as Ānandagiri helps us to understand :—

सर्वज्ञस्य भगवतो वासुदेवस्य इतिहासपुराणयोः बुद्धत्वप्रसिद्धेः, तस्यासंबद्धप्रलापित्वमयत्नमित्याशङ्क्याह — प्रद्वेषो वेति⁵ ॥

1. Bombay Sanskrit Series, pp. 651-2.

2. Nirnayāsagar Press, pp. 479-80.

3. Śaṅkara's B. S. B., ii, 2. 32, p. 558, Nirnaya Sāgara Press.

4. Cf. वेदबाह्या विद्याः 'सुरधैरिणां वञ्चनाय चोपादिदेशेति' पौराणिकाः कथयन्ति — Śaṅkara, *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya* — on the Holy Name, *Tīrthakara* (v. 87), p. 123, Vanivilas Edn.

5. Ānandagiri's gloss, on Śaṅkara B. S. B., p. 479, Nirnayāsagar Press.

It is obvious, therefore, that Śaṅkara was perfectly aware of the traditional theory about Buddha and used it very effectively indeed as a finishing blow to Buddhism. And he could have derived his information as likely from the *Bhāgavata* as from the *Mokṣadharma*. Of course, we cannot categorically assert that he drew upon the *Bhāgavata* alone. Nor, am I anxious to maintain that this reference to Buddha's 'misleading campaign' proves his acquaintance with the *Bhāgavata*. My only point is that the deification of Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu in the *Bhāgavata*, can by no means prove its Post-Śaṅkarīte origin as Mr. Vaidya contends. By advancing such an argument as this, Mr. Vaidya has only laid bare his blissful ignorance of the great antiquity of this doctrine which finds a place even in the *Mokṣadharma* section of the *Mahābhārata*. Since Mr. Vaidya has raised the knotty issue of the date of the deification of Buddha as an Avatāra, by the Hindus, I feel bound to place before the readers certain very powerful pieces of evidence which I have been able to gather in the course of my researches into this question of the date of the *Bhāgavata*, bearing on the Buddha Avatāra - doctrine.

There occurs a reference to the Buddha - Avatāra in one of the hymns of Nammālvār,¹ alias Saint Śaṭagopa, who preceded Rāmānuja by more than a century :-- (I give below the transliteration in Devanāgarī from the original Tamil :)

कळवेडतैकोण्डुपोय् उरुपुक्कवारुं कलन्दसुरै
उळंभेदं शेयिदुयिरुण्ड उपायङ्गळम् ॥
वेळैनीर्चडैयानुं निळिडैवेरलामै विळंग निळदुं
उळमुळ कुडैदु एन्नुयिरै उरुक्रियुण्णुमे ॥

(*Tiruvāimozhi* : Nammālvār V, 10, 4)².

I also subjoin below the relevant extracts from the highly authoritative commentaries on the present stanza :--

1. My thanks are due to Mr. B. V. Ramanujam, M. A., Research Student in History in the Annamalai University, for having spotted these references at my request.
2. *Bhāgavad Viṣayam* - *Tiruvāimozhi*, S. Krishnamācārya, Triplicane, Madras, 1926.

(i) The *Ārāyirappaḍi* of Tirukkurugai Pirān Pillai, (born 1061 A. D.) contemporary of Rāmānuja :—

asuraroḍe śerndu vaidika sraddhaigalaippokki.¹

(ii) *Irubattu Nālāyiram*, of Peria Āccān Pillai (Born 1207) :—
Nālām pāṭṭil *Bauddhāvatāra vṛttāntam* migavum ennai naliyāni-
nratu enkirār.²

(iii) *Īḍu* of Vaḍakku Tiruvīdi Pillai (Born 1226) :—
Nālām pāṭṭil *Bauddhāvatāra vṛttāntam* ennai migavum naliyāni-
nratu enkirār.³

(iv) *Onpadiṇāyirappaḍi* of Nan-jīyar (Born 1112) :—
Nālām pāṭṭil *Bauddhāvatāram* ennai naliyāninradenkirār.⁴

† Nammālvār belonging to the 9th century, it follows that the conception of Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu come to delude the Asuras was at least a few centuries earlier. The doctrine, having originated with the Purāṇas and the Epic, must have found its way into the devotional literature of the Vaiṣṇava Saints of S. India of whom Nammālvār holds the most exalted place, only gradually. This shows that in the 9th century it was by no means a new-fangled idea but was still considered to be a doctrine of the hoary past.

This surmise is greatly strengthened by the occurrence of another reference under similar circumstances to the Buddha Avatāra of Viṣṇu in one of the excellent hymns of Appar (Tirunāvukkarāṣu) the Śaiva Saint who flourished within the 7th century A. D. :—

Nēsanīlakkuḍiaraneyēnā nīśarāi

Nedumāl śeyda māyattāl |

Īsanor śarameyya verindupcy

Nāśamūnār Triṭṭuranādare.⁵ ||

1. Tiruvāimozhi with comm. (op. cit.,) p. 67. (vol. 5).

2. Op. cit., p. 67.

3. Op. cit., p. 68.

4. Op. cit., p. 67.

5. Appar, *Tevāram* : 5th Tirumurai verse 5. (Tirunīlakkuḍi hymn),

Not only this. A Pallava inscription on the lintel above the figure of Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa in the rock-cut verandah of the Varāha Perumāl temple at Mahābalipuram contains a well-known Purāṇic verse mentioning the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu. The verse as described by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, in the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 26, (p. 5), and inscribed in Pallava Grantha characters runs (with the first quarter "new hidden from view by a modern wall" fully restored) thus —

मत्स्यः कूर्मो वराहश्च नारसिंहोऽथ वामनः ।

रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश' ॥

H. Krishna Shastri is of opinion that the Pallava grantha characters employed in the five Pallava inscriptions in the rock cut temple at Mahābalipuram "must belong to the time of Paramēśvara Varman I" who is assigned to circa 670--680 A. D. This would amply prove that Buddha had come to be regarded as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu and classed among the ten Avatāras long before the 7th century A. D. Śaṅkara is assigned to the 8th century A. D.; and it needs no further proof that this conception was firmly established some centuries before the philosopher. Mr. Vaidya's theory, therefore, that the inclusion of Buddha among the Avatāras of Viṣṇu happened long long after Śaṅkara "preached and wrote" and his attempt to post-date the *Bhāgavata* on this ground all stand utterly discredited. This would also show that our opinions about Kumārila and Śaṅkara being the pioneer-champions of the Revival of Hinduism would themselves have to be speedily revised in the light of evidences adduced. It must be clearly understood that the revival of Hinduism came much earlier than either Kumārila or Śaṅkara. These two, however, were among the many conspicuous champions of the Renaissance of orthodox Hinduism. It cannot be argued, therefore, that so early a date as the 7th century A. D. for the Buddha-Avatāra theory is incompatible with the comparatively late attempts at the revival of Hinduism under Kumārila and Śaṅkara. This early date would

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1. It will be seen that this "Purāṇic passage" which Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has left untraced and unidentified is from the *Mokṣadharmā* of the *Mahābhārata* already referred to by me.

not also militate against the fact of the Avatāra theory having been used as a favourable device by the earliest champions of Hinduism.

V.

The inclusion of Buddha as an Avatāra in the *Bhāgavata* cannot therefore, help us in determining the date of the Purāṇa. We shall now turn to an examination of another criterion proposed by Mr. Vaidya. Taking his stand on certain statements made by Śāṅkara in the course of his refutation of the Sāṅkhya system, in his *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* (ii, 1, 1), Mr. Vaidya concludes that "the Sāṅkhya of the *Bhāgavata* is later than Śāṅkara." His reason is that Śāṅkara speaks of two Kapilas with one of whom he associates the Purāṇic episode of the burning of the sons of Sagara. This Kapila is further claimed to be different from the Founder of the Sāṅkhya system. But in the *Bhāgavata* no such distinction is made and Kapila who burnt the sons of Sagara is identified with the founder of Sāṅkhya : यस्येति सांख्यमयी दृढेहो (ix, 8, 14). "This is in clear opposition to the statement of Śāṅkara [अन्यस्य च कपिलस्य, सगरपुत्राणां प्रतनुर्वासुदेवनाम्नः स्मरणात्] and shows that Śāṅkara must have preached and written before the popular *Bhāgavata* came into existence" (p. 152).

But a critical examination of the evidence adduced by Mr. Vaidya shows that there is really no contradiction between Śāṅkara's position and the statement of the *Bhāgavata*. In Śāṅkara's statement, quoted above, there is nothing to show that Kapila - Vāsudeva could not have taught some sort of 'Sāṅkhya' tenets. Mr. Vaidya need not flare up into a violent protest at the word Sāṅkhya. It is methodologically unjust to peevishly restrict the term Sāṅkhya to the heterodox and 'agnostic' (if not also atheistic) Sāṅkhya and then to argue that Śāṅkara's Kapila, - i. e., Kapila - Vāsudeva, would not be guilty of it; and that therefore the *Bhāgavata* must be grievously mistaken in attributing Sāṅkhya ideas to this Kapila - (Vāsudeva) and hence must be later than Śāṅkara. Śāṅkara himself, simply denies the identity of his Kapila (Vāsudeva who burnt the sons of Sagara) with the *Pūrva-pakṣin's* Kapila - i. e., the founder of heterodox Sāṅkhya. This does not, however, mean, that Śāṅkara's Kapila could not

have held 'Sāṃkhya' views which would be perfectly consistent with Vedānta. This, in turn would raise the question : were there two distinct types of Sāṃkhya one which was compatible with Vedānta doctrines and the other entirely opposed to it? In Śaṅkara's opinion, as indeed in the opinion of every orthodox commentator on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, there were two types of Sāṃkhya.¹ From the historical point of view also, there are two types of Sāṃkhya — the Upaniṣadic and Epic Sāṃkhya which was mainly theistic and the later Sāṃkhya "system" which was practically atheistic. The occurrence of frequent references to Sāṃkhya categories like Pradhāna or Avyakta, Mahat, etc., and the use of the term 'Sāṃkhya' itself in the Upaniṣads show that some kind of 'Sāṃkhya' must, willy nilly, be admitted to have been recognised in orthodox circles. And the alleged contradiction between the two Kapilas would disappear if we understand the Kapila of the *Bhāgavata* to have held and taught views similar to those of the Upaniṣadic Sāṃkhya² — whatever it may mean! Śaṅkara himself is concerned with establishing the identity of his Kapila — (Vāsudeva) with the Kapila of the *Svetāśvatara* passage and not with denying that the latter Kapila had anything to do with any kind of Sāṃkhya! Now, if it were denied that Vāsudeva — Kapila taught any kind of Sāṃkhya, albeit orthodox, and if it were contended that this Kapila, the teacher of orthodox

1. Cf अशोच्यानित्यादिना भगवता, यावत्त्वधर्ममपि चावक्ष्येत्येतदन्तेन ग्रन्थेन यत्परमार्थ-
मात्मतत्त्वनिरूपणं कृतं तत्सांख्यम् ॥ तद्विषया बुद्धिः आत्मनो जन्मादिक्रियाभावाद्-
कर्तामेति प्रकरणार्थं निरूपणाद्या जायते सा सांख्यबुद्धिः सा येषां भवति ते सांख्याः—
Śaṅkara on *Gītā*, II, 11;

सांख्यं—ज्ञानं, शुद्धात्मतत्त्वविज्ञानं सांख्यमित्यभिधीयत इति भगवद्वचनाद्व्यासस्मृतौ --
Madhva on *Gītā*, II, 39;

तत्र सांख्ययोगशब्दौ कपिलपातञ्जलशास्त्रवचनादिनि प्रतीतिनिरासाय व्याचष्टे --
Jayatīrtha ;

सांख्ययोगौ = ज्ञानयोगकर्मयोगौ — Rāmānuja on *Gītā*, V, 4;

अत्र सांख्ययोगशब्दौ न कपिलहैरण्यगर्भसिद्धान्तविषयौ — Vedānta Deśika.

ज्ञानव्याः पदार्थाः संख्यायन्ते यस्मिन्दाखे तत् सांख्यं वेदान्तः Śaṅkara on *Gītā*,
XVIII, 12.

2. तथा च तेष (ऋषिं प्रसूतं) अद्वैतानुयायी वामदेवाशः कपिल एव प्रतिपाद्यत इति निर्धारयितुं
शक्यं — *Brahma Vidyūbharaṇa* II, 1, I,

and theistic Sāṃkhya, was different from Vāsudeva Kapila, it would come to this that there were three Kapilas in all — one the Upaniṣadic Kapila whom Śaṅkara claims to be one with Vāsudeva — Kapila and two others connected with orthodox and heterodox types of Sāṃkhya !! The recognition of two Kapilas by Śaṅkara is itself criticised by some as an undue strain on probabilities. We cannot, therefore, admit more than two Kapilas. The one would be Kapila — Vāsudeva who burnt the sons of Sagara and who is further to be identified with the Kapila of the *Śvetāśvatara* passage and the second would be the founder of heterodox Sāṃkhya. But here again, the Kapila of the *Śvetāśvatara* could not be forced to eschew all connections with some sort of 'Sāṃkhya.'

! For, the *Śvetāśvatara* itself is "interested in presenting a theistic syncretism of the Vedānta, the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga²". It would be idle to deny that the Kapila (whoever he was) of the *Śvetāśvatara*³ taught some kind of 'Sāṃkhya'. No impartial stu-

1. "In his Bhāṣya on II, 1, 1, Madhva is practically silent. Śaṅkara asserts that the Vedic Kapila is different from the author of the Sāṃkhya Smṛti. Rāmānuja admits Kapila as an āpta but not as an āptatama × × × × × It is clear from these that Śaṅkara's statement about another Kapila cannot be supported from any ancient Smṛti or Purāṇa. To admit two Kapilas on the questionable evidence of *Pādma* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* is to give too much weight to Purāṇa literature." pp. 61-62, M. G. Shastri, *An Examination of Śaṅkara's Refutation of Sāṃkhya Theory*, Poona. The author is not quite correct in stating that Madhva is silent over the question of a duality of Kapilas. A reference to Madhva's commentary on the *Bhāgavata* would at once show that he too, is prepared to recognise two Kapilas and quotes *Pādma* itself against which Mr. Shastri murmurs:

तन्त्रं सांख्यं वेदानुसरि । पाप्मे च ।

कपिलो वासुदेवाख्यः तन्त्रं सांख्यं जगाद ह ।

ब्रह्मादिभ्यश्च देवेभ्यो भृगवादिभ्यस्तथैव च ॥

तथैवास्तुर्ये सर्ववेदार्थरूपबुद्धितम् ।

सर्ववेदविरुद्धं च कपिलोऽन्यो जगाद ह ।

सांख्यमासुरेयस्यै कृतर्कपरिबृंहितम् ॥ इति ॥ i, 3, 10; *Sarvamūla* pp. 792-3.

2. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol i, p. 142. (1929).

3. Witness the eloquent testimony of passages of the *Śvetāśvatara* itself such as : अजामेकाम् iv, 5; स्रग्मधानं i, 10 etc.

dent or Professor of Indian Philosophy cares to hide this historical fact to-day that the Upaniṣads do not give us any one set theory of philosophy and have no dogmatic scheme of theology to propound but embody the doctrines of several types of speculation — the Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Vedānta &c. Even Buddhism is claimed by some to be traceable to the Upaniṣads.¹ Mr. Vaidya therefore, is clearly mistaken in asserting that the association of Sāṃkhya with Kapila in the *Bhāgavata* is “in clear opposition to the statement of Śaṃkara”. He is also needlessly confusing himself by the promiscuous use of the phrases — ‘Sāṃkhya System’ and ‘founder of the Sāṃkhya System’. These have now come to mean the agnostic system of Sāṃkhya set forth in the *Taittva-Samāsa Sūtras*, the *Sāṃkhya-sūtra*, the *Sāṃkhya-Kārikās* &c., and attributed to Kapila — one of the early predecessors of Vindhyāvāsin, Īśvarakṛṣṇa &c. Mr. Vaidya, therefore, is not justified in applying these terms in their historical significance to the ‘Sāṃkhya’ of the Upaniṣads, Epics and Purāṇas and hanging up some theory on a supposed reference to the “founder of the Sāṃkhya System”. He entirely misunderstands Śaṃkara when he writes that the association of (some sort of) Sāṃkhya views with Kapila in the *Bhāgavata* is “clearly in opposition to Śaṃkara’s statement”. Mr. Vaidya would do well to look up Śaṃkara’s commentary on the *Vaṣṇusahasranāma* in the course of which he clearly calls the Kapila commemorated in the *Śvetāśvatara* passage (which also he cites) Sāṃkhyācārya! Only, ‘Sāṃkhya’ with Śaṃkara, as indeed with every other orthodox commentator of the Vedānta, does not (always) mean the ‘System of Sāṃkhya’. For the information of Mr. Vaidya, I may cite the passage which runs:—कपिलश्च असौ सांख्यस्य शुद्धात्मतत्त्वविज्ञानस्य आचार्य-श्चेति कपिलाचार्यः । ‘शुद्धात्मतत्त्वविज्ञानं सांख्यमित्यभिधीयते’ इति व्यासस्मृतेः, कपिं प्रसूतं कपिलं इति श्रुतेश्च ॥²

Mr. Vaidya’s argument suffers from another fallacy and self-contradiction also. The association of Sāṃkhya views with

1. Cf. “Early Buddhism, we venture to hazard a conjecture, is only a restatement of the thought of the Upaniṣads from a new stand-point” — Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy* Vol i, p. 361.
2. *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya*, p. 106, Vani Vilas Edn., (Vol. XIII.). Vide the same authority cited by Madhva also.

Kapila — Vāudeva in the *Bhāgavata* would betray the post Śāṃkarite character of that Purāṇa only when it could be proved that such views were unknown prior to Śāṃkara. But, this is utterly impossible. Mr. Vaidya himself admits that "the Sāṃkhya enjoyed favor with the orthodox Pandits of the Hindu Religion" — (a very clumsy expression by the way) — and that "Originally the Sāṃkhya was acceptable since its tenets were not openly at variance with orthodox Vedic views". This takes the pith out of Mr. Vaidya's thesis that later on, when the Vedānta philosophy was formulated the Sāṃkhya became an unorthodox philosophy". It is ludicrous to believe that the same type of Sāṃkhya became orthodox and heterodox at different times. In that case, the Vedānta too, would have to be acknowledged as opposed to "Vedic views" in so far as it is (claimed to be) opposed to the old Sāṃkhya which was "originally acceptable since its tenets were not at variance with Vedic views". Only a monistic prejudice is responsible for such a hide and seek policy. But, it certainly will not do. A more reasonable explanation would be to understand Bādarāyaṇa's refutation of Sāṃkhya tenets as being directed towards the *heterodox Sāṃkhya System* (which was heterodox throughout) and not against the orthodox type of Sāṃkhya known to the Upaniṣads and the Epic — (whatever Śāṃkara might have understood by such a kind of 'Sāṃkhya'). On Śāṃkara's own showing, there are two Kapilas; and I see no reason why there should not have flourished two types of Sāṃkhya—thought each distinct from the other in essential doctrines. The testimony of Śāṃkara himself (in the *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya*) supports the reasonableness of such a view. Literary evidence, also, in Sanskrit, is not wanting to show that as a matter of fact, two types of Sāṃkhya thought were known — the one which Mr. Vaidya is compelled to admit "was acceptable since its tenets were not at variance with orthodox Vedic views" and the other which was opposed to the "Vedic views" and Vedāntic views alike! The *S'vetāśvatara* and *Kaṭha* Upaniṣads testify to the existence of some type of Sāṃkhya which found its way into the Epics—especially the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Gītā*, the *Viṣṇu*, *Kūrma* and *Bhāgavata*

1. May we ask Mr. Vaidya why the Sāṃkhya referred to in the *Bhāgavata* could not have been this same variety of it?

Purāṇas &c. The "Sāṃkhya" as we find it in the *Gītā* etc. is as much theistic as dualistic :—

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव विद्वद्यनादी उभावपि ॥
 ममयोनिर्महद्ब्रह्म तस्मिन्मार्गे दधाम्यहं ॥
 प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव प्रविश्याशु महेश्वरः ।
 क्षोभयामास संप्राप्ते सर्गकाले व्ययाव्ययौ ॥

Mr. Vaidya's conjecture therefore that "after this condemnation of the Sāṃkhya system and some of its unorthodox tattvas such as Mahat etc., by Śaṅkara, an attempt was made to remedy these defects and we know that the *Sāṃkhya Sūtras* which exist to-day and which plainly belong to about the 14th century A. D. represent the Sāṃkhya philosophy as *Seśvara* or with -- God and try to identify the Mahat-Tattva with Hiraṇyagarbha of the orthodox philosophy and that "the *Bhāgavata* clearly makes this attempt" is wrong look, stock and barrel. For one thing, the Sāṃkhya system as propounded in the *Sūtras* (whose date also Mr. Vaidya so kindly determines) is far from theistic or being 'with-God' as Mr. Vaidya puts it. The *Sūtras* do not expressly admit the existence of God. Nay, one *Sūtra* even goes to the extent of denying Him. — ईश्वरासिद्धेः which the special pleading of Vijñāna Bhikṣu alone claims to embody not a denial of God-head but the denial of the possibility of proving his existence -- in other words the denial of any *pramāṇa* anent the existence of God. Apart from the fact of such an interpretation of the *Sūtra* being forced, it is candidly admitted by all, that we can, with perfect truth, describe the attitude of the *Sāṃkhya Sūtras* as agnostic if not totally atheistic. And it is worth noting that the *Sāṃkhya Kārikās* do not even make this show of an agnosticism ! The *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali, on the other hand, were avowedly theistic from very early times and the term *सेश्वरसांख्य*, the Sāṃkhya "with-God" -- to borrow Mr. Vaidya's excellent rendering for the nonce, is really applied to the Patañjala *Yoga Sūtras* and not to the 14th century *Sāṃkhya Sūtras* ! Mr. Vaidya is sadly confusing the two. The theistic Sāṃkhya i. e. to say either the Yoga-type or the Epic Sāṃkhya, was therefore known long long

before "Śaṅkara preached and wrote" and was by no means an after — math of Śaṅkara's campaign against the Sāṅkhya. Here again, Mr. Vaidya, in his anxiety to assign the *Bhāgavata* to a date much later than Śaṅkara, on the strength of the view that it "makes an attempt to remedy these defects " forgets, most inexcusably, that there was simply no necessity for the *Bhāgavata* to undertake a reorientation of the kind referred to, since even in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Mokṣadharmā*, the *Kūrma Purāṇa* etc., the Sāṅkhya was mainly theistic and dualistic in outlook. Mr. Vaidya himself admits, with some discomfiture, that in the *Mahābhārata* "the Sāṅkhya philosophy is stated over and over again though its dualism and the plurality of souls is noted with a little disfavour!" However that may be, there can be little doubt, that a purely theistic and dualistic Sāṅkhya existed long before Śaṅkara; such an admission leaves no ground for Mr. Vaidya to conclude that the theistic Sāṅkhya of the *Bhāgavata* must necessarily be viewed as a Post-Śaṅkarite compromise or revision of the Sāṅkhya system! Why could not the *Bhāgavata*, I ask, have derived its theistic Sāṅkhya faithfully, from the *Bhārata*, *Gītā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas* and other early sources? Is it because Mr. Vaidya should find support for his theory of the Post — Śaṅkarite origin of the *Bhāgavata*? I wait for an answer. Here again, my point is that the criterion proposed by Mr. Vaidya is clearly insufficient.

A word about the attempt to "identify (the unorthodox) Mahat Tattva with Hiranyagarbha of the orthodox philosophy." Mr. Vaidya's belief that an attempt of this kind was distinctly Post-Śaṅkarite and was purely necessitated by the desire of the votaries and sympathisers of the Sāṅkhya to patch up its defects and make it conform to orthodox belief is clearly erroneous. The identification of Mahat Tattva with Hiranyagarbha, was no new device or development of a Post-Śaṅkarite origin but was current long, long, before that Philosopher and — what would be more startling for Mr. Vaidya to hear, — was effectively made use of by Śaṅkara to repudiate the claim of the Sāṅkhyas that this 'tattva' also had the support of the *Śruti* and *Smṛti* as can be seen from the following quotation from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* made by Śaṅkara himself :—

मनोमहान्मतिर्ब्रह्मा पूर्बुद्धिः ख्यातिरीश्वरः ।

प्रज्ञासंविच्चित्तिश्चैव स्मृतिश्च परिपठ्यते ॥

इति स्मृतेः या प्रथमजस्य हिरण्यगर्भस्य बुद्धिः सेह महानात्मेत्युच्यते' ॥

A careful consideration of the various Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa dealing with the Sāṃkhya and Śaṃkara's commentaries on them would easily show that far from the heterodox Sāṃkhyas or their friends wanting to make a compromise with or profit by the criticisms of the Vedāntins and Śaṃkara, and patch up or modify some of their old views and evolve a quasi *theistic* system to escape the defects pointed out by their opponents (towards which end the *Bhāgavata* is claimed to make an attempt), it is Śaṃkara and the Vedāntins who are (in keeping with their ambitious theory of सर्वशब्दसमन्वय in Brahman) found to exploit the pure Sāṃkhya concepts and categories in the *Śruti* and elsewhere. A discussion of this is beside our point. Enough has been said, however, to show that the Syncretist Sāṃkhya of our Epics and Purāṇas is Pre-Śaṃkarite in origin and that therefore the presence of such Syncretic Sāṃkhya in a given Purāṇa (such as the *Bhāgavata*) is not evidence *per se* of the Post-Śaṃkarite origin of that work.

VI

There are several other statements made by Mr. Vaidya in trying to fix the date of the *Bhāgavata*. I have already shown that it would be a dangerous game to presume to fix the date of our Purāṇa on such a feeble and ubiquitous grounds. Says Mr. Vaidya "The *Bhāgavata* preaches that there are 22 avatāras of Viṣṇu. The present *orthodox belief* (Italics mine) is that there are *only ten* Avatāras. The present view must have grown after the *Bhāgavata*. In the *Gīta-Govinda*, Jayadeve details only ten Avatāras²". The argument advanced by Mr. Vaidya only confirms the view that the *Bhāgavata* is earlier than Jayadeva and that the modern theory is but a simplification of the old. So far, there is nothing very original in Mr. Vaidya's remarks. But, the craze for novelty has him by the throat when he opines that "*Śaṃkara further refutes the view that Kapila, the founder of the Sāṃkhya system was an incarnation and seems therefore to precede the Bhā-*

1. Śaṃkara B. S. B. i., 4, 1, p. 376, Nirṇayasagar Press.

2. J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, p. 152.

*gavata*¹ ". Misunderstanding and misrepresentation of S'āṃkara cannot go further. In the first place, in the passage in question in S'āṃkara's Bhāṣya (which Mr. Vaidya has in mind) no claim is made by the *Pūrvapakṣin* on behalf of Kapila that he is an incarnation of Viṣṇu ; hence it is the height of disingenuity to represent S'āṃkara as refuting a claim that had never been made by his opponent ! In the particular context referred to by Mr. Vaidya, the *Pūrvapakṣin* claims that the Kapila of the *Śvetāśvatara* (V, 2) is identical with the founder of the (heterodox) Sāṃkhya system and that therefore the Upaniṣads should be interpreted in strict conformity with the teachings of a Sage of the type of Kapila so highly spoken of in the Upaniṣads. Now, S'āṃkara, in reply, denies the identity of these two Kapilas and points out the differentia of *his* Kapila also (which, out of doubt, should be lacking in the other) to be his having burnt the sons of Sagara. If the Upaniṣadic Kapila were innocent of any kind of ' Sāṃkhya ' as Mr. Vaidya concludes (and finds fault with the *Bhāgavata* for attributing Sāṃkhya views to him and thus finds room for his theory of the Post-S'āṃkarite origin of the Purāṇa), S'āṃkara would, most naturally, have given *this* as the differentia of his Kapila instead of going in all the way for the Purāṇic incident of his having burnt the sons of Sagara and committing the additional blunder (?) of unhistorically connecting with the ancient personalities in the Upaniṣads the quaint incidents recorded in later Purāṇas ! This shows clearly that S'āṃkara was not averse to crediting both the Kapilas with some sort of Sāṃkhya views — not necessarily identical. That such is actually the case has already been proved by an extract from S'āṃkara's *Viṣṇu Sahasranāma Bhāṣya* where he clearly calls *his Kapila* — i. e. Kapila-Vāsudeva, as a Sāṃkhyācārya ! The *Viṣṇu-Sahasranāma* accepts this Kapila as an incarnation of Viṣṇu—महर्षिः कपिलाचार्यः (v. 50). And S'āṃkara has no hesitation in identifying him with (1) the Kapila of the *Śvetāśvatara* which passage also he quotes and (2) the Kapila who is called a Siddha and Muni in the *Gītā* (which also, he quotes) ! Mr. Vaidya's contention, therefore, that S'āṃkara refutes the claim of Kapila to be an Avatāra is utterly baseless.

1, Op. cit. p. 152. (*Italics mine*).

Equally unfounded is his claim that the Kapila holding Sāṃkhya views came to be regarded as an Avatāra only later than Śaṃkara, — for the first time in the *Bhāgavata*. The whole trouble has arisen, as I have pointed out, from the false restriction of the term Sāṃkhya to the *system* of that name. Mr. Vaidya would be rudely surprised to be told that the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* speaks of Kapila as a manifestation of Viṣṇu :—

कपिलार्षिर्भगवतः सर्वभूतस्य वै द्विज ।

विष्णोरंशः । (II, 14, 9).

and once again in III, 2, 59 :—

छते युगं परं ज्ञानं कपिलादिस्वरूपधृक् ।

Mr. Vaidya, therefore, founders very miserably indeed when he concludes with great gusto that “the representation of Kapila as an incarnation of Viṣṇu makes the *Bhāgavata* later than Śaṃkara.” But, he is not to blame ; for, he himself admits, with real pathos, “we have not been able to ascertain which (other) *Purāṇa* represents Kapila as an incarnation” ! Only, we wish [he had not theorised *wildly* from the admittedly insufficient evidence at his command and landed himself in fantastic results.

Mr. Vaidya commits a very serious mistake in reading his own views into the statement of the *Bhāgavata* : यस्येति सांख्यमयी दृढे नौ (IX, 8 14), which he claims to bespeak the identity of the sage Kapila with the “founder of the Sāṃkhya system of Philosophy” (p. 152) — meaning by the term, ‘Sāṃkhya system,’ the heterodox Sāṃkhya. But, he himself admits that the Sāṃkhya associated with Kapila in the *Bhāgavata* is “made consistent with the Vaiṣṇava philosophy.” So then, it follows that the ‘Sāṃkhya’ taught by this Kapila could not, in any sense, have been heterodox but was quite consistent with pure Vedāntic traditions. Mr. Vaidya forgets that it is bad logic to restrict the application of the term Sāṃkhya, especially in the *Purāṇas*, to the Sāṃkhya of Īśvarakṛṣṇa — brand, and argue from that position.

Similarly also, his statement that there are at present only 10 avatāras which he chooses to call “the orthodox belief” is based on imperfect acquaintance with *real* orthodox opinions. The ten

Avatāras are referred to, as he himself suggests, as the "chief ones" and it is illegitimate to interpret this to mean that a belief in more Avatāras is Unorthodox ! Vācaspati Miśra, as early as the 9th century, refers to Vyāsa as an Avatāra ; and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* speaks of Vyāsa and Kapila as manifestations of Viṣṇu ;—

ब्रह्मसूत्रकृते तस्मै वेदव्यासाय नमः ।

ज्ञानशक्त्यवताराय नमो भगवतो हरेः ॥ (*Bhāmatt*).

कृष्णद्वैपायनं साक्षाद्विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुं ।

को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षान्महाभारतकृद्भवेत् ॥ (*Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*)

कपिलर्षिर्भगवतः सर्वभूतस्य वै द्विज ।

विष्णोरंशः ॥ (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*)

The authors of the *Śrūta Prakāśa*, Madhva etc., look upon Vyāsa as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu on sound authority and it would be amusing to contend that they do not represent 'orthodox belief' ! The *Mahābhārata* when it enumerates the ten avatāras makes no mention of Vyāsa ; also, one cannot charge Vācaspati Miśra, Sudarśana Sūri, Madhva and a host of others as being ignorant of 'Orthodox belief'. Elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata* when Bhīṣma enumerates the Avatāras (*Sabhā*, 36), mention is made of only 8 avatāras : The well-known *Matsya* and *Kūrma* are conspicuous by their absence ! Kalki is mentioned ; but Buddha, who is chronologically earlier than Kalki,—to come, is absent ! Curiously enough, Dattātreyā, who is not mentioned commonly and not usually counted among the so-called 'Orthodox belief' of Mr. Vaidya, is given a place ! All this would prove how dangerous it would be to argue wildly from the vague and imperfect references in the Purāṇas and the ambiguous details contained in them. Mr. Vaidya's statement that there are only ten Avatāras and his claim that this is the orthodox belief deserve to be taken for what they are worth. The *Mahābhārata* clearly states that there are 'thousands of manifestations of Viṣṇu'—(*प्रादुर्भावसहस्राणि* II, 36) and Bhīṣma closing his narration observes :

एते चान्ये च बहवः दिव्या देवयुगैर्पुताः

प्रादुर्भावाः पुराणेषु गीयन्ते ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥ II. 36, 231.

Mr. Vaidya would, therefore, have done well not to have rushed to hasty conclusions from admittedly insufficient evidence.

VII.

In my humble opinion, therefore, the date of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* cannot be settled without the aid of express and unimpeachable textual evidence which is the only safe guide provided, of course, the works relied upon are of proven genuineness. It is glaringly noticeable that Mr. Vaidya has adduced not even one such independent textual evidence but has throughout relied upon very vague and slender pieces of evidence of the *Purāṇa* itself which on examination have been shown to be inconclusive. Before setting forth such external textual evidences collected by me during the course of my investigation of this question for the past two years and more, I shall have to say a few words about the last item of internal evidence adduced by Mr. Vaidya — viz., the list of 'future Kings' appended to the *Bhāgavata* forming the opening *adhyāya* of the XII *Skandha*.

Now, the list of 'future kings' is almost a proverbial feature of our *Purāṇas* and is now generally admitted to be a clumsy interpolation of later times.¹ Mr. Vaidya himself admits that there is some obvious clumsiness in the *Bhāgavata*, in the very manner of introducing this *Adhyāya* and adds, apologetically, that "the introductory question may be treated as an interpolation but not the whole chapter" (p. 154)!

Strangely enough, the reason he assigns for this reservation is that "to give a list of future kings had become traditional with the *Purāṇas* and the author of the *Bhāgavata* whose acquaintance with other *Purāṇas* cannot be doubted, could not have been satisfied without a chapter on future kings." Now, the very fact

1. While one set of scholars is highly sceptical about the usefulness of any attempt to reconstruct the ancient and early history of India through the genealogies of the *Purāṇas*, another set of scholars opines that these genealogies are more useful for purposes of comparison rather than for independent speculation. In any case, it would be un-critical to attempt to settle the original dates of the *Purāṇas* themselves from these genealogies.

that it is a rule with our Purāṇas to pretend to give a list of 'future kings' (knowing which weakness but too well, pious interpolators always conveniently smuggled in a revised and up-to-date list of 'future kings') must for once prejudice all scientifically minded students against swallowing their versions too readily. It is best therefore, to ignore these genealogies for chronological purposes. Even granting that a large number of these interpolated stanzas formed part of the original *Bhāgavata*, whatever its date, there is absolutely no reason why the portions now relied upon by Mr. Vaidya to prove the lateness of the Purāṇa could not have been later interpolations. Mr. Vaidya, therefore, is wrong in treating the entire chapter as it is to-day, to have formed part of the original *Bhāgavata* and 'proceeding' to "draw the natural conclusions from it."

VIII.

We shall, therefore, turn as the last and the only satisfactory resort, to external textual evidences with the hope that they may help to usher in a more satisfactory solution of the *veraxa questio* of the date of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

Reference has already been made to Abhinavagupta's quotations from the *Bhāgavata* and its currency during the time of Alberuni which obliges us to believe that the Purāṇa must have been some centuries earlier than the tenth.

This probability is further strengthened by a quotation from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* occurring in Gauḍapāda's commentary on the *Uttara Gītā*. It is gratifying to note that even Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, whose scepticism with reference to the large mass of works fathered on Śaṅkara Gauḍapāda etc. is well-known for its extremity, very kindly observes anent this commentary — "we can, for the present, only assert that there is nothing, so far discovered, in these two commentaries (i. e., the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā Vṛtti* and the *Uttara-Gītā-Vṛtti*) that necessarily militates against the traditional identifi-

1. The limiting adjuncts employed by the scholar are truly awe-inspiring. But I cannot reconcile the cautiousness displayed by these terms with the confident 'assertion'.

cation of their author with the author of the *Māṇḍūkya Kārikās*." Hoping, therefore, that the learned Doctor will not have any occasion whatsoever to withdraw his remarks, I proceed to state the internal textual evidence from Gauḍapāda's commentary on the *Uttara-Gītā*. And in so doing, I do hope that my present discovery of a reference in it to the *Bhāgavata*, would not compel the learned Doctor to change the date he has so generously ascribed to this *Vṛtti*. Now, Gauḍapāda is found to refer to the *Bhāgavata* by name and quote a hemistich therefrom in the course of his commentary on II, 46 of his original :—

तदुक्तं भागवते :—

तेषामसुकृश एव शिष्यते

नान्यद्यथा स्थूलतुषावघातिनाम् ॥

which is to be identified² as the second hemistich in :

अयःश्रुतिं भक्तिमुदस्य ते विभो

ह्रियन्ति ये केवलबोधलब्धये ।

तेषामसौ क्लेशल एव शिष्यते

नान्यद्यथा स्थूलतुषावघातिनाम् ॥

Bhāgavata X, 14, 4.

Gauḍapāda having flourished in the 7th century A. D., it follows that our *Purāṇa* is much earlier than his date.

This is further supported by the occurrence of two verses of the *Bhāgavata* as quotations from an unnamed source in the *Māṭhara Vṛtti* regarded as the original of the *Gauḍapāda Vṛtti* on the *Sāṅkhya Kārikās* of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. The *Māṭhara Vṛtti* has :—

यथा पङ्केन पङ्काम्भः सुरपा वा सुराकृतं ।

भूतहत्यां तथैवेमां न यज्ञैर्मादृमर्हति³ ॥

(under *Kārikā* 2)

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1. Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta, 1925, p. 189,
 2. I cannot adequately record my thanks to Śrīyut Bhārata Sīmha Pandit Khāpe Rāmeन्द्रācārya of Kumbakonam, whose astonishing erudition in the Epic and the *Bhāgavata* is absolutely matchless to-day in India among the Pandit world, for so kindly giving me the exact location of the hemistich from Gauḍapāda in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.
 3. The verse extols Ahimsā doctrine and hence is quoted by *Māṭhara* under *Kārikā* 2 which censures Vedic sacrifices.

which corresponds to

यथापुङ्गेन पङ्काम्भः सुरया वा सुराकृतं ।
भूतहत्यां तथैवैकां न यज्ञैर्मार्ष्टुमर्हति ॥

Bhāgavata i, 8, 52.

Again, Māṭhara has under *Sāmkhya-Kūrikā* 51 :—

एष आतुरचित्तानां मात्रास्पर्शेच्छया विभुः³ ।
भवसिन्धुप्लवोदष्टः यदाचार्यानुवर्तनम् ॥

which corresponds to :—

एतद्वशात्तुरचित्तानां मात्रास्पर्शेच्छया मुहुः ।
भवसिन्धुप्लवो दष्टः हरिचर्यानुवर्णनम् ॥

Bhāgavata i, 6, 35.

The *Māṭhara Vṛtti* is known to have been translated into Chinese by Paramārtha between 557-569 A. D. and is safely assumed to be as early as 450 Samvat. I must, however, state that nothing corresponding to the verses in question occur in Paramārtha's work, retranslated into French by Dr. Takakusu and now finally rendered into English by Prof S. S. Suryanarayana Shastri.⁴ But this does not, in the least invalidate my claim of the antiquity of the verses forming part of the text of Māṭhara; for, it is freely admitted that Paramārtha's was not a strictly literal and faithful translation of Māṭhara; and consequently, the non-occurrence of particular verses or passages of the original in the translation need not surprise or unnerve us overmuch.

1. The reading in the second half in Māṭhara agrees not with that of Śrīdhara. Vijayadhvaṇya has तथैवेतां and तथैवेमां in the place of तथैवेकां of Śrīdhara.
2. Vijayadhvaṇya has न यज्ञो ।
3. मुहुः in *Bhāgavata* for विभुः is the more satisfactory reading. The verse as it occurs in Māṭhara, thus, seems to be rather corrupted.
4. Long before Prof. Sastri began his translation from the French, he was kind enough to read and translate to me the relevant portion from the French translation in the B. F. E. O. with a view to seeing if anything corresponding to the verses in question could be found therein. We found of course, that there was nothing. My thanks are due in a special manner to Prof. Sastri for his ready help.

The evidences so far adduced would show therefore that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was well-known in the 10th century (having been composed, obviously, some centuries earlier); was extant in the 7th century ; was not unknown in the 6th century ; and might very well, therefore, have been composed about the 5th century A. D. if not earlier still. The mention of the *Bhāgavata* in a list of Purāṇas in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*¹ (from which it was quoted to Alberuni), also confirms the antiquity of the work. No claim is, however, made that the *Śrī Bhāgavata* always existed in its present form.

1. ब्राह्मपादं वैष्णवं च शैवं भागवतं तथा—(iii, 6, 2).

SUTTEE

BY

MISS SAKUNTALA RAO, M. A., CALCUTTA

Suttee (*sati*) was the practice of cremating a widow on the pyre of her dead husband. The custom certainly prevailed from mediæval times onwards till it was abolished by Lord William Bentinck in 1829. It was in great vogue amongst the higher castes of the Hindus who followed the Brahmanical religion. The practice does not seem to have been in evidence among the Jains. Sikhism certainly condemned it. Nevertheless, we learn from the narrative of Honigberger that in the year 1839 when Ranjit Singh died, several of his widows were burnt. Our object here is to trace the history of this custom so far at any rate as India is concerned. We know that the universal usage of the primitive age compelled a widow either to be the wife of her husband's brother or his near kinsman, or, if she was of the ruling rank, to be immolated, along with his concubines, slaves, steeds and so forth at his tomb in order to preserve his dignity in the next world. Here we have to see whether either or both of these motives were in force in ancient India. The first leads to the exact opposite of *sati*, because the widowed wife is married to a near relative and is thus not allowed to immolate herself. The second motive manifests itself in an act which has received the name of *anumaraṇa*. In this case, it is not only the wife or wives, but all the friends, slaves and horses who are immolated, in order that they may contribute to the happiness of the departed in the next world. Where the wives alone burnt themselves, it became the *sati* rite, which is thus only one instance of *anumaraṇa*.

Let us, in the first place, turn our attention to the Vedic period and see whether the practice of *sati* was then prevalent. There is a verse in the Rg-Veda¹ which also occurs in

1. *Rg-Veda*, X. 18. 8.

the Atharva-Veda,¹ but its meaning is rendered clear only when it is considered along with the verse preceding it in the Atharva-Veda. We will, therefore, consider both these verses from this latter Veda. The late Professor Whitney² translated them thus :-

"This woman, choosing her husband's world, lies down by thee that art departed, O mortal, continuing to keep (her) ancient duty (Dharma); to her assign thou here progeny and property."

"Go up, O woman, to the world of the living; thou liest by (upā-sī) this one who is deceased; come to him who grasps thy hand, thy second spouse (didhīṣu); thou hast now entered into the relation of wife to husband."

It is worthy of note that there are no verses in any Veda bearing upon the course of life a widow has to follow. And it will be seen from the passages just quoted that in Vedic times the widow was made to ascend the funeral pyre of her departed husband and afterwards brought back home by the husband's brother or near kinsman. There is no question here of widow-burning even in a symbolic manner. It has been stated above that according to the world-wide primitive usage the widow was forced either to be the partner of her deceased husband's immediate relative or to ascend the funeral pyre and burn herself. The latter custom, which is really the *satī* practice, does not thus seem to have been prevalent amongst the Vedic Aryans.

We must not, however, think that the Vedic literature represented the whole life of India. There were many types of tribes and people settled in different parts of the country, even in the Vedic period, who had not imbibed Vedic culture and religion. It is quite possible to imagine that *satī* was prevalent in India, if not among the Vedic, at any rate among some of the non-Vedic peoples of the age. How else are we to understand the celebrated passage from the *Mahābhārata* which depicts the dialogue between Kunti

1. *Atharva-Veda*, XVIII. 3. 2.

2. Whitney's English translation of the *Atharva-Veda Samhitā* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 18).

and Mādri as to who will burn herself on the funeral pyre of their departed husband Pāṇḍu.¹

Pāṇḍu, we know, died in the arms of his younger wife; and, as soon as he passed away, Kuntī said: "I am the elder of his wedded wives; the chief religious merit must be mine. Therefore, O Mādri, prevent me not from achieving that which must be achieved. I must follow our lord to the region of the dead. Rise up, O Mādri, and yield me his body. Rear thou these children." Mādri replied, saying:— "I do clasp our lord yet and have not allowed him to depart; therefore, I shall follow him. My appetite hath not been appeased. Thou art my elder sister. O, let me have thy sanction. Thereupon Mādri consigned her two sons to the care of Kuntī, and immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. This is a clear instance of *satī*, and the motive which prompted Mādri to this step also deserves to be noticed. Pāṇḍu had approached her out of desire and died, and she had therefore to go to the other world to satisfy his carnal desire.

There is one more instance of *satī* forthcoming from the *Mahābhārata*,² where the four wives of Vasudeva, father of Kṛṣṇa, are represented to have ascended the funeral pyre and consumed themselves with the body of their lord. These are the only two instances known from the *Mahābhārata*. Though these are only two cases, they should not be considered to be solitary instances of their kind. The Greek historians who have written about India testify to the prevalence there of the *satī* custom shortly before the beginning of the Christian era. Thus Strabo quotes the authority of Aristobuculos, as saying (when referring to customs existing at Taxila): "The custom of having many wives prevails here, and is common among other races. He says that he had heard from some persons of wives burning themselves along with their deceased husbands and doing so gladly; and that those women who refused to burn themselves were held in disgrace. The same things have been stated by other writers".³ Among the

1. *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, Ch. 126; Sts. 25-26.

2. *Mahābhārata*, *Mausalaparva*, XVII. 7. 18-24.

3. J. W. M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 69.

'other writers' referred to by Strabo may be mentioned Diodorus, who says that among the Kathians it was the custom for widows to be burned along with their husbands. He pointed out, however, that an exception was made for women with child or with a family. Otherwise, if she did not comply with this custom she was compelled to remain a widow for the rest of her life, and to take no part in the sacrifices or other rites, as being an impious person.¹

It is quite possible to think that the testimony of Greek writers in support of the prevalence of *sati* related only to the Panjab and especially to such tribes in that region as the Kathians who had not assimilated Vedic culture. Similarly it may be argued that the two instances of *sati* supplied by the *Mahābhārata*, as against many where the widowed wives of princes did not burn themselves, indicate but a feeble survival of the pre-Vedic custom of *sati*, so that our main conclusion remains unassailable, namely that the Vedic practice compelled a widow not to immolate herself on the pyre of her deceased lord, but rather marry his nearest relative. Even the *Dharmasūtra*² of Gautama, which is looked upon as the earliest law-book, says:

"A woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring (may bear a son) to her brother-in-law."

"(On failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring) by (cohabiting with) a Sapinda, a Sagotra, a Samāna-pravara, or one who belongs to the same caste."

"Some (declare that she shall cohabit) with nobody but a brother-in-law".

It will be seen that what is enjoined by Gautama is practically identical with the custom prevalent in the Vedic period. Gautama, being the earliest law-giver, has been assigned to the 7th century, B. C. We may, therefore, assume that until that time the practice of a widow immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her husband was not sanctioned by law. Things, however, began to change

1. Ibid., pp. 69-70, n. 3.

2. XVIII. 4. 6, 7.

pretty quickly, for the next earliest law-book on the subject, namely, that of Baudhāyana¹, lays down the following :—

“A widow shall avoid during a year (the use of) honey, meat, spirituous liquor, and salt, and sleep on the ground. Maudgalya (declares that she shall do so) during six months.

• “After (the expiration of) that (time) she may, with the permission of her Gurus, bear a son to her brother-in-law, in case she has no son.”

Vasiṣṭha² was not much later than Baudhāyana. He says : “The widow of a deceased person shall sleep on the ground during six months, practising religious vows and abstaining from pungent condiments and salt. After the completion of six months, she shall bathe, and offer a funeral oblation to her husband. (Then) her father or her brother shall assemble the Gurus who taught or sacrificed (for the deceased) and his relatives, and shall appoint her (to raise issue to her deceased husband.)”

It is scarcely necessary to remark that Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha are in substantial agreement with each other. They, however, differ from Gautama in one material point. Because, the latter nowhere lays down any kind of asceticism for any length of time for a widow. We have, thus, to notice a new element introduced into the life of a woman who has lost her husband. For, Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha enjoin ascetic practices on her for six months or one year, and require her to offer oblations to her departed husband before she can be permitted to live with another man.

The age during which Buddha and Mahāvira flourished was noted for asceticism of a rigorous type. We have only to read the Buddhist and Jaina literature referring to the life-time of these teachers to be convinced of the correctness of this conclusion, which receives a remarkable confirmation also from the Brahmanical literature. It seems that asceticism was, as it were, in the

1. *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana, II. 1. 2, 4, 7-9.

2. *Dharmasūtra* of Vasiṣṭha, XVII. 55-56.

air at that time. It is, therefore, no wonder if we find temporary asceticism enjoined upon a widow by Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha on the immediate death of her husband. Although these law-givers have introduced an element of asceticism in the life of a widow, we have to note that it is only for a short period; and they allowed the widow, after the expiry of this period, to live with a near kinsman, as is also enjoined by Gautama. But the system of *niyoga*, or cohabitation of a widow with her younger brother-in-law or near kinsman appears to have become extinct soon after the compilation of the *Dharmasūtra* of Vasiṣṭha, and what remained thereafter was the ascetic practices just referred to. It is therefore not a matter of surprise if the later law-givers such as Manu and Yājñavalkya lay down a life-long asceticism for a woman on the death of her husband. Thus Manu¹ says :--

"At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots and fruits; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died."

"A virtuous wife, who after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste, reaches heaven, though she has no son, just like those chaste men (*Brahmacūris*)."

"But a woman who, from a desire to have offspring, violates her duty towards her (deceased) husband, brings on herself disgrace in this world and loses her place with her husband (in heaven)."

These verses clearly show that Manu does not allow the cohabitation of a widow with any man, even though she has no offspring. These are perhaps later insertions, as they conflict with Manu, IX. 59-61, where *niyoga* is permitted in such cases for raising one or, at the most, two sons according to the custom. Yājñavalkya² has the following :—

"She who does not go to another (man), whether her husband is living or dead, attains fame here and rejoices with Umā."

1. *Manu-Saṃhitā*, V. 157, 160-161.

2. *Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā*. I. 75.

The last redaction of the *Manu-saṁhitā* has been placed by Bühler between 200 B. C. and 200 A. D. We, therefore, see that about the beginning of the Christian era the custom of *niyoga* was falling into desuetude, and a woman, on the death of her husband, is exhorted to practice life-long asceticism. Be it, however, noted here, that there is not even a least reference to the self-immolation of a widow, whether in the text of Manu or of Yājñavalkya. Things, however, seem to have considerably altered soon after the advent of the Gupta power. Thus the *Viṣṇu*¹, which was compiled after the fourth century A. D., says that one of the duties of a woman is, "after the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity (*brahmacarya*), or to ascend the pile after him".

Similarly the law-book of Bṛhaspati², which has been assigned to the sixth or seventh century A. D., lays down the following:-

"A wife is considered half the body of her husband, equally sharing the result of his good or wicked deeds; whether she ascends the pile after him, or chooses to survive him leading a virtuous life, she promotes the welfare of her husband."

It will be seen that, though both *Viṣṇu* and *Bṛhaspati* allow a widow to lead a life of virtue and asceticism, they prescribe an alternative course of action also, viz., that she may ascend his funeral pile. These are the earliest instances of *Smṛti* referring to the practice of *satī* by a widow. We have noted that *satī* was practised even in very early periods, among tribes and races who had not imbibed Vedic culture. But no text from any *Śruti* or even *Smṛti* before the 5th Century A. D. is forthcoming to show that this rite was sanctioned by sacred law. It is only when we come to the period of the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* that we, for the first time, note that *satī* was allowed by Hindu law. But even here *satī* has been prescribed as an alternative course of action for a woman after the demise of her husband. In this connection, we have to take note of what the *Parāśara-saṁhitā*³ says

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1. *The Institutes of Viṣṇu*, XXXV, 14.
 2. *The Laws of Bṛhaspati*, XXV, 11.
 3. *Parāśara Saṁhitā*, *Prāyaścittakāṇḍam*, verse 30.

about the course of life to be led by a widow. It contains four verses on the subject, representative of three different ages. It seems the first of these belongs to the original text of the *Smṛti* and the others were added, each in course of time to suit the circumstances. The first of these may be translated as follows:—

“When the husband of a woman has disappeared, is dead, has turned a recluse, is impotent or has been excommunicated, under these five calamities another husband is permitted to women.”

It will be seen that Parāśara takes a far more sympathetic view of the condition of a woman than Manu or even the *Sūtra-kāras*. Manu, as we have just seen, inclines more to a life of asceticism for woman than marriage through *niyoga* after the death of her husband. The earliest and most liberal of the *Sūtra-kāras* is Gautama, who allows a woman to marry another man after the demise of her husband, without waiting for any length of time or without prescribing any kind of asceticism for any period. He thus allows a woman to marry soon after her husband is dead, but Parāśara permits her a second marriage not only when the husband is dead, but also when he has disappeared, nay, even when he is known to be living, provided he has become a recluse or an outcast or impotent. This certainly points to a state of society which was far anterior to that of the *Manu-Smṛti*, though perhaps, not to that of the *Dharmasūtra* period. Things however changed, and provision had to be made in conformity with the altered conditions. This explains why we have the second of the four verses in the *Parāśara-Saṃhitā*¹. It may be rendered as follows:—

“That woman, who, when the husband is dead, performs the vow of chastity (*brahmacharya*), attains to heaven after death like the *Brahmacāris*.”

This is an exact replica of Manu, V. 160, which we have translated above, and the full significance of which we have also discussed before. We shall, therefore, not be far from right if we maintain that this verse came to be inserted in the *Parāśara-Saṃhitā* soon after the compilation of the *Manu-Smṛti*. We have

1. *Parāśara Saṃhitā, Prāyaścittakāṇḍam, verse 31.*

now to consider the remaining two verses from *Parāśara*,¹ which represent a condition of society of a much later period. They may be translated thus :—

“She who follows her husband will abide in heaven for as much time as there are hairs on a human being, that is, three thousand crores and a half.”

“As a snake-catcher takes out a snake from a hole by force, in the same manner the wife (who immolates herself), taking out her husband (from hell), enjoys (heavenly bliss) with him.”

These verses show that by self-immolation a woman not only dwells in heaven herself, but raises up her husband also from hell. This shows that they came to be inserted when the *anumaraṇa* of a widow was in full swing and was considered to be vastly superior even to a life of asceticism, such as that prescribed as an alternative course by the *Viṣṇu* and *Brhaspati Smṛtis*. When exactly these last two verses were inserted into the *Parāśara*, it is difficult to say. We have noticed above that verse 2 is an almost exact replica of *Manu*, IX. 76. Now, in regard to the last two verses, they are found with a slightly different phraseology in other *Smṛtis*. *Vijñāneśvara*³, who commented upon the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, attributes them to Śāṅkhāṅgīrasa, who seem to be the joint authors of some *Smṛti*. *Mādhavācārya*, who wrote a commentary on *Parāśara*, traces the first of these to the *Hārīta* and the second to the *Vyāsa Smṛti*. It is difficult to say who copied from whom. It appears, however, that these two verses were incorporated into *Parāśara* after the model of Āṅgīrasa or Śāṅkhāṅgīrasa, for *Medhātithi*, a commentator on *Manu-Smṛti*, refers to and condemns the practice of *anumaraṇa* allowed by Āṅgīrasas³. But he does not refer to *Parāśara* at all, although practically the same verses occur there. On the other hand, *Medhātithi* refers to *Parāśara* in his gloss on *Manu*⁴ in connection with the permission of

1. *Parāśara-Saṁhitā*, *Prāyaścittakāṇḍam*, verses 32, 33.

2. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (Nirṇayasāgara Press), *Ācārādhyāyaḥ-Vivāhakaṇḍam*, verse 86.

3. *Manu-Saṁhitā*, V. 157.

4. *Manu-Saṁhitā*, IX. 76.

marriage to a woman under the five well-known calamities. This shows that the verses in Parāśara connected with *anumarāṇa* were not in the text of that *Smṛti* which was extant before Medhātithi, and came to be inserted later on in imitation of Āṅgīrasa, with a view to sanction a new practice that was coming into force in society.

Now Medhātithi has been assigned by Bühler to the 9th century A. D.¹ Evidently Āṅgīrasa and *Smṛtikāras* of his ilk must have lived before that time. The practice of *satī* must have come into vogue also before that time, and it was doubtless gaining ascendancy over the custom of life-long asceticism recommended by the previous law-givers. Of course, *satī* has not established itself completely, as we have seen that it has been condemned in no uncertain terms as an act of suicide by Medhātithi himself. He has, no doubt, in this connection referred to the view of Āṅgīrasa which allows *anumarāṇa*; but he says that it is not an obligatory act, that is to say, it is not that it must be done. In his opinion it stands on the same footing as the performance of the *śyena* sacrifice allowed by the Vedic text: "One may kill living beings by means of *śyena* sacrifice." The Vedic text, no doubt, makes the performance of this sacrifice possible, but only for an individual who is blinded by extreme hatred (ऋ) for creature life. This act can in no way be regarded, says Medhātithi, as *dharma* (a meritorious act). Similarly, the widow who is bent upon experiencing the consequences ensuing from this act of suicide, viz. *anumarāṇa*, can disobey the prohibition of it and put an end to her life. But in so doing she cannot be considered as acting according to the scriptures. Further, continues Medhātithi, we have the distinct Vedic text - "One shall not die before the span of one's life is run out," which is in contradiction to the *Smṛti* text of Āṅgīrasa. We have, therefore, to interpret Āṅgīrasa in such a way as to show that his statement is not in conflict with the Vedic injunction. This we can do only by supposing that Āṅgīrasa allows *anumarāṇa* to a widow under special circumstances. Supposing that a widow is childless, has not inherited any property, has to toil and moil for her livelihood, does not wish to marry again;

1. *The Laws of Manu* (Sacred Books of the East Series). Intro. p. CVII.

supposing that she is placed under conditions of abnormal distress, where transgressions are permissible, as was the case with Viśvāmītra when he partook of the dog's thigh, a widow can undergo *anumarāṇa*. This act, though it is suicide, may be condoned as a transgression pardonable in times of distress.

Hindu society seems to have changed pretty fast after Medhātithi wrote, for Hindu law was being differently explained about the middle of the 11th century, when Vijñāneśvara flourished in the court of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya and composed his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*. He was followed in the 14th century by Mādhavācārya, who wrote a gloss on the *Parāśara-saṁhitā* and lived in the reigns of Bukka and Harihara of the Vijayanagara dynasty. Both unite in eulogising the practice of *sati* and holding it up as the ideal for a widow. One may feel curious and ask in this connection how these commentators slur over the Vedic text quoted above: "One shall not die before the span of one's life is run out". Mādhavācārya explains it away in this manner: "The *Smṛti* text relating to *anumarāṇa* remains forceful, otherwise it has no scope (for action). The *Śruti* text relating to self-destruction has, indeed, scope everywhere except in the case of women desirous of heaven". This means that the *Śruti* text forbidding suicide is not to be given a first and universal application, as a *Śruti* text deserves, and as has been done by Medhātithi, but its scope is to be limited by the *Smṛti* text, which has to be given its full scope first, leaving the *Śruti* text to be applied only where it is not covered by the former.

Medhātithi did not look upon *anumarāṇa* as a *dharma* or meritorious act at all, and tolerated it only as a transgression in times of distress. On the other hand, Vijñāneśvara and Mādhavācārya regard *anumarāṇa* as a *Dharma* and not as an act of suicide. Hence they argued that the suicide prohibited by the *Śruti* text was to be considered suicide in all cases except in that of self-destruction by a widow. The whole mental vision thus seems to have changed between the time when Medhātithi and Vijñāneśvara wrote, that is, between the 9th and the 11th century A. D.

That the mental vision had completely altered during this period may be inferred from another consideration also. Paithi-

nasi, a Smṛtikāra, who seems to be earlier than Āṅgīrasa, says :—
 “ By the order of Brahmā, a Brāhmaṇa woman is not to follow the dead (husband). But among other castes this is laid down as the best duty of a woman ”.

Similarly, if Āṅgīrasa allowed *anumarāṇa*, he allowed it only in the case of non-Brāhmaṇa woman. This text of Āṅgīrasa also has been quoted by Mādhavācārya, which may be rendered as follows :—

“ A woman of the Brāhmaṇa caste (who) follows her dead husband does not, on account of suicide, lead either herself or her husband to heaven ”.

Many more texts have been adduced to by Mādhavācārya in this connection; but the two texts adverted to above have also been quoted by Vijñāneśvara. Both these commentators explain them by remarking that the prohibition in this case relates to the ascending of a separate pile, that is to say, a Brāhmaṇa woman shall not immolate herself with her husband on the same pile. And in support of their position they quote a text from Uśanas :¹ “ A Brāhmaṇa woman should not die by ascending a separate pile ”. It seems that from the 11th century onwards the *satī* rite became such a rage that even Brāhmaṇa widows were not spared, although they were originally exempted.

It may now be asked, when and how came this *satī* rite to be introduced and enforced in India? The evidence marshalled above shows that the custom was entirely non-existent in the early Hindu society. The Vedic practice was that of a widow marrying her dead husband's younger brother. In the *sūtra* period she was allowed to marry any near kinsman. The earliest *Dharma-sūtra* (Gautama) did not prescribe any ascetic practice, while the later (Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha) enjoined ascetic practices for a short period only. Later on, however, this asceticism alone remained and became life-long. This was the characteristic of the period between the 2nd century B. C. and the 4th century A. D.,

1. *Parāśura Samhitā, Prāyaścittakāṇḍam, verse 33.*

when the *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* were compiled. But there is absolutely no mention of the *satī* rite in any one of these works. Later on, however, we find this rite prescribed for a widow but only as an alternative to life-long asceticism. This is clear even from a superficial study of the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, which were compiled between the 5th and 9th centuries A. D. Soon after that Hindu society was completely revolutionised, and we find new *Smṛtis* and new commentaries holding up *satī* as the ideal for a widow in comparison with life-long asceticism. The latter is no doubt mentioned by them, but only just mentioned, and that incidentally. *Satī*, on the other hand was specially eulogised, and celestial felicity of the highest type was promised to the widow who immolated herself. In fact, she was believed to raise her dead husband even from hell and make him a part-dipant of her heavenly bliss. The period, however, between the 5th and 9th centuries was a period of transition. The practice of *satī* was, no doubt, gaining ascendancy; but authors and scholars were not wanting who condemned it. Such was Medhātithi, and we have already seen in what way exactly he has condemned it. He was, however, a scholiast and probably belonged to one school of law. This was not, however, the case with the poet Bāṇa, who flourished in the 7th century A. D. and was a protegé of Harṣavardhana, the supreme ruler of northern India. His views on the subject have been embodied in a characteristic passage of the *Kādambarī*,¹ which has already attracted attention in various quarters. The passage may be rendered as follows —

“This (practice), namely *anumarāṇa*, is utterly fruitless. This is a path followed by the illiterate, this is a manifestation of infatuation, this is a course of ignorance, this is an act of foolhardiness, this is short-sightedness, this is a stumbling through stupidity, viz., that life is put an end to when a parent, brother, friend or husband is dead. Life should not be ended if it does not leave (one) of itself. If the matter is (properly) considered, this suicide has, indeed, a selfish object, inasmuch as it is intended to arrest the unendurable pain of bereavement. But it brings no good

1. *Kādambarī*, edited by Kashinath Pandurang Parab (Nirnayasagara Press, 1890), *Pūrva Bhāga*, pp. 338-9.

whatsoever to the deceased. Certainly it is not a means of reviving him (i. e., the deceased), nor does it cause any augmentation of religious merit, nor is it a means to attain to a world of bliss, nor does it prevent falling into hell, nor is it a means of meeting (the deceased), nor does it lead to mutual communion. One (of these), not being master of himself, is carried to an altogether different world, acquired as a fruit of his KARMAN. This other (person) is merely conjoined with the sin of suicide. If the person survives, (he or she) can do much good to the deceased and to (himself or herself); but if the person dies, (he or she) can do good to neither."

The above is one of the most interesting passages in Sanskrit literature, and throws a flood of light upon the period when it was written. The first and foremost point that strikes us on reading it is that it was not merely *satī*, but general *anumarāṇa* that was prevalent in India when Bāṇa wrote. It is not merely the case of a woman following her dead husband as *satī* that we have to note here. But curiously enough we find that on the demise of a father, brother or friend, his sons or daughters, his brothers or sisters and his or her friends immolated themselves. Such a thing is unheard of, no instance of it being known from Indian literature, secular or sacred, prior to the time of Bāṇa. As we shall see later on, instances of this general *anumarāṇa* are by no means lacking in inscriptions and chronicles of later period. But it can be asserted without any fear of contradiction that such a custom was unknown to India before Bāṇa flourished.

The second point that engages our attention is that Bāṇa passes the same verdict on *satī* that has been passed by Medhātithi, viz., that it is an act of suicide. Thirdly Bāṇa asserts in the most unambiguous terms that this immolation does no good at all to the person concerned, because his destiny is already determined by his KARMAN while living on the earth.

It will be seen from the above resume that *satī* was mentioned for the first time in the *Viṣṇu-Smṛti*, which was compiled soon after the 5th century A. D. It may now be asked whether we have any epigraphic evidence shedding light on the subject.

Memorial stelæ have been found in numbers in Rājapūtānā, called *devī*. These are small stone uprights, sometimes sculptured with figures and engraved with an inscription. They were erected in commemoration of the women, mostly of the Rājput race, who became *sati*, as is made clear by the words engraved. Many such have been found at Ghatiyālā in Jodhpur State, the earliest of which is dated (V. S. 947 = A. D. 890) and records that there was a Rājput chief called Rāpuka whose wife Sampalla Devi followed him as *sati*.¹ Not far from Ghatiyālā is the village of Osia from which Jain Oswals are supposed to hail. This place is full of old memorial stones, the earliest of which is dated (V.S. 895 = 838 A.D.).² In fact, the whole of Rājapūtānā and Central India are full of such stelæ. The earliest of these, however, has been found at Eraṇ in the Sāgar district of the Central Provinces. It is a small pillar bearing an inscription. It is dated G. E. 191 = 510 A. D., and belongs to the reign of a Gupta prince called Bhānu Gupta. The inscription records that Bhānu Gupta had a chieftain named Goparāja, who came apparently to the place where the pillar was set up, and fought a battle in which he was killed, and that his wife cremated herself on his funeral pyre. We are thus on sure ground when we say that the practice of *sati* was coming into vogue about the beginning of the 6th century A. D.

There are, however, other features connected with the social revolution of this period that we shall now proceed to take into consideration. As we have just seen, Bāṇa has made a clear reference to various types of *anumarāṇa*, not merely of a widowed wife following her dead husband, but also relatives and friends following their dead relatives and friends. The annals of Kashmir set forth some interesting instances of *anumarāṇa* which show clearly how different was the custom from what it was in the Gupta period. In these singular instances, we find *anumarāṇa* practised not only by a wife or wives, but also by concubines, slaves of the

1. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of I., W. C., 1906-7*, p. 35, para 33; D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 39.

2. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of I., W. C., 1906-7*, p. 87, para 37.

10 [*Annals, B, O. R. I.*]

household, mother, nurse, man-servants, faithful friends and followers. So that the practice, as is evident from this chronicle, is the same as described or referred to by Bāṇa in the seventh century. But even in these a gradual change in the extent of the scope of the rite is to be noticed. The earliest of these occurs in the 10th century (902 A. D.), when on the death of king Śaṃkara-varman¹, his three queens, two maid-servants, and one male servant called Jayasimha burnt themselves on his death. The instance of *anumarāṇa* that is recorded next is the one that took place on the death of king Ananta² (1081 A. D.). After his death not only his queen, but two male servants, a litter-carrier, and a few female servants immolated themselves. The next instance of *anumarāṇa* that we notice is on the death of Kalaśa³ in 1089, when a concubine immolated herself along with the queens. Next comes the *anumarāṇa* of the queens of Malla⁴ (1089-1101). Here we see the sister-in-law of Malla, his two daughters-in-law, six female attendants, his mother and his nurse burning themselves, not with the body of Malla but in separate places. The first three of these evidently must have died to meet, not Malla, but his queen, in the next world. The last instance of *anumarāṇa* which we have to note occurred in the 12th century. Here we see only the four queens of Sussala⁵ following him on his death. This clearly indicates that the scope of *anumarāṇa* had gradually widened. Before Alexander's invasion of India *anumarāṇa* was co-extensive with *satī*, that is the self-immolation of a wife on the death of her husband. Not a single instance is known, from the Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain literatures, of relatives (other than wives), friends and dependants of the deceased burning themselves on funeral pyres or on separate piles. The story related by the Kashmir chronicle in the above account repeated itself down to a very recent period. We have only to turn to the narrative written by a German traveller called Honigberger, who

1. Kalhaṇa's *Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir*, Canto V, 226-7.

2. Ibid., Canto VII, 481.

3. Ibid., Canto VII, 724.

4. Ibid., Canto VII, 1486-94.

5. Ibid., Canto VIII, 1440.

was State physician to Mahārāja Ranjit Singh of the Panjab. Therein is preserved a graphic account of the *anumaraṇa* practised after the demise of this Indian ruler.

"The scene of this sad funeral where Maharajah Ranjit Singh was burned with his queens and slaves was a small garden attached to the fortress, where the body of the deceased Chief was brought on a board and placed on a huge pile. The queens of Maharajah came out of the Harem, surrounded by several of their attendants. The queens ascended the pile by means of a ladder amidst the chanting of sacred texts by the priests and the gentle beating of drums and sat at the head of the Chief. They were followed by the slaves of the household who sat at his feet. They were, then, covered with a thick mat over which oil was poured. The whole pyre was kindled in which the lives of all these people perished in a few moments".

The instances of *anumaraṇa* that we have been referred to already show that the custom existed at least in the north-western part of India. From the inscriptions published in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, it appears that it existed in the southern part of India also. Inscription No. 47 of the Honnai Taluq¹ records the death of the Kadamba ruler Tailapa, upon which his faithful follower and secretary, Bopanna, in accordance with the vow taken before the throne and "making good his word (given) for the occasion (*Vele vākyaṃ*)" sacrificed his life and "went to Svarga with Tailasa-deva". The incident is said to have occurred in 1130 A. D. A grant from the State seems to have been made to his family by the successor of the deceased as he had fulfilled his vow, from which it may be concluded that such public instances of self-sacrifice were rare, but were held in high esteem and hence encouraged by the authorities. Inscriptions Nos. 5 and 27 of 'Arkalgud Taluq² disclose the self-destruction of two persons on the death of their master, the Ganga king Nitimargga, who lived about 915 A. D. A faithful friend and follower, Rācheya by name, immolated himself by entering the fire. No 27 discloses that one

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. V.

Bābiyamma also entered the fire on the same occasion. This name seems to be that of a woman, perhaps his wife.

The inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* evidently refer to upright stones erected in honour of the departed, called *Viraśāsana* or *Vira-kal*. The sculpture on the pillars generally represented the deities worshipped by a particular family. Sometimes the persons who destroyed themselves in this heroic way were also depicted on the stones. This is evident from the following quotations referring to the pillar bearing inscription No. 112 of the Belur Taluq: "And on the pillar they became united with Laksmī and with Garuda¹". "The sculptures on the pillar point unmistakably to suicide, being all figures of men with swords cutting off their own arms and legs, and even their heads".² These sculptures disclose some striking instances of self-destruction where great heroism and strength of mind were displayed. The inscription³, which is dated 1220 A. D., states that on the death of king Ballāla, his minister and general, prince Kuvāra Lakṣma, who had been brought up by the king as his own son and was on intimate terms with him, destroyed himself at his death along with his wife Suggalā Devī. It can be conjectured from the description engraved on the pillar that the couple mounted the *Viraśāsana* and cut their bodies limb by limb and thus immolated themselves. Inscriptions Nos. 9 and 10 of the Kṛṣṇarājpet Taluq⁴ describe a similar act of self-immolation, where greater valour was displayed at the time of death. Here we find not only one or two persons immolating themselves, but a long train of faithful followers, comprising men and women, cutting their limbs and heads and mounted on the back of an elephant. The sculpture represents the self-destruction of the line of Nāyaka servants who were under some hereditary engagement to the Hoysalas. The record runs thus:— "Śivaneya Nāyaka with five of his servants, fulfilled his engagement (or vow) with Ballāla Deva." Lakkeya Nāyaka, with his wife Gaṅgā Devī and three servants,

1. Ibid., Vol. V. Belur No. 112.

2. Ibid., Vol. V. Introduction, p. xxiii.

3. Ibid., Vol. V.

4. Ibid., Vol. IV.

fulfilled his engagement with Narasinga, son of Ballala. In the Śaka year (specified = 1257 A. D.) Kanneya-Nāyaka with his wives Ummavve, Javanavve, and Kallavve, and with ten maid-servants and twenty-one men-servants, six times embraced Garuḍa on (or from) the head of an elephant and fulfilled his engagement with Someśvara-Deva (son of Narasinga.)" In the Śaka year (specified) Siṅgeya-Nāyaka, the son of Kanneya-Nāyaka, with his wives Ketavve, Honnavve, Nachavve, and with ten maid-servants and twenty man-servants, on (or from) the head of an elephant six times embraced Garuḍa and fulfilled his engagement with Narasimha -Deva." Inscription No. 146 of the Kadur Taluq,¹ which records the death of Bammarasa on the battle-field in 1180 A. D., also describes the death of his follower Bammaya Nāyaka, who did it to win fame. A *vīra-kal* is said to have been erected to his memory by his son Hariyama Nāyaka.

The incidents quoted above refer to the death of a follower or a whole retinue on the death of a ruling chief or master. But Inscription No. 149 of Shikarpur Taluq,² dated 1185 A. D., describes the self-destruction of a man called Boka on the death of Lachchala Devī, the senior queen of the Cālukya king Someśvara Deva. The inscription describes the vow taken previously by Boka: "..... fulfilling the vow he had previously uttered, saying 'I will die with the Devī', he died." The description of his death shows that he cut off his head with his own hands: "On the master calling him, saying, 'you are the brave man who with resolution has spoken of taking off your head', with no light courage Boka gave his head, while the world applauded saying, 'He did so at the very instant.'"

In all these instances it is explicit that a vow was taken previously, by the person or persons who immolated themselves and that it was fulfilled in all seriousness when the time came. The following account of a custom prevalent in India in the 11th century, found in Elliot's *History of India*,³ points to a similar custom :—

1. Ibid., Vol. VI.

2. Ibid., Vol. VII.

3. Elliot's *History of India*, I, 9.

"Some of the kings of India, when they ascend the throne have a quantity of rice cooked and served on banana leaves. Attached to the king's person are three or four hundred companions, who have joined him of their own free will without compulsion. When the king has eaten some of the rice, he gives it to his companions. Each in his turn approaches, takes a small quantity and eats it. All those who so eat the rice are obliged, when the king dies, or is slain, to burn themselves on the very day of the king's decease. This is a duty which admits of no delay, and not a vestige of these men ought to be left."

From the above instances it is clear that the *anumirana* prevalent in southern India is of a somewhat different type from the one prevalent in Kāshmir. In the former we see that an oath of allegiance was previously taken by the officers of the king or the ruler, according to which these persons had to immolate themselves. It was looked upon as a feat of chivalry in which great valour and strength of mind were displayed at their death. Sometimes a single individual immolated himself, and sometimes a whole retinue of men and women. Another noteworthy point about these is that the persons who immolated themselves were not related by any ties of blood, but by an oath of allegiance, whereas in the case of the Kāshmir Chronicle it was mostly the relatives who burnt themselves on the death of the chief, and if anyone not related to him died, it was not in accordance with any oath of allegiance taken solemnly before the king, but as a token of affection. Another feature common to both is the strong faith in life after death. It was the firm conviction that union with the deceased would be the certain result if they could discard the life here, that prompted them to self-immolation. In the Kāshmir Chronicle, queen Sūryamati's oath before she entered the flames corroborates this :—⁴

"In order to put a stop to the slanderous rumours which had grown up with regard to Haladhara's position as her confidant, she, the Sati, took an oath in proper form, pledging (her happiness in a) future life."

1. Kalhaṇa's *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Canto VII, 477.

Another striking point of resemblance is the similarity of the words *velā-vitta* and *velā-vākyam*. *Velā-vitta* is the word used for an officer of a king in the Kashmir Chronicle. In some instances we see the *velā-vitta* immolating himself at the death of his master. Jayasimha,¹ in the above instances, was one of this type. But there are references to *velā-vittas*² where they are not found killing themselves. When King Yaśaskara³ died, queen Trilokyadevi burnt herself and among the retinue who proved treacherous to the king is mentioned a *velā-vitta*. He is referred to along with the friends, relatives and servants of the king. A *velā-vitta* in favour with Queen Diddā, who was the ruler of her state for sometime, is mentioned in VI, 324.⁴ From these instances it is clear that the self-immolation of such a *velā-vitta* was optional, but it is not certain whether he had to take any oath beforehand; whereas *velā vākyam*, as has been stated above, meant the oath of allegiance taken before the throne. The two terms seem to be connected, but what the exact connection was, it is difficult to determine.

In the records of Southern India there is one striking instance of *anumāraṇa* which is uncommon to the soil of India. Usually, it was on the death of a man that a man or a woman immolated himself or herself. But it has never been recorded, at least in the case of Northern India, that anybody died on the death of a woman.⁵ Unlike this, in the records of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, is found an instance where an officer immolated himself on the death of a queen in accordance with the oath of allegiance taken previously, and his family was rewarded by her husband, the king, and the State.

1. Ibid., Canto V, 226.

2. Ibid., Canto VI, 73, 106, 127.

3. Ibid., Canto VI, 107.

4. Ibid., VI, 324.

5. In the *Arabian Nights* there is an instance of *anumāraṇa*, which is the reverse of what was in vogue in India. It is the case of the burial of a husband with his dead wife.

The two sets of instances recorded above happened about the same period in India, though in different parts of the country. There does not seem to be any sufficiently long interval of time between them to think that one was the gradual development of the other.

It is curious to note that among the Japanese a similar custom of self-immolation prevails. It is called the *harakiri*. By it is meant that a person killed himself in token of his loyalty to his master. It is attended by a ceremony. The underlying idea is the belief that he will be united with his master in the next world. Here, too, the person does not enter the fire but cuts his belly open in a certain fashion. The similarity is so striking that it is not improbable that this custom had its origin in Central Asia among the Mongolian tribes and was later on brought to India, where it developed in different parts of the country in different ways.

THE TWO BHĀGAVATAS

BY

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M. A.

It is well known that of the two Purāṇas - Devi Bhāgavata and Śrī Bhāgavata, the Śāktas and Vaiṣṇavas claim that their own sectarian work is the real Mahāpurāṇa composed by Vyāsa and the other is a mere Upapurāṇa. In his Introduction to the Devi-Bhāgavata, Nilakaṇṭha asserts that the authority of the Mātsya and Śaiva Purāṇas is in favour of the priority of Devi Bhāgavata. He quotes the following verses in support.

Bhagavatyaś ca Durgāyāś caritam yatra vidyate ।

Tattu Bhāgavatam prōktam na tu Devipurāṇakam ॥

(Śaive-Madhyeśvara mātmye)

Here Devipurāṇaka means the Upapurāṇa Kālikā Purāṇa.
yadidam Kālikākhyam tanmūlam Bhāgavatam smṛtam
(Hemādrau)

The chief characteristics of Bhāgavata are these enumerated in the Mātsya :—

यत्राधिकृत्य गायत्रीं वर्ण्यते धर्मविस्तरः ।

वृत्रासुरवधोपेतं तद्भागवतमिष्यते ॥

सारस्वतस्य कल्पस्य मध्ये ये स्युरारामराः ।

तद्वृत्तान्तोद्भवं लोके तद्भागवतमिष्यते ॥

Purāṇāntare -- हयग्रीवब्रह्मविद्या यत्र वृत्रवधस्तथा ।

गायत्र्या च समारम्भस्तद्दे भागवतं विदुः ॥

Thus the Bhāgavata is that work which commences with Gāyatri and deals extensively with Dharma, and the story of the killing of Vṛtra, in the Sārasvata kalpa, and Hayagrīva Brahma-vidyā. All these are only applicable to the Devi Bhāgavata which begins with this *mantra*.

सर्वचैतन्यरूपां तामायां विद्यां च धीमाहि ।

बुद्धिं या नः प्रचोदयात् ॥

It is true that the first verse of Śrī Bhāgavata beginning—“Janmā-dyasya yatōnvāyāditarataḥ” is explained as referring to Gāyatrī but the verse is not in Tripād Chandas and nowhere else in the whole of Śrī Bhāgavata do we find an extensive explanation of Gāyatrī. In the D. Bh.° on the other hand, two whole skandhas (x and xi) are devoted for the exposition of Gāyatrī and Dharma.

It is claimed that the Śrī Bh.° also deals with the story of Vṛtra but therein it is said that Citraketu a Vaiṣṇava, was cursed by Pārvatī and was born as Vṛtra. The story in the D. Bh. (VI-4-15) however is nearer to the original Vedic story of Trisiras and Tvastr. (Rg. I. 85-9.); also in the Taittirīya Samhitā (II. 5-I.)

“विश्वरूपो वै त्वाष्ट्रः पुरोहितो देवानामासीत् । स्वस्त्रीयः असुराणां ।

तस्य त्रीणि शीर्षाणि आसन्—सोमपानम् सुरापानम् अन्नादनम्” etc.

As regards the Hayagrīva story, the Śrī. Bh.° (V. Skandha) refers to it but does not account for the fact of Viṣṇu possessing a horse's head, and it is not a Vidyā sacred to a Goddess. The severing of Viṣṇu's head by gnawing away the string by *pipīlikās* as depicted in the D. Bh.°, is an improvement on the story of Makha. The Śatapatha and Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇas (Ś. Br. xiv-1-1. 7 to 10; and Pa. Br. VII-5-6) assert that Makha's head being severed, flew up with the sound “Ghrāñ” and became either the *Gharma* or the sun's disk. The D. Bh.° goes further and transplants a horse's head on the trunk of Viṣṇu.

The contention that only the Vaiṣṇavapurāṇas are *Sāttvika* and the rest *Tāmasa* is of little value, as Śaiva purāṇas, ten in number, claim that they alone are *Sāttvika*. Further in the Śrī. Bh.° itself it is said that Vyāsa having failed to obtain peace of mind after composing the 17 purāṇas and the Mahābhārata composed the Bhāgavata at the instruction of Nārada. Thus in the Mātsya —

अष्टादशपुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुतः ।

भारताख्यानमखिलं चक्रे तदुपबृंहणम् ॥

And Pādme — वेदान्तानि च वेदाश्च मन्त्रास्तन्त्राणि संहिताः ।

दश सप्त पुराणानि षड्छास्त्राणि समाययुः

दश सप्त पुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुतः ।

नामवान्मनसा तोषं भारतेनापि भामिनि ॥

चकार संहितामेतां श्रीमद्भागवतीं पराम् ।

Here only seventeen Purāṇas are mentioned before Bhārata. But the Mārkaṇḍeya - one of the eighteen is said to have been composed after the Bhārata. Krauṣṭuki, dissatisfied with the Bhārata, came to Mārkaṇḍeya and heard the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa :--

तदिदं भारताख्यानं बह्वथ श्रुतिवस्तरम् ।
तन्वतो ज्ञातुकामोऽहम् भगवन्तमुपास्थितः ॥ etc.

finally in the Devī Bhāgavata --

तत्र भागवतं पुण्यं पञ्चमं वेदसंमितम् ।
कथितं यत्त्वया पूर्वं सर्वलक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ (I-2-16).

The commentator explains that the Devī Bhāgavata, the fifth *Mahā-purāṇa* was composed after Brāhma, Pādma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva purāṇas. Hence the Devī Bhāgavata alone is the genuine Mahā-purāṇa and not the other.

Thus the Śāktas. From the critical view-point it must be admitted that the main bulk of the Devī Bhāgavata is very old. Pāṇini mentions the Śaiva Bhāgavatas who carried a triśūla (V-2-76.). The Tāntrikas claim that Śrī vidyā etc. are taught in the Vedic mantras themselves. Kauṭilya mentions the Goddess Caṇḍa-vāṭa who protected the crops and resided in seeds and wealth. She is probably the same as Śākambharī (whose shrine near Bādāmi is famous). If the commentaries of Mādhva and Nimbārka can be relied on, the Brahma Sūtras (II-2-42) criticise not the Pāñcarātra system but the Śākta cult, though Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja take the last prakaraṇa as referring to the Pāñcarātras. The Bhagavati cult in the Kerala country is of great antiquity, going back to the first century of the Christian Era. But it is to be noted that in the D. Bh.° no Kerala shrine in particular is mentioned. In fact, great prominence is given to Kāśī and Kāmākhya. The Durgā worship is said to have been started at Kāśī by Subāhu and thence spread all over India.

सुबाहुरपि काश्यां तु दुर्गायाः प्रतिमां शुभाम् कारयित्वा ॥
सर्वत्र भारते लोके सर्ववर्णेषु सर्वथा ।
भजनिया भवानी तु सर्वेषामभयदाता ॥

In the Vedic period, Kuru Pāñcāla was the sacred land and evidently Kāśī and Kosala along with Magadha was outside the

pale and probabaly the Avaidika Śaiva and Śākta cults prevailed there. The Śākyas before Buddha seem to have worshipped some Śākta Goddesses like Abhayā, Rāma devatā, Śṛṅgātaka devatā, Nityānu buddha, etc.¹ Kāmākhyā is also spoken of as highly sacred to the Goddess in the D. Bh. (vii-38.) Though many southern shrines of the Devī are mentioned, yet the author seems to have been a northerner, even as the composer of Śrī Bh° was a Drāviḍa.

Coming to the text of the D. Bh.° we come across quotations from Manu, the Gītā etc.² Of greater interest is the mention of Yājñavalkya as the author of a Dharma Śāstra.

याज्ञवल्क्यादयः सर्वे धर्मशास्त्रप्रवर्तकाः ।

भवितव्यं भवत्येव यथेवं निश्चयः प्रभोः ॥ IV--21-12.

Similiarly the works of Kaṇāda, Gautama, Kaṇva, Pāṇini, Śākataīyana, Kātyāyana, Śātātapa, Saṁvarta, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara (IX-4-25) are also mentioned. Hence it is clear that D. Bh.° cannot have been earlier than Yājñavalkya smṛti which mentions the *nāṇaka*³ and was probabaly composed in the 3rd century A. D. About the other Smṛtikāras nothing is definitely known and their date cannot be fixed with certainty.

The D. Bh.° shows considerable knowledge of Advaita and employs such terms as *pañcīkaraṇa*, *prāgubhāva*, *pradhvaṁsūbhāva*, etc. (III-6-27 ; III-7-43). But this does not necessarily mean that the work is later than Śaṁkara for nowhere it is said that Śaṁkara invented these terms anew. In the 9th Skandha (ix-4-25) the mode of worshipping the Goddess is said to have been taken from Kaṇva Śākhā. The commentator explains that it is not to be found in the current Kaṇva Śākhā and has been lost. Similarly in the Rudrayāmala and other works, Vasiṣṭha is said to have worshipped Buddheśvarī according to the Atharvaveda.

1. Avadāna Śataka I. p. 195 and Mahāvastu.

2. E. G. III-12-63 etc.

3. Kane, History of Dharma Śāstra, Vol. I.

Śākhā at Kāmākhyā. Also Kauthumōkta Haristuti is mentioned (D. Bh. IX-11.)

The D. Bh.^o mentions the following Mleccha tribes as occupying the Ganges valley.

गङ्गातीरे हि सर्वत्र वसन्ति नगराणि च
 ब्रजाश्चैवाकरा ग्रामाः सर्वे खेटास्तथापरे ॥
 निषादानां निवासाश्च कैवर्तानां तथापरे ।
 हूणवङ्गखसानां च म्लेच्छानां दैत्यसत्तम ॥
 पिबन्ति सर्वदा गाङ्गं जलं ब्रह्मोपमं सदा ।
 स्नानं कुर्वन्ति दैत्येन्द्र त्रिकालं स्वेच्छया जनाः ॥ (IV-8-28)

The mention of the Hūṇas on the banks of the Ganges indicates a later date than Skanda Gupta though not necessarily after the Muhammadan conquest. The sixth century probably saw the composition of the Devī Bhāgavata and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas. The original portion of the Śrī Bhāgavata seems to have been composed at a slightly later date in the sixth century, though Wilson and Grierson ascribe it to the 13th, Pargiter to the 9th, C. V. Vaidya to the 10th centuries. Vincent Smith held, that the Agni, Bhāgavata Mārkaṇḍeya and portions of Skanda were current even in the 7th century. Abhinava Gupta in his Gītā-bhāṣya quotes from the Śrī Bhāgavata. Pargiter ascribes the Mārkaṇḍeya to the sixth century, and it seems to us that the Devī-māhātmya contained therein, is drawn from the Devī Bhāgavata. The familiar verse

सर्वमङ्गलमाङ्गल्ये शिवे सर्वार्थसाधके ।
 शरण्ये त्र्यम्बके देवि नारायणि नमोस्तुते ॥

occurring both in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (ch. 91. 3. 9. Devī-māhātmya x-v. 81-93) and in the Devī Bhāgavata (VIII-I-28) is reproduced in the Dadhimatī inscription of Druhlapa, dated G. E. 289 (A. D. 608.). The Goddess Dadhimatī is herself the Durgā whose figure was immersed in *dadhi* (curds) and worshipped according to the D. Bh.^o

The localities where the Devī was worshipped are mentioned in Skandha VII and the list of considerable interest. The places are :—

Vāraṇasī	Varāhaśaila	Vipulā
Naimiṣā	Kamalālaya	Malayācala
Gandhamādāna	Rudrakōṭī	Sahyādri
Mānasa	Kālāñjara	Hariścandra
Viśvakāma	Śālagrāma	Rāmatirtha
Gōmanta	Śivaliṅga	Yamunā
Caitraratha	Mahāliṅga	Kōṭṭirtha
Hastināpura	Mākōta	Mādhavavana
Kanyakubjā	Māyāpuri	Gōdāvari
Malayā	Samtāna	Gangādvāra
Ekāmravira	Gayā	Śivakūṇḍa
Viśvā	Puruṣōttama	R. Devikā
Puṣkara	Sahasrākṣa	Dvāravati
Kedāra	Hiranyākṣa	Vrṇḍavana
Hemavat	Vipāśā	Citrakūṭa
Gōkarṇa	Puṇḍravardhana	Vindhya
Sthāneśvara	Supārśva	Karavira
Bilvaka	Pinḍāraka	Vināyaka
Mahākāla	Acchōda	Vaidyanātha
Uṣṇatirtha	Veṇā	Nepāla
Māṇḍavya	Hemakūṭa	Cidambara
Maheśvarapuri	Kōlāpura	Vedāranya
Chhagalāṇḍa	Mātuḥpura	Ekāmbara
Amarakaṇṭaka	Tulajapura	Cina
Prabhāsa	Kāñci	(Vaidyanātha)
Sarasvatī	Bhīmā	Kāmākhyā
Kiṣkindha	Vimalā	Caṇḍamunḍisthāna
Kapālamōcana	Śrī Candralā	Nākula
Kāyāvarōhana	Nīla Parvata	Kanakhala
Śrīśaila	Śrinagara	Kuraṇḍala
Bhadreśvara	Trikūṭa	Gayā

Other countries¹ mentioned are — Karuṣa, Madra, Sindhu, Māhismatī, Pāñcāla, Parvatīya, Kāmarūpa, Karnāṭa, Cōla,

1. For a list of place-names in the Śrī Bh. see I. A. 1887.

Vaidarbha and Kerala; (III. 19. 46 ff.). Mountains - Malaya, Maṅgala p̄astha, Maināka, Citrakūṭa, R̄ṣabha, Kuṭaka, Kolla, Sahya, Devagiri, R̄ṣyamūka, Śrīśaila, Vyāṅkata, (Sic), Mahendra, Gōvārdhana, Nilaparvata, Drōṇa, Citrakūṭa, Indrakīla and Kāmagiri - all these are in the south of the Vindhya. Rivers - Tāmraparṇī, Candravaśā, Kṛtamālā, Vatōdakā, Vaihāyāsī, Kāverī, Veṇā, Payasvini, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kṛṣṇaveṇā, and Gōdāvarī - also in the South. (VIII-11-8 ff). Also Puṇyabhadrā, Sarasvatī, Gomatī, (IX-22-16). Pañcadīpas are Kāśī, Kedāra, Mahākāla, Nāsika and Tryambaka (XI-16.). The Lōkālōka mountain range is supposed to surround the world.

Of these names several are very interesting. Karavira or Kolā refers to Kolhapur where Mahālakṣmī resides. It was 'Suratha's capital and was destroyed by Mlecchas who were dwelling in the forests (parvatavāsinah, v. 32-5). The Goddess at Mākoṭa was Makuṭeśvarī. The Makuṭeśvara Nātha temple at Mahākūṭa near Bādāmi was a very old even in the days of Maṅgalīśa, who at the request of Durlabhādevī made some grants to the God and rennovated the temple. The Devī at Śrīśaila is called Mādhavī, though now she is called Bhramarāmbā. But the story of Bhramarā is also given in the D. Bh. (x. 13-99) At Kāñcī she is said to be Annapūrṇā (not Kāmākṣī) and at Cidambara (not Madurā) Mīnākṣī.

The author of the D. Bh. mentions several Goddesses of the Mahāyāna pantheon. He especially mentions the Cīnamārga

दृश्यन्ते वैष्णवाः केचित् गाणपत्यास्तथापरे ।

कापालिकाश्चैव नमोऽर्चिता बलकलधारिणः ॥

दिग्म्बरास्तथाबौद्धाश्चावार्का एवमादयः ।

Also — तथा नीलसरस्वत्याः स्थानं चोनेषु विश्रुतम् (VII-38-13).

• Similarly Chinnamastā, Ugratārā (a Tārā at Kiśkindhā), Guhya Kālī in Nepal, are said to be the manifestations of the Devī.

• The following different sects are described — Vāma, Kāpālīka, Kaulaka, Bhairavāgama, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śaura, Śākta, Gāṇa-

patya, Pāsupata, Digambaras, Saugatas, Cārvāka, Pāñcarātra, Vaikhāṇasa etc. (xi-1-30 ; xii-9-66ff ; vi-12-54 ; vii-39-27 etc.'). Gaṇapati is also called Heramba and Gajavaktrā and is the full manifestation of Kṛṣṇa while Skanda is an *aṁśa* of Viṣṇu.

Gaṇeśasca svayam Kṛṣṇaḥ Skando Viṣṇukulodbhavaḥ (ix-3-48) Gaṅgā is said to have sprung from the couple Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Gōlōka and went back to heaven when five thousand years of Kali had elapsed (ix-12-18). Ūrdhva puṇḍra, the worship of Śālagrāma, Tulasi and Rādhā are strictly enjoined on Vaiṣṇavas but tapta cakraṅkana is condemned. Since Śaṅkara in his *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* mentions Hari as residing in the śālagrāma, the worship of the stones from the Gaṇḍakī is older than the sixth century. Similarly the worship of Rādhā, though nowhere mentioned in the Śrī. Bh.° or in Rāmānuja's works, could not have come into existence at once in the time of Nimbārka and Jayadeva of the *Gīta-Gōvinda*. It is indeed remarkable that fasting on the Ekādaśī day, worship of Tulasi and Śāligrāma and Śaṅkha which hold such a high place in Vaiṣṇava worship are not at all mentioned in the Śrī Bhāgavata. The D. Bh.° similarly advocates the wearing of Rudrākṣa, and Bhasma, and fasting on the Śivarātri day for the Śaivas. (D. Bh. xi. and xii). The worship of Śakti in one of her five forms Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Durgā, Rādhā and Sāvitrī, is the duty of every one (D. Bh. IX-1-1.) as also the fasting on Kṛṣṇajanmāṣṭamī, Rāmanavamī, Śivarātri and Sundays (IX-34-46.).

The D. Bh.° mentions week-days and asterisms beginning with Aśvinī and hence should be placed soon after Varāhamihira. As against the importance of Śvetadvīpa described in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, we have in the D. Bh.° a description of Maṇidvīpa from which the devotees of the Goddess do not return to the mortal world while those who go to Śvetadvīpa and Śivalōka are born again in Bhārata varṣa. (IX-29-35). The non-mention of the kings of the Gupta, Abhira and other dynasties in the chapter dealing with the genealogies of the Solar and Lunar lines in the D. Bh.° is in favour of the antiquity of this Purāṇa, while on the other hand the Śrī Bh.° has a chapter which is probably a later interpolation.

As regards interpolations in the D. Bh.^o Nilakantha at the end of his commentary mentions several verses which are Adhika.

To sum up, as between the two Bhāgavatas, the evidence seems to be in favour of the D. Bh.^o slightly anterior to the Śrī Bh.^o the latter being an Upapurāṇa (D. Bh. I. 3.), though it is not possible to place the work in its present form, before Mātsya which mentions the chief characteristics of the Bhāgavata, Matsya Purāṇas. The Śrī Bh.^o in the last skandha says that a Mahāpurāṇa should have ten chief characteristics while an upapurāṇa has only five. Amara does not seem to be aware of this distinction as he mentions only *pañca lakṣaṇas*, and possibly the Vaiṣṇavaṣ thus tried to exalt their own work on the expense of the earlier D. Bh.^o The Yōgamāyā episode mentioned in the Harivamśa (ch. 58) and in the Śrī Bh.^o (skandha X) seems to be an attempt to pay difference to the Devī cult which had already obtained a strong hold over the people especially over the Ābhīras, Śābaras Kirātas, etc. Any how it is quite clear that in the 9th century, the Bhagavati cult had spread far and wide, as among the Pratiharaṣ of Kanauj Nāgabhaṭa and Śrī Bhōja I are said to have been *parama Bhagavati bhaktas*.¹ Thus it will be doing no violence to ascertained facts, if the composition of the main body of the Devī Bhāgavata is ascribed to the sixth century and the Śrī Bhāgavata to a slightly later date.

• 1. I. A. XV, pp. 140-141.

MISCELLANEA

LITERARY NOTES

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THE SĀNDHIVIGRAHIKA CRITICISED BY ŚRĪ VIDYĀCAKRAVARTIN

Śrī Vidyācakravartin, in his Brhattīkā called the Sampradāya Prakāśinī¹, on the Kāvya Prakāśa of Mammata refers to and criticises very strongly one Sāndhivigrahika six times.

1. Part I, p. 7. The Sāndhivigrahika interpreted the word 'Niyati' in the Maṅgala Śloka of Mammata as Karma and Vidyācakravartin who takes the word as नियामिका शक्तिः, criticises the Sāndhivigrahika that he would not have taken that word as Karma if he had only looked carefully at Mammata's own Vṛtti.

2. P. 12. The concluding words of Mammata's Vṛtti on his own Kārikā II, chap. I, viz. 'इति सर्वथा तत्र यतनीयम्' are taken by the Sāndhivigrahika as going not with the rest of the Vṛtti on Kārikā two but as going with the coming Kārikā. This, Vidyācakravartin criticises as being against exegetic rules.

3. Part II, p. 4. In the beginning of chapter six Mammata quotes the three verses of Bhāmaha beginning with रूपकादिमलंकारं बाह्यमाचक्षते परे. Vidyācakravartin says that the Sāndhivigrahika, unable to make out the correct meaning of these three Kārikās, ran away from them.

एतादृश कारिकास्वर्थं परिच्छेत्तुमपारयन् ।

पदे पदे पलायिष्ट सान्धिविग्रहिकः स्खलन् ॥

4. P. 289. The Sandhivigrahika is here accused of not having understood Mammata's definition of the Apahnuti Alamkāra. Vidyācakravartin adds that, not only in many such individual cases, but in the whole of the tenth Ullāsa generally, the Sandhivigrahika's interpretations are not correct and must not be taken as authoritative.

"नायं विशेषः सान्धिविग्रहिकेन चेति । एवमादिष्वलंकारेषु विशेषतः, सामान्यत-
स्त्वापरिसमाप्तेः दशमोल्लासे स न प्रमाणं । किं बहुना,

सन्त्येष तत्र तत्र स्वलितानि बहूनि सान्धिविग्रहिके ।

तदपि न दृष्टोऽस्माभिः स हवायतनेषु काव्यमीमांसुः ॥

सेयमलंकारमीमांसासूक्ष्मेक्षिका तेषामेव गोचरः, येरेव अलंकारसर्वस्वं सुपरिशील्य
विशेषाय काव्यप्रकाशहृदयं निर्जातं । अतस्सर्वस्वसंजीविन्यां अभिरतेः संप्रदायप्रकाशि-
न्यां भूयो भूयो अभिरन्तव्यं सचेतोभिः ॥"

5. P. 339. Mammata defines Svabhāvokti as the description of actions or appearance of children etc. which are by nature theirs - स्वक्रियारूपवर्णनं. The description of an action attributed to them by the fancy of the Poets - आरोपित - will not be Svabhāvokti. While thus explaining the significance of the word 'Svā' in Mammata's definition, Vidyācakravartin finds fault with the Sandhivigrahika for not understanding the import of 'Svā' and for giving, consequently, a wrong illustration.

'अत्र स्वक्रियारूपेति स्वशब्दार्थमचेतयमानेन सान्धिविग्रहिकेन
'धूली + डिम्भाः' इत्येतद् समारोपितक्रियारूपतया प्रत्युदाहरणमेव
उदाहरणत्वेन यद्वर्णितं तदुपहासमपि नार्हति ।'

6. P. 348. Concluding his commentary on the section on the Bhāvikālamkāra Vidyācakravartin says —

काव्यप्रकाशसूत्राणां व्याख्यादुद्ध्या विरोधिनः ।

लिखिता रुचकग्रन्थाः सान्धिविग्रहिकेन चिक् ॥

• The Bhāvika changed in the hands of Mammata slightly from what it was in Bhāmaha and Udbhata. Things attained the quality of 'प्रत्यक्षायमानत्वं' which they did not have originally, by virtue of the poet's descriptive excellences called शब्दानाकुलता etc. This is Bhāvika according to Bhāmaha and Udbhata. But there are also descriptions by poets of things which have by nature the quality

of प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं. These also, like cases of Svabhāvokti, were taken by Mammaṭa into the fold of Alamkāra first and then into the scope of the Bhāvika. So, to embrace both varieties viz. वर्णनया प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं and प्रत्यक्षायमाणस्यैव वर्णनं, Mammaṭa cast off the adjuncts giving the means शब्दानाकुलता etc. and gave a wider definition of Bhāvika :

प्रत्यक्षा इव यत्रार्थाः क्रियन्ते सूतभाविनः ।

Ruyyaka, in his A. S. first follows the old writers Bhāmaha and Udbhata, taking the first variety only as Bhāvika. For, to become an Alamkāra, a thing must have some new beauty created in it by the poet's powers. Things of the past and future do not have the quality of being vivid to us now but that quality is infused in them by certain excellences possessed by the descriptive powers of the poet. So this first variety only can be called an Alamkāra. But, in the end, Ruyyaka comes to the second variety and says that that also can be taken as Alamkāra (i.e. as Bhāvikālamkāra) even as Svabhāvokti is taken as an Alamkāra. Ruyyaka here refers to and quotes Mammaṭa's definition of the Bhāvika and reconciles the position of Mammaṭa to that of Bhāmaha and Udbhata. ¹ Not realising these subtleties, and taking that Ruyyaka, like Bhāmaha and Udbhata, recognises only the first variety as Bhāvika, the Sāndhivigrahika in his commentary on the Bhāvika of Mammaṭa, has pointed out that Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka do not agree. Vide pp. 346-348. T. S. S. K. Pra. and pp. 182-3 Sarvasva. N. S. edn.

These are the six references to the Sāndhivigrahika in Vidyā Cakravartin's commentary on the K. Pra. From the sixth reference above given we definitely see that the Sāndhivigrahika is a commentator on Mammaṭa. From the fourth reference given above, we come to know that the Sāndhivigrahika was a contemporary of Vidyā Cakravartin and that in his days, he was considered as the greatest Ālamkārika. But Vidyā Cakravartin treats with contempt his interpretations. Now, who is this Sāndhivigrahika who is all throughout referred to only by this title of his, evidently for sarcasm, and not even once by his name ?

1. I have dealt with this Bhāvika and its history in a separate paper which will be published in the J. O. R. Madras.

Vidyā Cakravartin at the beginning of his commentary called *Samjivini* on the *Alamkāra Sarvasva*, which he mentions in the fourth reference given above, says —

• अकृत यदलंकृतीनां सर्वस्वं सान्धिविग्रही तस्य । etc.

• From this we learn that Ruyyaka was called also as *Sāndhivigrahika*. But one must not be misled into taking the *Sāndhivigrahika* criticised by Vidyā Cakravartin in his commentary on the *K. Pra.* as Ruyyaka. The fourth and the sixth references mention Ruyyaka, the author of *A. S.* separately as different from the writer who is called *Sāndhivigrahika*. It is said that the *Sāndhivigrahika* must have read more carefully Ruyyaka's work before he came to the *K. Pra.* Further, Vidyā Cakravartin came long after Ruyyaka and the *Sāndhivigrahika* was his contemporary. As the fourth reference shows Vidyā Cakravartin has the greatest respect for Ruyyaka and his work. He wrote a commentary on the *A. S.* of Ruyyaka or Rucaka called the *Samjivini*. I went through this *A. S. Samjivini*¹ and could not come across a single antagonistic line. No doubt Ruyyaka was a *Sāndhivigrahika* but he that is criticised in the *Sampradāya Prakāśini* is different. It shall be proved now that he is none-else than Viśvanātha, the author of the very well-known *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*.

Firstly, did Viśvanātha have the title '*Sāndhivigrahika*'? He had. Viśvanātha was born in a family of great scholars in Orissa and his ancestors held high offices under the king of Kalinga. His father, Candrasekhara, was chief minister, *Mahāmātra* or *Mahāpātra* and *Sāndhivigrahika*, minister for peace and war at the court of the king of Kalinga. So also Viśvanātha. (Vide P. V. Kane's Intro. to *S. D.* p. cxxii) Viśvanātha had the titles of *Mahāpātra* and *Sāndhivigrahika* as we see from the colophons to chapters 1 and 10 of his *S. D.*

• Secondly, Viśvanātha wrote a commentary on the *K. Pra.* Vide *Vāmanācārya's K. Pra. Intro.* p. 25. Also P. V. Kane's Intro. to *S. D.* pp. cxxi-cxxii. The commentary is called *Kāvya Prakāśa Darpaṇa* and it was the last work of Viśvanātha.

1. Ms. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library.

Coming to Vidyā Cakravartin's criticisms, — we can confirm our conclusion by an examination of the S. D. on the subjects figuring in these criticisms. In the fifth reference given above, Vidyā Cakravartin says that Viśvanātha did not understand Mammata's definition of Svabhāvokti and illustrated it incorrectly. This criticism is incorrect and it is Vidyā Cakravartin who has not sufficiently understood Viśvanātha. The illustration for Svabhāvokti said to be given by Viśvanātha is *धुलीधूसरतनवः* etc. a verse on children. It is Rudraṭa's own illustrative verse for Svabhāvokti. We cannot understand how such a beautiful portrayal of this natural sport of children can be called *Āropita* and thus not an instance of Svabhāvokti. Nor is it a fact that Viśvanātha does not emphasise the word 'Sva' in *स्वक्रियारूप*, for we see in his S. D. —

स्वभावोक्तिर्द्रुहार्थस्वक्रियारूपवर्णनम् ।

The sixth reference in the section on Bhāvika however very definitely helps us in our conclusion that the *Sāndhivigraha* is only Viśvanātha. Vidyā Cakravartin here says that Viśvanātha pointed out some discrepancy between Mammata and Ruyyaka as regards the definition and nature of Bhāvika. This criticism is understandable for, as we see from his S. D., Viśvanātha accepts the position of Bhāmaha and Udbhata only which position Ruyyaka holds earlier but to which, laterly, Ruyyaka reconciles Mammata's position, by postulating two varieties of Bhāvika. Viśvanātha rejects Mammata's view and says that only the first case of creating by *शब्दानाकुलता* etc. the quality of *प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं* in objects of past and future is Bhāvika and not the second case in which the poet gives us a thing already having by nature the quality of *प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं*. Says he in the S. D. —

“अत्र प्रत्यक्षायमाणस्यैव वर्णनान्नायमलंकारः । वर्णनावशेन प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वस्यास्य स्वरूपत्वात् । यत्पुनरप्रत्यक्षायमाणस्यापि वर्णने प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं तत्रायमलंकारो भवितुं युक्तं । यथोदाहृते 'असीदञ्जनं' इत्यादौ ।”

1. Mr. P. V. Kane's note on Bhāvika must be corrected. Surely Rāmacaraṇa is correct in giving two kinds of Bhāvika but he is wrong when he names the two kinds. The two kinds of Bhāvika are *प्रत्यक्षायमाणस्यैव वर्णनं* and *वर्णनया प्रत्यक्षायमाणं* । Rāmacaraṇa misses this distinction but gives a new classification nowhere else found viz.—*प्रत्यक्षायमाणत्वं* of *Adbhūta* and the same of *धृत* and *भविष्यत्*. Nor are the real two kinds of Bhāvika,

In many other places, as notably in the very definition of *Kāvya* itself, Viśvanātha differed from Mammāṭa. He took an independent attitude towards Mammāṭa and Ruṣṣaka, following them completely wherever he agreed with them and criticising them wherever he disagreed. As Mr. P. V. Kane says, sometime. • Viśvanātha even slavishly follows the *Sarvasva*.

Lastly, Viśvanātha was a contemporary of Vidyā Cakravartin. Mr. P. V. Kane assigns him to the 14th century. Vidyā Cakravartin is also assigned to the same period. As is clearly seen in his *Samjivini* and as has been pointed out in the Intro. to the K. Pra. in the T. S. S. Vol. I., Vidyā Cakravartin flourished in the court of king Vallāla III. It is natural to expect such frowning on the part of Vidyā Cakravartin at Viśvanātha, who, as the former says, was considered as the greatest *Ālaṅkārika* of his time. Viśvanātha was a poet besides being an *Ālaṅkārika* and held high office in another court at that time. He had many titles which praised him extravagantly. Thus, as can be seen from the colophons to the first and the tenth chapters of the S. D. Viśvanātha had the titles - साहित्यार्णवकर्णधार, ध्वनिप्रस्थानपरमाचार्य, कविसूक्तिरत्नाकर, अष्टादशभाषावारविलासिनीधुजङ्ग and आलङ्कारिकचक्रवर्तिन. Exactly these very titles and many more were showered on Vidyā Cakravartin who was shining at that time in the court of another king. Vide the colophons in his commentary on the K. Pra. and the extract from his A.S. *Samjivini* given in the introduction to Vol. I. of K. Pra. T. S. S. Thus it is natural that Vidyā Cakravartin criticised Viśvanātha in such bitter terms. There is no evidence to show Viśvanātha's attitude towards Vidyā Cakravartin. From this fact, it is sufficiently clear that Vidyā Cakravartin was a very young contemporary of Viśvanātha. We know from his *Samjivini* on the A. S. that Vidyā Cakravartin began to write very early, even as a mere boy. It is clear that when he began to write on *Ālaṅkāra*, when he began his commentaries on the *Sarvasva* and the *Kāvya Prakāśa*, Viśvanātha's last work viz. the *Kāvya Prakāśa Darpana* was finished, his literary activities

the difference in the positions of Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa on the one hand and Mammāṭa and Ruṣṣaka on the other, and the fact that Viśvanātha follows only the ancients realised by Mr. P. V. Kane in his notes on *Bhāvika*.

came to a close and he was merely a Sāndhivigrahika. Vidyā Cākṛavartin was writing in the beginning of the 14th century and Viśvanātha must therefore be referred to the closing decades of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries.

II

THE LAGHU TĪKĀ ON THE KĀVYA PRAKĀŚA

We know that Śrī Vidyācākṛavartin who flourished in the Court of King Vīra Vallāla III in the beginning of the 14th century wrote a commentary on the Kāvya Prakāśa called the Sampradāya Prakāśinī. This work is published in the T. S. S. From the introductory verses there we learn that the Sampradāya Prakāśinī is also called as Bṛhatṭikā.

श्रीचक्रवर्तिकविना संप्रदायप्रकाशिनी ।

टीका काव्यप्रकाशस्य बृहतीयं विरच्यते ॥

Why should this Sampradāya Prakāśinī be called the Bṛhatṭikā? Vidyācākṛavartin is now known to have written this commentary on the Kāvya Prakāśa and another commentary called Samjivini on the Alamkāra Sarvasva. Besides these two works, no scholar has yet pointed out any other work of this writer in the Alamkāra Śāstra. The introductions to the two volumes of the Kāvya Prakāśa in the T. S. S. have not spoken of any other work. Nor does Dr. S. K. De mention any other work. It will be shown now that, prior to writing the Bṛhatṭikā on the Kāvya Prakāśa, Vidyācākṛavartin wrote a commentary on the Kāvya Prakāśa, called the Laghu Tīkā, as a contrast to which he named the second evidently bigger, commentary on the same work as the Bṛhatṭikā. This Laghutīkā is referred to by Vidyācākṛavartin in his Bṛhatṭikā itself. While commenting on the section on Lakṣaṇā, he says,—

“लक्षणाप्रवृत्तौऽयं अस्माभिः लघुटीकायां वितत्य विवेचितः इति ततोऽवधार्यः ।
इहापि यथोपयोगहृक्तः ।” p. 62, Part I, T. S. S. K. Pra.

There is a reference to the Laghu Tīkā in his Alamkāra Sarvasva Samjivini also. While speaking of the varieties of

Upamā numbering up to a thousand, Vidyācakravartin says in his Samjivini that he has already spoken of these varieties in his two Tikās on Mammata.

“अनयोः भेदश्च भेदवैचित्र्यात् सहस्रं अस्माभिः संप्रदायप्रकाशिन्यां काव्यप्रकाश-
वृहट्टिकायां वितत्य दर्शितं । लघुटीकायां च यथोपयोगमिति ततोऽवधार्यम् ।”

Pp. 34 and 35, Mad. Ms.

• So Vidyācakravartin first wrote the Laghu Tikā on Mammata and then Brhatṭikā and the Sarvasva Samjivini. From a reference under Apahnuti Alamkāra and from the concluding verse in the Brhatṭikā, which say that the Samjivini had already been written, and from the above-given reference in the Samjivini to the Brhatṭikā, we see that probably Vidyācakravartin was writing the Brhatṭikā and Samjivini side by side at the same time. I drew the attention of scholars to this Laghu Tikā since I do not find it mentioned in the introductions to the two volumes of the K. Pra. in the T. S. S. or in the list of works given by Mr. P. V. Kane in his Intro. to S. D. or by Dr. S. K. De in his Sanskrit Poetics.

III

THE BHARATA SAMGRAHA OF ŚRĪ VIDYĀ- CAKRAVARTIN

In a self-laudatory verse of his quoted by him in his A. S. Samjivini which says that even as a boy he became proficient in all Śāstras, there is special mention of Vidyācakravartin as having mastered the Bharata Śāstra i. e. the Nāṭya Śāstra. In his Brhatṭikā on the K. Pra. and in his A. S. Samjivini he has had occasions to treat of Rasa but no occasion to speak of Drama and Dance. Separate treatment of subjects of Rasa, Daśarūpaka, Abhinaya and perhaps music also was given by him in a separate work called Bharata Samgraha. Evidence of his having written such a work comes both from the published Brhatṭikā of his on the K. Pra. and the unpublished Samjivini of his on the Sarvasva.

1. " बुद्धिकारिताः चक्षुर्विकाराः इङ्गितं । उक्तं हि मया
भरतसंग्रहे —

तारकापुटदृष्ट्यादेः विकारानिङ्गितं विदुः ।

आकाराः सात्त्विकाः भावाः पूर्वे बुद्ध्या परेऽन्यथा ॥ "

P. 378. Vol. II, K. Pra. T. S. S.

2. On the dance-eye, दृष्यदृष्टि, called न्यञ्चित, he quotes his own Bharata Saṅgraha in his A. S. Samjivini.

" उक्तं हि मया भरतसंग्रहे —

सा न्यञ्चितं न्यञ्चदपाङ्गभाव इति । "

P. 146. Mad. Ms.

IV

THE RASARATNAKOŚA, THE NĀTAKARATNAKOŚA AND THE SAṂGĪTA RĀJA

Aufrecht mentions a work called Rasaratnakōśa as found in the Paris Library. Dr. S. K. De, on p. 288 of his Skr. Poetics Vol. I, gives a short description of this work available in the Paris Biblioth. Nationale (No. 243). He says that " it is a treatise on Rasa and kindred topics in eleven chapters. " The summary of its contents are given by him :

Chapters 1--4 Rasas.

5--6 Nāyaka and Nāyikā.

7 Abhinaya. (?)

8--9 Anubhāvas and Vyabhicāribhāvas.

10-11 Rasa and Bhāva.

Dr. De also says that the author is probably King Kumbha of Mewad (1428—1459 A. D.) who wrote besides some treatises on Saṅgīta, a commentary entitled Rasikapriyā on the Gītagovinda.

Now I propose to investigate the real nature of the Rasaratnakōśa from evidences supplied by Kumbha Rāja's Rasikapriyā on the G. G. The Rasaratnakōśa is no doubt a work of King Kumbha

but it is not a separate work by itself. It forms a substantial section in Kumbha's very voluminous work called the Saṃgita Rāja. This Saṃgita Rāja is quoted very often in the Rasikapriyā: pp. 14, 21, 53, 79, 94, 99, 103, 108, 112, 115 (without name), 120, 125, 133, 143, 154 (without name), 156, 161 (without name), 162 (without name), 163 (without name), 164 (without name), 165 (without name), and 172. N. S. edn. G. G. From these quotations, we know, besides other things, this: King Kumbha is the author of the Saṃgita Rāja and that, to restrict ourselves to the name Rasaratnakōśa, that section of the Saṃgita Rāja (which work comprehensively deals with all subjects coming directly or indirectly under the head Nāṭya Śāstra, as is shown by the range of subjects covered by Bharata himself) treating of Rasas is called the Rasaratnakōśa. That is, the whole work is called Saṃgita Rāja. A Rāja or king has his treasury in which there are many jewel-treasures, Nidhis or Ratnakōśas. So each major section of the big Saṃgita Rāja is called by the common name Ratnakōśa and is further divided into Adhyāyas. It is likely that certain sections or Ratnakōśas, such as that on Rasa called Rasaratnakōśa got separated from Saṃgita Rāja and were current separately since Rasa is an important subject, of interest to the larger circle of Alāṅkārikas also besides writers on Drama, Dance and Music.

Quotations from Rasaratnakōśa in the Rasikapriyā are four, all of them being found on pp. 24 and 25. N. S. edn. Two of them are given as from Rasaratnakōśa and two as from the Rasaratnakōśa in the Saṃgita Rāja. The latter two are —

1. "प्रलयेत्यादिषट्के धीरोद्धतो नायकः । तल्लक्षणं संगीतराजे रसरत्नकोशे-
 'मात्सर्यदर्पद्विष्टः छद्मवहंकारवाञ्छली ।
 चण्डो विकथनश्चैव धीरोद्धत उदाहृतः' ॥ " p. 24.
2. "अथवा भृङ्गारी नायकः । तल्लक्षणं संगीतराजे रसरत्नकोशे-
 भृङ्गारी नायकस्त्वन्यः पञ्चमः कथ्यते यथा ।
 विलासवाक्कायशीलः सुभगः स्थिरवाग्बुधः ॥
 गतिस्सर्पेया दृष्टिश्च सविलासस्मितं वचः' ॥ " p. 25.

Besides the four quotations here referred to, there are many other anonymous citations on similar subjects and these are also very likely from the same Rasaratnakōśa section of the Saṃgita Rāja.

On p. 325 of his Poetics, Vol. I., in the list of anonymous works, Dr. De gives a work called Nāṭakarātṇakośa as being cited by Rāyamukuta and Bhānuji on Amara and as having been noticed by Aufrecht. There is every likelihood of this Nāṭakarātṇakośa being only that section of the Saṃgīta Rāja dealing with Drama proper, the Daśarūpaka and the Uparūpaka scheme, Itivṛtta, Saṃdhi etc. The sections on Rasa and Nāṭaka, these two being widely read parts of the Nāṭya Śāstra and connected more than the other sections to Alamkāra also, perhaps got separated into independent works as the existence of a separate Ms. of the Rasaratnakośa and the citations of these sections with the mere chapter-name show. ¹

Kumbha or Kumbha Rāṇā or Kumbhakarṇa or Kumbhakarṇa Mahimahendra is a very great scholar as the very lengthy colophon to his commentary on the Gīta Govinda, extending in small print to half a page, shows. He was specially very learned in Bharata or Saṃgīta (i. e.) Dance, Drama and Music, vocal and instrumental. (गीतं नृत्यं च वाद्यं च त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते). In the colophon to the Rasikapriyā on the sixth Sarga he is called 'Abhinava Bharata.' In the colophon at the end of the commentary he is called अभिनवभरताचार्य, संगीतमीमांसासामांसलमाति and मूर्तिमन्त्राद (i. e.) the very embodiment of Nāda. He is referred to in these and many more extravagant titles. He seems to be really very learned, especially in Bharata. His greatest work on this Śāstra is the Saṃgīta Rāja. This work is profusely quoted in his Rasikapriyā and the following two quotations show that Kumbha is its author.

1. "अतिललितं । श्रुतिजातिग्रहलयसाम्यान्मनोहरं । तथा च
संगीतराजे —

नदुरागस्तृतीयाख्यः तालो मध्ये कचित्कचित् ।

* * *

प्रबन्धः प्रीतये गीतः श्रीपतेः कुम्भभूभुजा ॥" p. 125.

Giving the description of the song, (प्रबन्धः), contained in Sarga eleven, Kumbha says —

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1. From these Ratnakośas that are sections of the Saṃgīta Rāja must be distinguished the lexicon Ratnakośa which is quoted in commentaries on Amara. The lexicon Ratnakośa is very much earlier to the Saṃgīta Rāja.

“ तथा च संगीतराजे —

आदितालः प्रथमतः प्रतिमण्डस्ततः परं ।

* * *

• प्रबन्धः कुम्भभूषेन हरिप्रवणचेतसा ॥ ” p. 143

From these two quotations and many more of this nature quoted in the *Rasikapriyā*, which describe at length each song or *Prabandha* in the G. G. with its *Rāga* and *Tāla*, we can infer that in the *प्रबन्धाध्याय* of that *Ratnakōśa* of the *Samgita Rāja* dealing with Music, Kumbha has, while treating of songs, specially devoted his attention to an elaborate determining and description of the nature, *Rāga* and *Tāla* of the *Prabandhas* in the G. G. When he laterly wrote the *Rasikapriyā* he naturally quoted from his own *Samgita Rāja*.

It was said above that Kumbha's *Samgita Rāja* is a stupendous work treating of almost all subjects dealt with or touched by Bharata. Bharata devotes two chapters (xv and xvi) to Metres. Kumbha also treats of Metres in one section which is probably called *छन्दोरत्नकोश* or *वृत्तरत्नकोश*. That he treats of Metres also is known from the following quotation in the *Rasikapriyā* on the metre called *Śikharinī*.

“ शिखरिणी छन्दः । तल्लक्षणं संगीतराजे—

‘रसै रुद्रेभिश्च यमनसभलागः शिखरिणी’ । ” p. 156

Bharata, in chap. xvii. dealt with, before going to *Alaṃkāra*, *Guṇa* and *Doṣa*, a concept called *Lakṣaṇa*, which comes under the province of *Alaṃkāra Śāstra* and is similar partly to *Alaṃkāras* and partly to *Samdhyanakas*.¹ This concept came to be called in later times by the names *Nātyālaṃkāra* and *Bhūṣaṇa*. To this concept also, which he calls as *Nātyālaṃkāra*, Kumbha devotes his attention as is shown by the following quotation in his *Rasikapriyā*. Commenting on the penultimate verse of the G. G. praising the poet Jayadeva, Kumbha says that here there is the *Nātyālaṃkāra* called *गुणकीर्तनम्*.

1. Vide my paper on *Lakṣaṇa* in Bharata and its history in Vol. VI, Part I. of the J. O. R., Madras.

“ गुणकीर्तनं नाम नाट्यालंकारः । तल्लक्षणं संगीतराजे—

‘ बहूनां गुणिनां यत्र नामार्थजनितैर्गुणैः ।

एकोऽपदिश्यते यत्तु कीर्तितं गुणकीर्तनम्’ ॥ ” p. 172.

The *Gupakīrtana* is a *Lakṣaṇa* belonging to the *Upajāti* list in *Bharata*. *Kumbha*’s definition of this is based upon *Bharata*’s. It cannot now be decided how many *Lakṣaṇas* or *Nāṭyālaṃkāras* *Kumbha* recognised in all and whether he was acquainted with the *Anuṣṭubh* list of *Lakṣaṇas* in *Bharata* also. The chapter containing treatment of these *Nāṭyālaṃkāras* or *Lakṣaṇas* etc. corresponding to chap. xvii. of *Bharata* is probably called *Alaṃkāra-ratnakōśa*.

Dr. De says that, in the *Rasaratnakōśa* are quoted *Abhinava* and *Kīrtidhara*. Knowing as we do the learning of *Kumbha*, the nature of his writing and the range of subjects covered by him, we can expect many other valuable citations in his very valuable work, the *Saṃgīta Rāja*, the Ms. of which seems to be available in the Central Provinces. From *Kielhorn*’s catalogue of Mss. in the Central Provinces, No. 96, we come to know that the *Saṃgīta Rāja* is also known as *Saṃgīta Mīmāṃsā*.¹

1. Subsequent to my writing this, I had been on a visit to the B. O. R. I. Poona, where I found that a fragment of this *Saṃgīta Rāja* of *Kumbhakarṇa* was available in the B. O. R. I. Mss. library, Ms. No. 365 of 1879-80. The name of the author, *Kumbhakarṇamahimāhendra* and of the work, *Saṃgīta Rāja* are seen in the Ms. It contains 21 sheets and contains perhaps the opening section of the S. Rāja which is called in the Ms. as *पाठ्यरत्नकोश*. This *Pāṭhyaratnakōśa* treats of language, Sanskrit and Prakrit, Pada and Vākya, and of some subjects of music. The Ms. contains the beginning of the next section (*Ratnakōśa*) also which treats of Metres. This is the *सुन्दोग्नकोश* we referred to above. At the beginning of the *Pāṭhya R. K.* *Kumbha* gives our *Anukramanīkā* which contains a summary of the contents and the scheme of this work, *Saṃgīta Rāja* and we find that our surmises regarding the contents of the S. Rāja are correct.

SOME OTHER WORKS OF KUMBHA KARNA

We already know that king Kumbhakarna has written a commentary on the Saṅgitaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva. We come to know of some other works of Kumbha on Music from the Rasikapriyā. He has written a work, perhaps on mere Music alone, called the Saṅgitakramadīpikā. At the end of his Rasikapriyā on Sarga III of G. G. Kumbha refers to this Music work as the sister of the Rasikapriyā. ¹

श्रीमत्कुम्भनृपेन कृतविवृतौ (तेः ?) श्रीगीतगोविन्दके

संगीतक्रमदीपिकास्वसुरयं सर्गस्तृतीयो गतः ॥

We are not able to decide now whether this Saṅgitakramadīpikā is an independent work on Music or is only the name for his commentary on the Saṅgitaratnākara.

At the end of his commentary on Sarga seven Kumbha says —

श्रीएकलङ्काश्रयसोदरायां स्फीतोऽज्ज्वालायां रासिकप्रियायां ।

श्रीकुम्भकर्णेन विनिर्मितायां सगोऽगमत् सप्तम ऊजितायाम् ॥

Here he refers to another work whose 'sister' is this Rasikapriyā but what that work is, is not clear.

Similarly another colophon on p. 94 contains the mention of another obscure work whose 'brother' is this Rasikapriyā.

श्रीकुम्भस्वामिमन्दारस्वो (सोदरे) (?) गीतगोविन्दविवरणे etc.

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1. This way of authors referring to their works became very common after Śrī Harṣa who inaugurated in the last verse of each canto of his Naiṣadha, the numbering of each canto and the mention of his other works.

A NOTE ON *NISIDHI* (*NISĪDIYA* OF KHĀRAVELA INSCRIPTION)

BY

A. N. UPADHYE, M. A.

The word *nisidhi* occurs in many Jaina inscriptions both Kanarese and Sanskrit. But the spelling of the word is not uniform throughout. In Kanarese inscriptions it is variously spelt as *nisidi*, *nisidhi*, *nisidi*, *nisidhi*, *nisidhi*, *nisidhi* and even *nistige*.¹ In north Kārnāṭaka, even to this day, the word is current as *nisiddi*. In Sanskrit inscriptions it is met with in the form *niṣidhi*, *niṣadyakā* and *niṣadyā*.² The variety of forms tempts one to reflect on the original word and its etymology.

Considering the various inscriptions the meaning of the word is quite clear and it indicated a postmortem structure or a building, possibly built on the spot where a particular saint breathed his last or where his body was burnt or where his bony relics etc. were buried. Such a structure generally consists of a platform with four corner pillars on which is resting a massive domelike umbrella made of stones or bricks. Sometimes the platform is without pillars. On the platform there are the footprints and sometimes even the image³ to represent the deceased saint. The footprints are generally accompanied by an inscription⁴ wherein we get some information about the deceased saint, the manner in which he met his end and by whom the commemoration was executed etc. It is the inscription and not the monument that

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1. EC, II, Nos. 64 ; 126, 272 ; 62 ; 15, 19, 85, 92, 103, 104, 112 ; 273 ; 117, 118 ; 65 etc.
 2. EC, II, Nos. 66 where the phrase *niṣidhyālayam* is used ; 65 ; 63, 254.
 3. For instance Candrasena *nisidi* at Koppala - Jayakarnāṭaka, X, 10. and Nāgacandra - *nisidi* at Kāgvāḍa - Jinavijaya xxvi, 1.
 4. Many such inscriptions are published from Belgoala in EC. II -- see the Introduction, p. 69.

can be called an *epitaph*. Moreover, in Jaina texts, we get descriptions of square raised seats¹ on which the Jaina monks observed the *sallekha ā* vow that consisted in a voluntary submission to death giving up food etc. And at Koppala and other Jaina sacred places such *vedikās* are preserved.

The word being of frequent occurrence needs explanation. When we look at the Sanskrit forms *niṣadyakā* and *niṣadyā* as well as the Kanarese forms *niṣidi* and *niṣidi*, there remains no doubt that the word should be traced to the root *sad* (*sīd*) with *ni*, and there must have been two forms current, *niṣadyā* and *niṣidikā* meaning a seat, a sitting place, a seat taken especially for some religious rite, a place of rest etc. And when we look at those *niṣidhis* they are places where particular saints took their seats before their death or where they got final rest.

But how to explain *dh* in forms like *niṣidhi*, *niṣidhi*, *niṣidhige* and *niṣidhi*? This can be easily explained considering the form of that word in Prakrit where we have *niṣihīyā* = *niṣidikā*. Ordinarily *h* can be equated with *dh*. The change *d* to *h* is not normal but has some similar instances, *kakuda* = *kauha*.² The word in its Prakrit form is very often met with in Jaina scriptures in the descriptions of buildings and the life of Jaina monks — *niṣedhikī niṣidasthānam āha ca Jivābhigama-mūla-ṭikā-kṛt niṣedhikī niṣida-sthānamiti* and in some cases it means a place for study. The Sk. rendering is not sufficiently justified, perhaps even the commentator suspected it and he shirks the responsibility by quoting an older authority. Early Kanarese authors, especially Jaina, always relied on the rules of Prakrit grammar for the corruption of Sk. words and their consequent importation in Kanarese and perhaps with the Prakrit form *niṣihīyā* in mind they were inclined to retain *dh* in inscriptions. As to *ddh* in some

1. See, for the description of *niṣihīyā* Bhagavati-ārādhana verses 1964-67 (Kolhapur edition p. 572 etc.); Śāstrasāra-samuccaya pp. 170 etc. (Belgaum edition).
2. Hemacandra's grammar VIII, i, 225.
3. Rāyapāṇiyya sūtra, Sūtra No. 28 where the word *niṣihīyā* occurs and on that Malayagiri's commentary runs thus. P. 63 of the Agamodaya-samiti edition.

forms it is a case of confusion between two forms *niṣīdikā* (*Pk.* *niṣīhiyā*) and *niṣadyā*, just as the form *suggai*¹ is a confusion of two Sk. forms *sugati* and *sadgati*. And when once the original was lost out of sight any corruption comes to be in vogue and the Kanarese form *niṣtige*² and Sk. *niṣidhi* belong to this class.

The word *niṣīdiyā* occurs in the fifteenth line of Khārvēla inscription thus, - *arahata-niṣīdiyā-samipe* where it clearly indicates the monumental structure on the cremation spot of *Arhan*. The shape of this structure perhaps depended, to some extent, on local usage; in South India it is a square raised seat and it must be seen whether it is correct to render *niṣīdiyā* as *stūpa* in the Khārvēla inscription. From some inscription it is explicit that *niṣīdikā* was held in high respect and even *pūjā* and *pratiṣṭhā*³ were performed on the spot.

1. Uttarādhyayana xxviii. 3 where the form *soaai* occurs.

2. EC, II, No. 65.

3. EC, II, Nos. 117, 118, 128 etc.

NĀGARA APABHRAMŚA AND NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

A REVIEW

BY

PRAHLAD C. DIWANJI, M. A., LL. M.

I have read through with keen interest the article under the above caption by Prof. N. B. Divatia published in Parts I-II of Vol. XIV of these *Annals* (pp. 103-125). The reasons why it aroused such an interest in me were (1) that I myself am a Nāgara by caste and (2) that I had found that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar had, in his article in the *Indian Antiquary* under review by Prof. Divatia, repeated an erroneous statement made by Sir George Grierson at page 327 of Part II of Volume IX of his *Linguistic Survey of India*. That statement had caused me no less surprize when I first read about 6-7 years ago than it did to the learned professor but I had remained silent because it had been made in an authoritative work by a writer of recognized eminence. Now however when we find that the very fact that it is found in such a work is being taken by other scholars as a sufficient warrant for basing inferences upon, it behoves us to warn the students against the danger of doing so and bring the truth to light. Prof. Divatia therefore deserves credit for being the first Gujrati Scholar to come out into the open to do so and I propose to give him my humble support so far as the contradiction of that statement is concerned.

Although I have not like him a heavy weight of a long personal experience behind me, I can testify from a family chronicle handed down in our family for three generations that he is quite right when he says that the statement that the Nāgaras of Gujrat and Kathiawad write Gujrati in the Devanāgarī character, has no basis of truth in it. The chronicle commences from the time our earliest known ancestor came from somewhere in the north and settled in Surat and began to work as a broker between the foreign merchants and the local traders,

several years prior to 1800 A. D. in which year the then Nawab made over his sovereign rights in the Surat Atthāviśī to the East India Company represented by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the then Governor of Bombay, narrates that his son by his attainments became the Dewan of the Nawab, that he incurred the displeasure of the Nawab's successor, that his son again won by his ability the Dewanship of the State under a subsequent Nawab and so on. The whole of it is found to have been written in the Gujarātī character and if my impression of what I was told is correct, my grandfather who first commenced the narrative, and who died in 1877 at the age of 56 years, knew Persian but not Sanskrit. My uncle too who continued it had a workable knowledge of English but not of Sanskrit. Both of them could therefore have hardly penned ten lines in the Devanāgarī character except perhaps while copying out some religious hymns or ceremonials.

Speaking generally, it was the fashion, in Gujrāt till the foundation of the Bombay University in 1857, and even for some years after that, to study Persian and use as many Persian words as possible even in ordinary speech and correspondence. For some years after the University education produced the first batch of Gujrati writers, a keen controversy was going on between two schools, one led by Mr. Mansukhram Tripathi advocating the elimination of all foreign words and the substitution of Sanskrit or Sanskritized words in their place and imitating Sanskrit authors such as Bāṇa in style and the other led by Rao Bahadur Hargowandas Kantawala advocating the use of such simple words and adopting such a simple style as could be easily understood by half-educated men, women and children. Mr. Mansukhram tried to popularize the Devanāgarī script also by writing some works therein even after Gujrati types had become available but did not succeed in doing so. Mr. Manilal Nabhubhai published an edition of the Bhagavadgītā with a commentary also in the same script. But even they must have conceived the idea of doing so because of their having learnt Sanskrit at a college and at home and because they must have wished that their works should be read by a wider public, not because there was a traditional habit amongst the Nāgaras to write Gujrati in the Devanāgarī character.

Another statement which Prof. Divatia controverts is that the Nāgaras have a dialect of their own which is known as the Nāgarī-Gujrātī. As to that it is a recognized fact that the speech like the tastes of Nāgaras about a generation ago was more refined than that of the members of the other communities in Gujrat and Kāthiawad. It is also true that there were till then some peculiar words in their speech such as *Kura* for cooked rice instead of *Bhāt*, *Kalasio* for a water-pot used for the purpose of drinking instead of a *Loṭā* &c. It is also within my recollection that the Vādnagarā Nāgaras of the priestly section at Surat used till about a generation ago, to call a foot a *Pāga* instead of a *Paga*, to say *Karān Chhān* (second person singular) instead of *Kare chhe*, *Karīṣen* (first person plural) instead of *Karīṣun* and had certain other peculiarities of speech and intonation some of which are noticeable in the *Narmagadya* a collection of the prose writings of Narmadashankar a Nāgara of the priestly section at Surat, and which marked them out from the members of the Gṛhastha section of the same caste. The latter section is identical with the Sepāhī Nāgaras at Benares, Aligarh, Agra, Calcutta and other places in the north and the east. Still even the members of that section who originally migrated from Vādnagar, Champaner or Junagadh seem to have carried with them some peculiarities of speech and intonation resembling those observable in the members of the priestly section till some time ago, for even now the Gujrātī which the Sepāhī Nāgaras of the said places speak differs in some particulars from that spoken by the members of the corresponding section here and resembles that spoken by the members of the priestly caste a generation ago.

I doubt if these peculiarities can be called "one swallow" which "cannot make a summer", and if they can be, then one would have also to deny that there are Ahmedābādī, Charotarī, Bharūchī, Parsī, Bhāṭheli, Paṭidārī and several other dialects noted by Sir George Grierson in the above-mentioned work, for barring a few peculiar words and a special way of intonation there is nothing in them which is not common with the speech of the other portions or communities of Gujrat. Hence just as they

are recognized as special dialects, so there is no harm in recognizing the Nāgarī as a special dialect. As to why it is found now in use only amongst certain portions of the community residing at certain places it appears to me that the Vādnagarā Nāgaras at least may originally have a dialect of their own derived from the Nāgarā Apabhramśa of the Prakrit grammarians till a portion of them took to civil and military services under the Rajput and Mahomedan rulers of old Gujrat, that the members of that portion may have gradually modified their speech so as to come in a line with the other high caste Hindus and the Mahomedans who had settled down in Gujrat and adopted its local language, that the migration of some of the members of that caste to places in the north and the east may have taken place before such modification took an appreciable shape, that therefore they and the members of the priestly or conservative class who separated from them continued to adhere to their traditional way of speaking and that the peculiarities above-noted have begun to disappear in Gujarat and Kāthiāwād owing to the spread of education amongst all the communities on the modern lines, of which the teaching of the Vernaculars on a uniform basis adopted by the literateurs born, bred up and settled permanently or temporarily at various places in Gujrat and Kāthiāwād, to male and female children, forms a part. It is not at all improbable that in one more generation, by which time even the children of those who still cling to those peculiarities will have shaken off their mannerisms, it may become a matter of history that the Nāgaras had a dialect of their own. It is of course true that the Nāgaras of no place in Gujrat and Kāthiāwād ever made the Town and Island of Bombay their permanent habitat. Sir George Grierson must therefore be deemed to have been misled in respect of the location of the Nāgarī dialect. Nevertheless one cannot agree with the learned professor when he says that there never was and there is not a Nāgarī dialect of the Gujrātī language.

